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CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES
IN
SCOTTISH HISTORY

A Contrast of the Early Chronicles with the Works of Modern Historians

BY

WILLIAM H. GREGG

With over Three Hundred Facsimile Reproductions from Old Chronicles and Authentic Works, and with Maps and Illustrations

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NEW YORK AND LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press
1910

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The Knickerbocker Press, New York

INTRODUCTION

HAVING always taken an interest in the history of the land of my ancestors, I determined, on being freed some twenty years ago from those numerous duties devolving upon a man of affairs, to devote a considerable part of my time and effort to a research into the annals of Scotland. The work became far more involved than I had anticipated, until I ultimately found that I was delving into the annals of the remotest antiquity, such as those of the Greek and Roman writers—Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Herodotus and others. From these I was naturally led through the historical works of John of Fordun, 1385; Andrew of Wyntown, 1420; John Major, 1521; Hector Boece, 1536; David Chalmers, 1556; Raphael Hollinshed, 1578; together with many others of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, not so well known as those here enumerated. These works, in the main, I found to be uniform and consistent with the oldest documents on record.

In 1729, Thomas Innes published his famous *Critical Essay*, which has been given first place in point of accuracy, fairness and impartiality, by all writers since his time. This work brought to light several documents hitherto almost inaccessible.

During the latter part of the eighteenth, and the earlier part of the nineteenth centuries, a new school of writers began to appear, whose aim was apparently to evolve a *new* history of Scotland. *Caledonia*, by George Chalmers, published in 1807, was the first important work under this new régime; then came John Pinkerton's *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, in 1814; followed by William F. Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, in 1837, since which time there seems to have been a preconcerted movement utterly to abolish the *old* history of Scotland, and to replace it with one which has contributed no new facts, nor established any documentary evidence. On the contrary, they have relied on theoretical "deductions" and so-called

"conclusive arguments" as a basis for their new scheme of authorship. By accepting the works of some of these later writers, and eliminating those of an earlier period, we shall soon find ourselves in possession of a history of Scotland purely hypothetical.

The changes effected by this coterie of authors are brought to the attention of the careful reader by the use of quotations and some three hundred facsimiles, taken from the most important of the works reviewed in this volume. This method serves a two-fold purpose—avoiding any possible charge of misquoting, incorrectly translating or interpreting the text, and eliminating such footnotes as tend merely to divert the reader's attention.

No better illustration of this perversion of Scottish history can be found than that period of two hundred and fifty years, occurring between the reigns of Kenneth MacAlpin, A.D. 843, and Malcolm Canmore, A.D. 1093, a period long considered the most obscure in the early annals of Scotland. As the eighteen years of King Gregory's reign fall within this epoch, which has been a subject of controversy since the appearance of the *Pictish Chronicle*, in 1729, I have used it as the best illustration of my contention.

While the methods I have pursued in this volume may subject me to the criticism of having relied too freely upon quotations and facsimiles from other works, I believe no one will disagree with me that it is the only safe way in which to handle controversial subjects, and, since I have stated the truth as I found it, impartially and without prejudice, I feel that no apologies are necessary for my shortcomings. I believe that the *new* history of Scotland can be destroyed with very much less labour than was expended in building it, and that the very materials which some of the modern writers have used for its construction, can be called into play to work its easy demolition under industrious and capable direction—to which end the writer is pleased to contribute this volume.

W. H. G.

St. Louis, March, 1910.

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CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

IN

SCOTTISH HISTORY

Controversial Issues in Scottish History

CHAPTER I

THE PICTS AND SCOTS

Earliest Inhabitants of Scotland—Origin of the Picts—Extent and Antiquity of Pictish Rule—Pictish Kings According to Innes—Balfour's Account—John Major's Account—Origin According to Camden—Various Views as to Origin of Scots—Bede on Picts and Scots—Tanistic Law.

IT is not my purpose to go into the details of the early history of Scotland, but merely to give a brief outline of the divisions of the country, together with the necessary information regarding the Picts and Scots, the two great races inhabiting Ireland and Scotland, when the first accounts of them are recorded. Relying upon archæology and scientific research, we learn that the original inhabitants dwelt in caves, buried their dead in chambered tombs and used tools and implements made of bone and certain kinds of rock or stone. With the exception of this very meagre information, however, we have nothing definite as to the exact time in which man first took up his abode on the Island of Britain.

Our first authentic accounts begin with the Roman invasions, although we are told that for centuries before the Christian era, the tin mines of South Britain had attracted the trading interests of Phœnicia, Carthage, Greece and Rome. It was not until several centuries later, however, that the land of the Caledonian Picts was sufficiently invaded, even by the Romans, to furnish any definite information as to their modes of living,

their languages or their customs, saving the statement by Julius Cæsar, that they painted themselves before going into battle, and thus presented a very fierce and forbidding aspect.

The Romans knew the country north of the Friths of Forth and Clyde as Caledonia, Pikia, Pictavia, Alba, Albania and Albany, and styled the inhabitants variously, the Caledonians, Picts and Albanians. The natives, however, called themselves the *Cruithnians*, after their legendary, or traditional ancestor, and first ruler, *Cruithne*.

Ireland, as we now know it, bore the appellation of *Hibernia* until the sixth century, and is first mentioned as *Scotia* by Isidore of Seville in 580. It received this later name, according to tradition, as the result of an invasion of the island in 1300 B.C., by *Scots* or *Milesians* from the continent. At all events, the Romans, in the first century, found Hibernia occupied and ruled by Scots, who finally gave to that country the name of Scotia, which it retained until after the tenth century.

The Scots of Dalriada, in the north-eastern part of Hibernia or Scotia, crossed over into Argyle, on the west coast of Caledonia, gained a foothold and jointly occupied the country with the native Caledonians and Picts. This invasion is stated by some of the early chroniclers to have taken place before the Christian era. It is also claimed that the Picts in the fourth century succeeded in driving the Scots out of Caledonia. By some it has been asserted that the first really historical appearance of the Scots in Britain occurred in the year 360 A.D., when, in conjunction with the Picts, they attacked the Roman province of Britain. This statement has also been denied, but it seems to be well conceded, that from 360 A.D. to 410 A.D. the Scots, Picts, Saxons and Attacotti made savage war upon the Romans in Caledonia. Each nation seemingly fought on its own account, but at times joined forces against the Romans, who were finally compelled to abandon Britain in the year A.D. 410.

The names, *Hibernia* and *Scotia*, continued to be alternately applied to the island now called Ireland, until, following the Scots into Britain, the name *Scotia* was transferred to the kingdom of the Scots in Caledonia, or northern Britain.

The intermingling of these two races, the Scots and Picts, began with the first invasion of Caledonia by the Scots, and from that time until they were united under the reign of Ken-

neth MacAlpin, A.D. 843, it is difficult to treat of them as separate nations. Sir Walter Scott says:

> In the fifth century there appear in North Britain two powerful and distinct tribes, who are not before named in history. These were the Picts and Scots. . . . The Picts seem to have been that race of free Britons beyond the Roman wall, who retained the habit of staining the body when going into battle. . . . The Scots, on the other hand, were of Irish origin; for to the great confusion of ancient history, the inhabitants of Ireland, those at least of the conquering and predominating caste, were called Scots.[1]

As these two races form the foundation upon which the later history of Scotland was builded, and as the true origin of each is yet a much discussed question, quotations and facsimiles are given regarding them from the most reliable writers of successive centuries, with the hope that a reasonably clear conception of the early history of these two peoples may be thereby obtained.

[1] *History of Scotland*, p. 16.

A CRITICAL
ESSAY
ON THE
ANCIENT INHABITANTS
Of the *Northern Parts* of
BRITAIN, or *SCOTLAND*.

CONTAINING

An ACCOUNT of the *Romans*, of the *Britains* betwixt the Walls, of the *Caledonians* or *Picts*, and particularly of the *Scots*.

WITH

An APPENDIX of ancient MS. Pieces.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

By *THOMAS INNES*, M. A.

LONDON:
Printed for WILLIAM INNYS, at the West-End of St. *Paul's*. MDCCXXIX.

Thomas Innes[1] has been, by all subsequent writers, considered the most reliable and authentic on the many subjects he treats. Although he is himself in some doubt as to the origin of these people, his account is perhaps one of the most authoritative obtainable. After a statement that the first place among the ancient inhabitants of Britain naturally falls to the Britains, he says:

> I am now come to the second inhabitants of North Britain in order of time; the ancient, warlike, and once most powerful people of the *Picts* or *Caledonians*, who preserved their liberty against all the power of the *Roman Empire* at the height of its grandeur. . . . That the Picts were not a foreign people come in upon more ancient inhabitants, but the first known people of the North of *Britain*, and originally *Britains* of the North is what I intend here to establish. . . . That the people who began to be called *Picts* in the third and after ages, were truly and properly the same people with the Caledonians, and other ancient Britains of the north, will as yet further and more distinctly appear by examining the origin or first rise and occasion of the names of *Picti*, or *Picts* in *Britain*, and showing that it was not originally the proper name of the people so called, brought in with them to the island, or a name which they gave themselves, but a general denomination given by the *Romans* in or about the third age of Christianity, to the *Caledonians;* and not to them alone, but to all the ancient, unconquered inhabitants of *North Britain*, from their continuing the custom of painting, or marking figures on their bodies, as a mark distinguishing them from the provincial or conquer'd Britains, who, upon submitting to the Roman laws and polity, had laid aside the use of painting, with the rest of their former customs, esteemed barbarous by the Romans.[2]

No account is clearer. According to Innes, from the time of Agricola (79 A.D.), until the time of Severus (211 A.D.), no Roman army had been able to cross the dividing line between the Caledonians of the north and the Britons of the south. The name *Picti Britanni* was used by Eumenius in an oration before Emperor Constantine, A.D. 297, to distinguish the unconquered Britons of the north from the natives who had abandoned their old ways and manners. Eleven years later, the same term was applied to them in another oration before Constantine, "thereby giving us to understand that *Picti* was now become the general name to all the northern unconquered nations."

[1] *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain and Scotland*, 1729.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 41–57.

The country from which the Picts came was, therefore, a matter of conjecture, even in the time of Tacitus and later of Bede. Innes was no less compelled to build his account of their early origin on conjecture; hence the real origin of the Picts is still an unsettled question.

Innes stated that according to Bede, it was reported in his time that they came into Britain from *Scythia*, and he thinks that in this statement Bede has been generally followed by later writers. As already seen, however, one of the earliest accounts we have, is found in the works of Tacitus, son-in-law of Agricola. Innes further stated that according to Tacitus they came originally from *Germany*. These two writers, however, referred to the same country under different names. Tacitus included in Germany all of the northern nations of the European continent; while Bede, following the geographers of his time, included in Scythia the utmost bounds of the north. Innes, therefore, decided that Bede and Tacitus were agreed in their opinions that the Picts or Caledonians came into Britain at first "from the opposite coasts of the northern parts of the European continent," which Tacitus included in Germany and Bede in Scythia. He adds that both Tacitus and Bede based their opinions entirely upon hearsay or conjecture, and that the question as to their real origin, prior to their inhabiting the northern parts of Britain, would afford useless and endless discussion, concluding:

> Besides it appears that Caledonia was peopled long before the inhabitants of these northern parts of the continent were mentioned, or even known by the most ancient writers we have; and perhaps before the first nations mentioned by them were settled in those parts.

The origin of the Picts, as well as of the Scots, is clearly set forth by Hume. While his theory is by no means new, and differs only slightly from that of Innes, Hume's opinion as to the origin of these two nations will have weight with many, because of their familiarity with his History:

> The Picts seem to have been a tribe of the native British race, who, having been chased into the northern parts by the conquests of Agricola, had there mingled with the ancient inhabitants; the Scots were derived from the same Celtic origin, had first been established in Ireland, had migrated to the north-west coasts of this island, and had long been accus-

tomed, as well from their old as their new seats, to infest the Roman province by piracy and rapine.[1]

In a footnote (p. 475) Hume throws further light upon this subject:

> This question has been disputed with as much zeal, and even acrimony, between the Scotch and Irish antiquaries, as if the honour of their respective countries were the most deeply concerned in the decision. . . . It appears more than probable, from the similitude of language and manners, that Britain either was originally peopled, or was subdued, by the migration of the inhabitants from Gaul, and Ireland from Britain . . . and this conjecture is founded both on the Irish language, which is a very different dialect from the Welsh, and from the language anciently spoken in South Britain. . . . Not to mention that if any part of the traditional history of a barbarous people can be relied on, it is the genealogy of nations, and even sometimes that of families.

The Picts, during the sixth century, were still in possession of the north of Britain, as is amply attested by the account of St. Columba's journeys among the northern Picts, given by Adomnan in his *Life of St. Columba*. From contemporary writers we learn that they remained in possession of the northern provinces of Britain until their union with the Scots under Kenneth MacAlpin.

Innes states that Tacitus, who gives us the earliest account of the northern parts of Britain, included in Caledonia all the countries to the north of the Friths of Forth and Clyde. He further informs us that "Bede is no less express that the Picts, from their first settlement in Britain, possessed all the northern parts of it beyond the Friths, not only towards the East, but even those parts towards the West, which became afterwards, upon the Scots coming into Britain, their portion or possession."

One of the most explicit accounts of the topography of the country is found in Innes's *Critical Essay*. This includes a lengthy description of the *Grampian Hills*, which Innes states, according to Bede, divided the Picts of the south from those of the north. After citations from various authorities, bringing his account down to about A.D. 800, he sums the whole question up with the statement that "it appears plainly that the Picts remained in possession of the utmost extremities of the north

[1] *History of England*, vol. i., p. 9.

of Scotland as long as their monarchy lasted in their own name."

Of the antiquity of their monarchy, Innes states:

> That the Pictish monarchy in North Britain began at the time of their King Herimon, son to Milesius . . . and that the Picts had seventy kings of their own nation, from Cathluan (so the Irish call the first king) to Constantine, who reigned about the end of the eighth age; about whose time it is probable the *Irish* received this account of the *Pictish* monarchy whilst it subsisted as yet in splendour. * * * * * *
>
> But, for a further proof that what is advanced by the *Irish* antiquaries of the antiquity of the monarchy and number of the *Pictish* kings in *Britain*, was no invention of the Irish bards, but the *Picts'* own opinion of themselves, there is still extant an abstract of an ancient chronicle of the *Picts*, under this title, *Chronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum*, which agrees entirely with the account that the *Irish* give of them, both as to the number of LXX kings before *Constantine*, and as to the antiquity of the Pictish monarchy in *Britain*, and differs only in one name; that whereas this chronicle, and all the *Scottish* writers, call the first king of the *Picts*, *Cruithne*, the *Irish* call him *Cathluan*, which may be only two names for the same person, as the patriarch of the *Irish*, *Milesius*, was otherwise called *Gallamb* or *Gollamb*. . . . In this ancient piece or chronicle of the *Picts*, after a preface taken for the most part from *Isidore* of *Sevile's* book of Origines, there is a series or succession of the *Pictish* kings, containing seventy kings to Constantine with the years of their reigns; which all summed up, amount to at least ten or eleven centuries before the incarnation, which is the date the *Irish* commonly give to the beginning of *Herimon* their first king of *Ireland*, during whose reign they assure us, that the monarchy of the *Picts* in *Britain* was founded. * * * * * *
>
> We do not pretend to give that part of the chronicle of the Picts that passed before the gospel was preached to them, as proper materials to build on it historical facts, or chronological dates; but we give it only as an ancient monument of history, containing the tradition of that once famous people, concerning the antiquity of their settlement and monarchy in *Britain*, before whom there's no memory of any known inhabitants of the north of *Britain*, nor any certain *Epoch* of their beginning or settlement there; but reaching up into the dark ages of the depth of antiquity, they may, for what they can show to the contrary, contend in the antiquity of settlement and monarchical government with any nation in Europe. And even as to the number of their seventy kings, I do not see but that might have been preserved by tradition, without the use of letters.[1]

According to Innes, there are also catalogues of the *Pictish* kings from the *Scottish* writers, and the accounts they give of the names, numbers, and lengths of reign may be attributed to two

[1] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., pp. 102–110.

principal sources, the *Register of St. Andrews* and *Fordun*. In his opinion, however, there are two reasons which render the account of the succession of the Pictish kings, as given in the "*Chronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum*," preferable to either the *Register of St. Andrews* or *Fordun*, namely:

1st, because as I have already observed, the abstract seems plainly to have been taken from the chronicles of the *Picts* themselves, written whilst their monarchy and nation subsisted as yet by itself, and under their own name in *Britain;* so 'tis more ancient than any accounts that the *Scottish* writers give of them and nearer the times.

2d, because the accounts given of the *Pictish* kings, and their chronology in this abstract, in the times posterior to their receiving Christianity, with the use of letters, agree much better than those given by the *Scots*, with all that is recorded of the *Picts* in other ancient *British* writers that mention them. (P. 110.)

Innes did not credit this chronicle in its entirety, for, while showing that "Piece No. II" agrees in detail with other ancient MSS. and chronicles, he says:

But, as it hath been said, this ought to be understood only of the latter part of this chronicle, to wit, the succession of their kings, since their conversion to Christianity, in the fifth and sixth ages. For as to the first part of this chronicle, containing the succession of the Pictish kings before the incarnation, and even what passed after the incarnation, down till the reign of *Durst*, son of *Irb*, in the beginning of the fifth age, that first part I say, cannot be looked upon as a sufficient ground of history. 1st, because we have no assurance that the *Picts* had the use of letters among them before their conversion to Christianity; and what certainty can be expected of dates and particular facts past the memory of men, without the use of letters? So all that we can rely upon in the first part of that abstract is the number of LXX kings before *Constantine*, as we remarked already, and at most their names, but not the dates or years of their reigns. (P. 115.)

SERIES OR SUCCESSION OF THE PICTISH KINGS [1]

Series or Succession of the Pictish Kings, according to the Abstract of their Chronicles, set down in the Appendix, Number 2, under the Title it bears in the MS. of CRONICA DE ORIGINE ANTIQUORUM PICTORUM.[2]

First Part.

	Kings' Names	*Reigned*
1.	Cruidne, or Cruithne, son of Cinge, or Kinne, father of the Picts dwelling in this island	100 years
2.	Circui	60 "
3.	Fidaich	40 "

[1] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., p. 134.

[2] These lists are given because of their antiquarian interest.

	Kings' Names	*Reigned*
4.	Forteim	70 years
5.	Floclaid	30 "
6.	Got	12 "
7.	Ce i.e. Cecircum	15 "
8.	Fibaid (a)	24 "

Note (*a*) All these seven are in the abstract called sons, which may be understood descendants, of Cruithne: but supposing they were all sons of Cruithne, it follows that they must have all reigned at the same time with him, and have had different portions of Albany assigned to each of them under their father, as *reguli*, princes or governors each of a province; and so of the seven provinces into which Albany was anciently divided, according to the old description of it set down in the appendix, n. 1.

9.	Gedeolgudach	80 years
10.	Denbacan	100 "
11.	Olfinecta	60 "
12.	Guididgaedbrecach	50 "
13.	Gestgurtich	40 "
14.	Wurgest	30 "
15.	Brudebout (a)	48 "

Note (*a*) The MS. adds that from this *Brudebout* there descended thirty kings of the name of *Brude*, who reigned during 150 years in *Ireland* and in *Albany;* their names are set down thus, *Brude Pant*, *Brude Urpant*, *Brude Leo*, *Brude Uleo*, *Brude Gant*, *Brude Urgant*, and the rest that may be seen in the piece itself in the appendix.

16.	Gilgidi	101 years
17.	Tharan	100 "
18.	Morleo	15 "
19.	Deocilunan	40 "
20.	Cimoiod fil. Arcois	7 "
21.	Deord	50 "
22.	Blicibliterth	5 "
23.	Dectoteric frater Diu	40 "
24.	Usconbuts	30 "
25.	Carvorst	40 "
26.	Deoartavois	20 "
27.	Uist	50 "
28.	Ru	100 "
29.	Gartnaithboc	4 "
30.	Vere	9 "
31.	Breth. fil. Buthut	7 "

	Kings' Names	*Reigned*
32.	Vipoignamet	30 years
33.	Canutulachama	4 "
34.	Wradech vechla	2 "
35.	Garnaichdi uber	60 "
36.	Talore filius Achivir	75
37.	Drust fil. Erp	

Both the abstract and copy of *St. Andrew's* have *Drust fil. Erp or Urb. regn*, or *rexit C. Annis & bella peregit; . . . Drust* or *Durst, fil. Urb.* or *Irb. 100 an. vixit, & 100 bella peregit.* And *Fordun* adds, that he reigned only forty-five years; according to which, summing up the reigns of the other *Pictish* kings, as they are set down exactly in the abstract, from the year of Christ 565, concurring with the ninth of the reign of *Brude* son of *Meilochon* (which is the *Aera* by which all the reigns of these kings are to be regulated) according to *Fordun's* account, I say, which assigns forty-five years to the reign of this *Durst;* the beginning of it will answer to the year 406, and it will end A.D. 451, when he was succeeded by *Talore* or *Talarg* son of *Amyl.*

By this calculation it appears that it was during the reign of this *Durst*, that the gospel was first preached to the *Picts* by *St. Ninian*, in the beginning of the fifth century, and afterwards by *St. Palladius* and *St. Patrick* to the *Scots* and *Irish*, betwixt A.D. 430 and 440: and here ends the first part of the abstract of the Pictish chronicle which contains the account of the succession of their kings in the times of ignorance, preceding their conversion to Christianity, when 'tis like they first received the use of letters. So 'tis no wonder that this first part of the abstract is not conformable to the rules of chronology, with which the first compilers of it were probably very little acquainted, besides the many errors occasioned by the negligence or ignorance of transcribers. For these reasons, as I have already remarked, I have not attempted to reduce this first part to the order of chronology, as I am about to do the second, which is an easy work, being entirely conformable to the rules of chronology, and all we meet with in history concerning the *Picts.*

Second Part.

	Kings' Names	*Began to Reign*	*Reigned*
37.	Drust, fil. Erp or Irb	406	45
38.	Talore fil. Aniel	451	4
39.	Necton Morbet fil. Erp	455	25
40.	Drest Gurthinmoth	480	30
41.	Galanau etelich	510	12
42.	Dadrest	522	1
43.	Drest fil. Gyrom	523	1
	Drest fil. Udrost ..... reigned together	524	5
	Drest fil. Gyrom solus	529	5
44.	Gartnach fil. Gyrom	534	7

	Kings' Names	*Began to Reign*	*Reigned*
45.	Cealtraim fil. Gyrom	541	1
46.	Talorg fil. Muircholaich	542	11
47.	Drest fil. Munait	553	1
48.	Galam cum Aleth	554	1
	cum Brideo	555	1
49.	Bride fil. Mailcon, sive Meilochaon	556	30
50.	Gartnaich fil. Domelch	586	11
51.	Nectan nepos Uerb	597	20
52.	Cineoch fil. Luthrn	617	19
53.	Garnard fil. Wid	636	4
54.	Bridei fil. Wid	640	5
55.	Talore frater eorum	645	12
56.	Talorcan fil. Enfret	657	4
57.	Gartnait fil. Donnel	661	6
58.	Drest frater ejus	667	7
59.	Bridei fil. Bili	674	21
60.	Taran fil. Entisidich	695	4
61.	Bredei fil. Derili	699	11
62.	Necton seu. Naitan fil. Derili	710	15
63.	Drest and Alpin reigned together	725	5
64.	Onnust sive Oengus fil. Urgust sive Fergus	730	31
65.	Bredei fil. Uiurgust	761	2
66.	Kiniod sive Kinoth fil. Wirdech	763	12
67.	Elpin sive Alpin fil. Wroid	775	3½
68.	Drest sive Durst fil. Talorgan	779	4½
69.	Talargan fil. Onnust	783	2½
70.	Canaul fil. Tarla (b)	786	5
	Castantin sive Constantine fil. Urguist sive Fergus	791	30
	Unnust sive Hungus fil. Urguist	821	12
	Drest fil. Constantine & Taloran fil. Uthoil reigned together (c)	833	3
	Uwen fil. Unnust sive Eogan fil. Hungi	836	3
	Wrad fil. Bargoit Keneth MacAlpin Rex Scotorum	839	3
	Bred sive Brude	842	3
	Keneth MacAlpin, king of Albany (d)	843	16

Note (*b*). These are the seventy *Pictish* kings that succeeded one after another from *Cruithne* to *Constantine* mentioned in the most ancient histories of Ireland.

Note (*c*). The *Scottish* catalogues join these two kings' names in one and call him *Durstolorg*, which is a visible error.

Note (*d*). *Keneth MacAlpin* king of *Albany*, having subdued the *Picts*, reigned sixteen years.

The following facsimiles are reproduced from a work

variously attributed to Sir James Balfour and Henry Maule. Much interesting information, not obtained elsewhere, concerning the early history of Scotland, may be found in this work.

Like its author, whether Balfour or Maule, I find myself "involved into such an inextricable labyrinth" as to the origin of the Picts, it is difficult to decide which authority to accept. All the works consulted, however, seem to agree with Innes, that the *Picts* were probably the "very Britains themselves, even the very progeny of the most ancient Britains."

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PICTS
CONTAINING

An account of their Original, Language, Manners, Government, Religion, Bounds and Limits of their Kingdom.

ALSO

Their most Memorable Battles with the *Britains*, *Romans*, *Scots*, *&c.* Untill their Final overthrow and Extirpation. With a Catalogue of their KINGS, and of the *Roman* Governours who fought against them and the *Scots*.

AND AT THE END

Is Added a CLAVIS, Explaining the Proper Names and Difficult Words of the History.

EDINBURGH,

Printed by Mr. *ROBERT FREEBAIRN*, and Sold at his Shop in the Parliament-Closs.
M.D CC. VI.

ADVERTISEMENT

THE Author of this History is not so certainly known, some name Sir *James Balfour* Lyon King at armes in K. *Charles* I. time for the Author of it, Because the original Manuscript in the Lawyers Library at Edinburgh seems to be the same hand with his Annals which unquestionablie is an Autograph But others more probably think that Mr *Henry Maule* of *Melgum* is the Author since he Subscribes his name to the copy of verses which is subjoyned to this. 'T is true they are very general and little could be inferred from them if it were not that they run

run in the ſame ſtrain with the Authors preface. But

The truth is it is of no great importance which of 'em was the Author ſince they were both very learned and worthy Gentle men

I have taken care to compare it exactly with theOriginal and do not queſtion but that it will meet with kind entertainment ſince it bears ſo near a relation to our *Scots* Hiſtory and may be of uſe to any who would do ſome thing more full on the ſubject.

THE HISTORY OF THE PICTS.

CHAP. I.

Opinions, Touching the Original and firſt coming of the Picts *to* North Britain.

HIſtorians for Antiquity; hath next after the *Britains* accounted the *Picts*, who according to the Opinion of *Boethius*, *were a People of* Germany, *now called* Danmark, *and formerly the Nearer Scythia*, who betaking themſelves to Sea, for the Acquiring of a New Habitation, the ſmall Limits of their Ancient Habitation being Peſtered with the multitudes of Vagabounds, and not able neither to contain, nor man

maintain them, did Vomit as it were furth this ſwarm, who cloyed with Ambition of their Ancient Victories, and thirſting after the Glory of a new Conqueſt, did firſt ſhew themſelves to the Southern *Britains*, then to the Inhabitants of the *Hibernian Coaſts*, (impatient of ſuch Neighbours) were by Force, compelled to viſit the North Weſt parts of *Albion* ; who according to the Opinion of ſome, did firſt Settle themſelves in the Iſlands of *Orcades* ; and finding that Compaſs too ſmall a bounds for their boundleſs Ambition, did ſhortly thereafter encroach on the Country of *Cornanani*, & *Catani* (now *Cathnes* & *Sutherland*) from whence ſtill marching foreward, in a ſmall time they became Poſſeſſors of the Neighbouring Countries of *Roſs*, *Murray*, *Buchan*, *Merns* and *Angus*, Driving from thence,, the Nations who did live in Companies together, feeding their Flocks and Herds in the Plains, without Houſes, Strengths or Caſtles; Likeas Now do the Neighbouring *Arabs* of *Palæſtina* and *India*.

Boethius wou'd willingly derive them from the *Agathyrſi Pomponius Lætus* and *Aventinus* from the *Germans* Others from the *Pictones* in *France*, and *Beda* from the *Scythians*. It hapened, (ſaith He) that the Nation of the *Picts* came in long Ships, and theſe not many, out of *Scythia*, as the report goeth, unto *Irland*.

Biſhop *Leſly* a late Writer of our Hiſtory, following the opinion of ſome others, will have the entry of the *Picts* in *Scotland* to be about the 78 year of our Redemption, in the Reign of *Galdus* King of *Scots*, three years before the Emperor *Titus* the Son of *Veſpaſian* ſacked *Jeruſalem*, and in the ſecond year of *Cletus* Biſhop of *Rome*. But anent the preciſe time of their arrival, I find a great difference amongſt Hiſtorians. Each of them

them producing a year after their own Imagination, which Controverſie I will rather ſhun, than with a Multiplying Glaſs, preſs to read the outworn Ciphers of ſo ancient a date, and with *Cambden* content my ſelf that they have written ſo.

Tacitus, in the Life of his Father in Law *Agricola*, affirms the Original of the *Scots* to be from *Spain*, and of the PICTS from *Germany*.

Others again looking further back into times paſt, will have them to be the Remainder of the Ancient *Hunns*, (whereof great Inundations did overwhelm all *Italy*,) who expelled from their own Country and ſeeking new Habitations, did Plant their Armys, then their Colonies in *Britain*.

I for my part in ſo great variety of Opinions, being involed into ſuch an Inextricable Labryinth, ſcarce knowing which of them to follow, (yet that I may ſpeak, what I ſuppoſe to be true, and deliver my own Judgment,) were it not that in this point the Authorities of Venerable *Beda* and learned *Boethius*, did overweigh the Conjecturs of all others, I would aſſuredly with *Cambden*, think that the PICTS came from no other place at all, but were the very natural *Britains* themſelves, even the right progeny of the moſt ancient *Britains*. Thoſe *Britains* I mean, and none other, who before the coming of the *Romans* were ſettled in the North part of the *Iſlands*, and of thoſe who afterwards caſting off the Yoke of Bondage, as they are a Nation moſt impatient of ſervility, repaired into thoſe of the North; Likeas when the *Saxons*, overcame the *Iſle*, thoſe *Britains* which would not forgo their Liberty, convoyed themſelves into the Weſtern pars of the *Iſland*, full of Craggie Hills, as *Wales*

Wales and *Cornwel*, even ſo doubtleſs, when the *Roman* War grew hot, the *Britains*, leſt they ſhould undergo ſervitude, (which is of all miſeries the extreameſt) got them unto our Northern parts, Frozen with the bitter Cold in Winter, full of rough and rugged paſſages, full of Lakes, Vaſhes, and ſtanding Meeres, where being armed, not ſo much with Weapons, as with the ſharp Air and Climat they grew up with the Native Inhabitants, which they here found, unto a mighty and Populous Nation. For *Tacitus* reporteth, that the Ruines of the *Romans*, were by his Wife's Father *Agricola* driven into this part, as it were into an other *Iſland*. And no doubt, but *Britains* they were that Inhabited the moſt remote parts of this *Iſland*, for ſhall we dream, that all thoſe *Britains*, Enemies to the *Romans*, which brought out thirty thouſand Armed Men into the Field, againſt *Agricola*, who gave unto the Emperor *Severus*, ſo many overthrows, that of the *Romans* and Aſſociates, he loſt in one Expedition and journey ſeventy Thouſand, being Killed every Mothers Son, and none left for Seed nor Procreation, that they might give room to Foreigners out of *Scythia* and *Cimbria*; ſo far am I from believing of this, altho *Boethius*, *Leſly* and *Beda* have writen ſo, by relation from others, and upon Truſt; that I wou'd rather affirm, they were ſo multiplied that the very Soil was not able either to retain or receive them, and were inforc'd therefore to overflow the *Roman* Province, as we know it came to paſs, when the *Romans* came in among them.

But becauſe *Boethius*, hath writen, and *Beda* alſo, as others at that time reported, I may with *Cambden* and *Speed*, be eaſily brought to believe that ſome alſo, out of *Scandia* call'd

> call'd in times paſt *Scythia*, (as all the Northeren tract beſide) came by the *Iſles*, that by a continued tract lyes between, unto our Northern *Britains*, yet leſt any man ſhould think that I imagine to countenance a Fable carrying a likelyhood and probability of Truth; Me thinks I am able to prove that the *PICTS* were very *Britains* indeed, by Demeanour, Name and Language, of *PICTS*, where in the following Chapter, we ſhall ſee that they agree paſſing well with *Britains*.

Several pages are devoted to a discussion of the similarity of the names found among the Picts, with those of British origin; as, for example, *Aberdeen*, *Aberdore*, *Abernethy*, signifying the *mouth of the Dee*, *the mouth of Dore*, *the mouth of Neth*, from the British word *Aber*, the *mouth of* a river. He also cites the names of *Strathern*, *Strathdee*, *Strathbogie*, signifying the *Valley of the Earn*, *the Valley of the Dee* and the *Valley of Bogie*, from the British word *Strath*, a *Vallie*.

> The Cauſe wherefore we draw not many proofs from the Language is this, for that the *PICTS* Tongue, there can be ſcarce two words gathered out of Authors, yet me thinks that it ſeemeth to be the ſame with the *Britiſh*.

Of the origin of the Picts and the antiquity of their monarchy, one of the best accounts found is contained in *Maioris Historia Britanniæ*, more generally known through the English edition under the title of *John Major's History of Greater Britain*.

The following facsimile is taken from the original Latin edition, printed in 1521. The English edition, published for the Scottish History Society (Vol. X), was translated from the original, and edited by Archibald Constable, with a prefatory *Life of Major* by Æneas J. G. Mackay. The facsimile will be of interest to those familiar with this style of type, but the English translation is given for the benefit of those who may require it:

Picti.

NVnc Scotos Hibernicos in Hiberniam insulam missos, transeamus, & de Pictis qui scdm regnum in Britannia post Britones obtinuerunt, & scdm verã hiſtoriam ante Scotos, paululum loquamur. Vt igitur venerabilis Beda ait pri. lib. hiſtoriæ eccleſiæ gentis Anglorũ primo capite. Picti de Scythia (vt perhibẽt) longis nauibus nõ multis Oceanũ ingreſſi, flatu ventorum extra omnes fines Britãnię ad Hiberniam peruenerũt, atq; inuẽta ibi Scotorum gẽte ſibi quoq; in partibus illius ſedes petiſſe nec impetrare potuiſſe. Sed Pictis (inquiunt Scoti) poſſumus vobis cõſilium dare quid agere valeatis. Nouimus inſulam aliã eſſe nõ procul a noſtra contra ortum ſolis quã ſępe lucidis diebus procul aſpicere ſolemus, hãc adire ſi vultis habitabilẽ vobis facere valebitis. Nã ſi quí reſtiterint, nobis auxiliariis omnia pro voto vobis ſuccedẽt, faciẽtes ſcdm deuerbiũ cõmune, qui tibi in ſua domo renuit hoſpitium in domo vicina hoſpitium laudat, vt abs te libere tur. Itaq; perentes Britanniam Picti, habitare per ſeptentrionales inſulę partes cœperunt ad orientem. Nam Auſtrinam Britones occupauerunt. Cũq; vxores Picti nõ haberẽt, petierũt a Scotis, q eas hac ſolũ cõditione dare cõſenſerũt, vt vbi res veniret in dubiũ magis de fœminea regũ proſapia q̃ de maſculina regẽ ſibi eligerent, quod vſq; hodie apud Pictos cõſtat eſſe ſeruatũ. Dicebantur hi Picti quia eleganti forma & prętanti corpore erant, vel quia veſtibus coloris varii tanq̃ depictis vulgo vtebantur.

Adagiũ vulgatũ.

Pictorum reginę.

Nomen vnde.

Quomodo in Britanniã Scoti primo deuenerunt. Cap. XI.

Leaving the Scotch-Irish, by this time established in Ireland, let us pass to a brief consideration of the Picts, who followed the Britons, and so were the second to establish in Britain a royal power—according to authentic history, even before the Scots. According to the Venerable Bede, in the first chapter of the first book of his Ecclesiastical History of the English people, the Picts, by their own account, sailing out upon the ocean in a few ships of war were driven so far before a gale that they passed the confines of Britain and reached the Irish coast.

Finding the Scots already in possession, they sought permission to establish themselves in that region, but were unsuccessful. The Scots, however, made reply to them as follows: "We can give you some advice as to what you may be able to do. We know that there is an island lying not far from us toward the east, for we can frequently discern it in the distance on clear days. If you wish to journey thither, you will be able to secure homes for yourselves. For even if any should resist you, with our assistance everything will succeed according to your pleasure"—acting thereby in accordance with the old proverb: "Whosoever refuses you his own hospitality, praises that of his neighbour, that he may be free of you." Hence the Picts sought the Island of Britain, and finding the Britons in occupation of the southern part, began to establish themselves throughout the north-eastern.

In further support of the assertion that the Picts are "the very Britains themselves," I quote from William Camden's *Britannia; or a Chorographical Description of Greater Britain and Ireland*,[1] first published in 1586 in Latin, which became an authority on the dates and matters treated. The following quotation has been taken from the English translation, in two volumes, by Edmund Gibson. The principal authorities quoted, and those upon whom Camden relied for his data, are Isodorus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Tacitus, Bede and Boece; his conclusion being that the Picts "were not transplanted from any other country, but were originally Britains:"

Lest anyone should imagine that I suffer myself to be impos'd on by a specious lie; I think I can show from the manners, name, and language of the Picts (in all which they will appear to agree with our Britains) that they were the very Britains themselves. . . . Without observing that neither the Picts (according to Bede) nor the Britains (according to Tacitus) made any distinction of Sex in point of Government, or excluded the Females from the Crown; it is certain that the fashion of painting and daubing themselves with colours, was common to both nations. . . . Isidorus is no less clear in this matter. The name of the Picts answers their body; because they squeeze out the juice of herbs, and imprint it on their

[1] P. cxxxviii.

bodies by pricking their skins with a needle; so that the spotted nobility bear these scars in their painted limbs, as a badge of honour. But how can we imagine that these Picts were Germans, who never had any such way of painting among them? Or that they were the Agathyrsi of Thrace, a people so far off; and not rather the very Britains, seeing they were in the same island and had the very same custom of painting?

As will be seen by the various quotations from the old chronicles, and even those of more modern times, the language of the Picts did not survive after their union with the Scots. All works consulted have uniformly stated that there has never existed a *written* Pictish language, and that prior to this union with the Scots, during the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin, in A.D. 843, the Picts were a race inferior to the Scots in education and religious culture, a fact that largely accounts for their subjection by the Scots and their loss of identity as a separate nation.

In the following quotation, Camden is well agreed with other writers that there has never been a written Pictish language:

> The reason why there are not more arguments from the language of the Picts, is, because there is hardly a syllable of it to be found in any Author; however, it seems to have been the same with the British. . . . From what has been said, we may reasonably infer that the language of the Picts was not different from that of the Britains; and therefore that the nations themselves were not different.[1]
>
> Those of the South were converted to Christianity by Ninia or Ninianus the Britain, a most holy man, about the year 430; but those of the North (who were separated from the others by a craggy ridge of high mountains) were converted by Columbanus, an Irish Scot, and a monk of extraordinary sanctity in the year 565. . . . At last they (the Picts, G.) were so overpowered by the Scots flowing in upon them from Ireland, that being defeated in a bloody engagement about the year 740 they were either quite extinguished, or did slide by little and little into the name and nation of the Scots.[2]

It is equally true that the people of early Britain took the same course as the Picts, and, being merged into their conquering races, ceased to exist as "*Britains*."

The origin of the Scots is as uncertain as that of the Picts. There are, of course, many theories advanced by the early writers, as well as those of more modern times, as to the origin of this people before their arrival in Hibernia. If, as stated by

[1] *Britannia*, p. cxxxix.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. cxli.

John Major, the Picts found the Scots in possession of Hibernia, when they asked for hospitality there, and were advised to seek the coast of the eastern land, it may well be assumed that the arrival of the Scots in the island antedated the Christian era, for Agricola found the Picts in possession of Caledonia in the first century. He not only found them in possession, but so well established, that they defied the advance of the Roman army until the time of Severus in the third century. In the following quotations from Duncan McCallum, Pinkerton and other well-known writers on the subject, while their various opinions do not agree particularly as to dates and matters of minor importance, in one respect they are unanimous—that the Scots are of Celtic origin.

McCallum states that they were a colony from Gaul, and that of all the people who first inhabited the British Isles, they alone retained the name of the people whence they sprang; *i.e.*, Gauil, Gauls, contracted to Gael:

> The Gauls were a powerful branch of the Celtæ—the first great nation who came from the East and first peopled the Western world. They appeared in the West of Europe at the dawn of history, beyond which no record of them need be looked for. But their language conveyed their history to posterity. It is the oldest in Europe and in all probability as old as any in the world. The Celtic is yet spoken in different kingdoms in the old world and in parts of the new.[1]

According to McCallum, this colony of Gauls, when they beheld the cliffs of southern Britain rising high above the waves, called the country *Breatun*, a name it has always retained. The colonists, by attaching the suffix *ich* to the word *Breatun*, styled themselves *Breatunich* or *Britons*. Those colonists who landed on the northern coast called the country *Albin*, on seeing its lofty mountains. In like manner they became *Albanich*,—*Albanians*.

In further support of his theory, McCallum states:

> Let it be observed then that the Britons were at first the colonies from Gaul who inhabited the south of the Island; and the Gauil, Gael, those who went to the north. The Romans called the whole island Britannia, hence North and South Britain. The Greeks inserting the letter *o* pronounced Albin—Albion, and extended it to the whole islands now called Great Britain. . . . More than one colony passed over to Ireland, as all know the

[1] *History of the Ancient Scots*, p. 9.

first inhabitants of the Western Isle consisted of those who, like the Breatunich took their name from Erin, as the Firbolg from the Belgians, who retained their name. . . . That the ancient Scots were of Celtic origin is past all doubt. Their conformity with the ancient nations, in language, manners and religion, proves it to full demonstration. The Celtæ, the great and mighty people, altogether distinct from the Goths and Teutones, extended their dominions over all the West of Europe, but seem to have had their most full and complete establishment in Gaul. . . . We find the Gael mentioned under the sobriquet *Scots* in the third century, and in the fourth frequently, when the meaning of the term was unknown or forgotten; but the name of Scotland scarcely appears in any approved historian before the sixth. From that time the country became known to foreigners as Scotia, and the whole kingdom has been denominated Scotland for the space of a thousand years: but the Gaelic Scots still call it Albin.[1]

Although mingling with other nations, and hearing other languages, the Celts always spoke their own, with the result that traces of the Celtic language are to be found in all places inhabited by them for any length of time. McCallum states that their "descriptive copious language left monuments on land and water more durable than brass; their topographical names have remained after the lapse of ages and revolution of empires."[2]

It is generally conceded by historians and antiquarians that when Ireland was first known to the Romans, the Scots were in possession of the country and were ruling the descendants of the original inhabitants. From these Ireland finally took the name of Scotia.

The name *Scot* was first used historically by Ammianus Marcellinus in 360, while the name *Hibernia* is found for the first time in the work of Isidore of Seville, *Origin of Races*, A.D. 580.

The names, *Scotia* and *Scotland*, were not applied to that part of the island now called *Scotland* until after the tenth century. In support of this Pinkerton states:

The truth is . . . that from the fourth century to the eleventh, the name *Scotia* and *Scoti* belonged solely to Ireland and the Irish. In the reign of Malcolm II. . . . say about the year 1020, the name Scotia was

[1] *History of the Ancient Scots*, p. 22 *et seq.*

[2] A special effort has recently been made, by friends of the Celtic tongue on both sides of the water, to raise a fund sufficient to maintain schools in Ireland for the instruction of the youth in this language. Considerable progress seems to have been already made, and Celtic will no doubt be a part of the education of future generations in Ireland and Scotland.

first applied to North Britain; but from its first appearance to that time, it belonged to Ireland alone.[1]

He adds that all writers—English, Scottish and Irish—from Bede down to the time of his own work (1814), agree that the ancient Scots of North Britain were a colony from Ireland. He also claims that in all ages the Scottish Highlanders are agreed, and the Lowlanders from Barbour in 1375 down, that the language of the Highlanders is *Irish*, *Erish* or *Erse*. Continuing the subject, and in further explanation, he says:

> That the name *Scotia*, or *Scotland*, originally belonged to Ireland, and continued to belong to that country alone, till a late period, begins now to be acknowledged even by the most prejudiced Scottish writers. This fact clearly appears from the following numerous authorities, while that the names *Scoti*, *Scotia*, were ever applied to the present Scots and Scotland before the reign of Malcolm II., or beginning of the eleventh century, not *one* authority can be produced.
>
> The first mention of the name *Piks* is by Eumenius the panegyrist, who says . . . that before the time of Julius Cæsar, Britain, that is, the part of Britain south of Forth and Clyde, or Roman Britain, was only invaded by the Piks and Irish, *Pictis modo et Hibernis*. This was written in the year 296; and the name of Scots was still unknown. For as the Britons before they knew the indigenal appellation of the Piks termed them Caledonians, so before they knew the indigenal name of that superior people in Ireland, whose warlike spirit burst upon them, they called them *Hiberni* or *Irish* from the name of the island.[2]

Pinkerton devotes many pages to an account of the different names which have been given to Ireland and Scotland, and most historians and antiquarians now agree with him on this subject.

That the reader may benefit by the opinions of various writers on this subject, and the diverse views taken by them with regard to the origin of the Picts and the Scots, among others I quote from *An Introduction to the History and Antiquities of Scotland* by W. Goodal, London, 1769, (pp. 70–3) as follows:

> The Scots call their language the Gallic, and with great justice, as Edward Lhuyd has observed. . . . What time the Scots first arrived in Britain, is uncertain; however, it is probable that they were the first inhabitants, because they adopted the ancient name of the island for their own, calling their country Albin, and themselves Albniach, from Albion; which

[1] *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 58.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 223 *et seq.*

scarcely would have happened had they succeeded any other inhabitants in the island, after that name had been abolished. . . . For, that Ireland did not give colonies to Britain, but received them from it, seems clear from the very situation of the islands.

Referring again to Camden's *Britannia*,[1] we find that he, as well as Pinkerton, favoured the idea of the Scots coming from Scythia, although he admits they may have been "transplanted from Spain into Ireland," citing many authorities to prove his conclusions:

The place among the British nations, next to the *Picts*, is in justice due to the *Scots;* but before I proceed (lest some spiteful and ill-natur'd persons should misconstrue those things for calumny, which with all sincerity I have collected out of ancient writers concerning them) I must caution the Reader, once for all, that every word is to be understood of the old, true, and genuine Scots; whose posterity are those that speak Irish, possessing for a long way together that tract which we now call the West part of Scotland and the Islands thereabouts; and who are commonly term'd *Highland-men*. For the more civilised who inhabit the East part of the country, though adopted into that name, are not really Scots, but of the same German original with us English.

But to proceed; Orosius likewise writes: "Ireland is peopled by nations of the Scots. Agreeable to which is that of Isidore. Scotland and Ireland are the same; but it is called Scotland because it is peopled by nations of the Scots." Bede also, "The Scots, who inhabit Ireland, an island next to Britain." Thus also Giraldus Cambrensis, "That the Scotch nation is the offspring of Ireland, is sufficiently prov'd by the resemblance of Language and Dress, as well as of arms and customs, continu'd to this day. . . . Since these things are so, I desire it may be enquir'd by the Scots, whether they were not so call'd by their neighbours, *quasi Scythæ*. For, as the Low-Dutch call both *Scythians* and *Scots* by one name, *Scutten;* so it may be observed from the British writers, that our Britains likewise called both of them *Y-Scot*. Ninnius also expressly calls the British inhabitants of Ireland, *Scythæ*, and Gildas calls that Sea which they pass'd over out of Ireland into Britain, *Vallia Scythica*.

One of the highest authorities among the more modern writers on the ancient history of Ireland is Thomas D'Arcy McGee. In quoting from him it will be seen that he agrees with the old authorities as to Celtic rule in Ireland and Scotland:[2]

Who were the first inhabitants of this Island, it is impossible to say, but we know it was inhabited at a very early period of the world's lifetime—

[1] Vol. i., Pp. cxliii–cxlv.
[2] *History of Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 2–5.

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probably as early as the time when Solomon the Wise sat in Jerusalem on the throne of his father David. As we should not altogether reject, though neither are we bound to believe the wild and uncertain traditions of which we have neither documentary nor monumental evidence, we will glance over rapidly what the old Bards and Story-tellers have handed down to us concerning Ireland before it became Christian.

The *first* story they tell is, that about three hundred years after the Universal Deluge, Partholan, of the stock of Japhet, sailed down the Mediterranean "leaving Spain on the right hand" and holding bravely on his course, reached the shores of the wooded Western Island. . . . The story of the *second* immigration is almost as vague as that of the first. The leader this time is called Nemedh, and his route is described as leading from the shores of the Black Sea, across what is now Russia in Europe, to the Baltic Sea, and from the Baltic to Ireland. He is said to have built two royal forts, and to have "cleared twelve plains of wood" while in Ireland. . . .

The Firbolgs or Belgæ are the *third* immigration. They were victorious under their chiefs, the five sons of Dela, and divided the island into five portions. . . . Another expedition, claiming descent from the common ancestor, Nemedh, arrived to contest their supremacy. These last—the *fourth* immigration—are depicted to us as accomplished soothsayers and necromancers who came out of Greece. They could quell storms; cure diseases; work in metals; foretell future events; forge magical weapons; and raise the dead to life; they are called the *Tuatha de Danans*, and by their supernatural power as well as by virtue of the "Lia Fail," or fabled "stone of destiny,"[1] they subdued their Belgic kinsmen, and exercised sovereignty over them, till they in turn were displaced by the Gaelic, or *fifth* immigration.

This *fifth* and final colony called themselves alternately, or at different periods of their history, *Gael*, from one of their remote ancestors; *Milesians*, from the immediate projector of their emigration; or *Scoti*, from Scota, the mother of Milesius. They came from Spain under the leadership of the sons of Milesius, whom they had lost during their temporary sojourn in that country. In vain the skilful *Tuatha* surrounded themselves and their coveted island with magic-made tempest and terrors; in vain they reduced it in size so as to be almost invisible from sea; Amergin, one of the sons of Milesius, was a Druid skilled in all the arts of the east, and led by his wise counsels, his brothers countermined the magicians, and beat them at their own weapons. This Amergin was, according to universal usage in ancient times, at once Poet, Priest, and Prophet; yet when his warlike brethren divided the island between them, they left the Poet out of the reckoning. He was finally drowned in the waters of the river Avoca, which is probably the reason why that river has been so suggestive of melody and song ever since.

Such are the stories told of the five successive hordes of adventurers who first attempted to colonise our wooded Island; whatever moiety of

[1] See Chapter XII.

truth may be mixed up with so many fictions two things are certain, that long before the time when our Lord and Saviour came upon earth, the coasts and harbours of Erin were known to the merchants of the Mediterranean, and that from the first to the fifth Christian century, the warriors of the wooded Isle made inroads on the Roman power in Britain and even in Gaul. Agricola, the Roman governor of Britain in the reign of Domitian —the first century—retained an Irish chieftain about his person, and we are told by his biographer that an invasion of Ireland was talked of at Rome. But it never took place; the Roman eagles, although supreme for four centuries in Britain, never crossed the Irish Sea; and we are thus deprived of those Latin helps to our early history, which are so valuable in the first period of the histories of every western country with which the Romans had anything to do.

Since we have no Roman accounts of the form of government or state of society in ancient Erin, we must only depend on the Bards and Storytellers, so far as their statements are credible and agree with each other. On certain main points they do agree, and these are the points which it seems reasonable for us to take on their authority.

As even brothers born of the same mother, coming suddenly into possession of a prize, will struggle to see who can get the largest share, so we find in those first ages a constant succession of armed struggles for power. The petty Princes who divided the Island between them were called *Righ*, a word which answers to the Latin *Rex* and French *Roi;* the chief king or monarch was called *Ard-Righ* or High-King.

In addition to the authors already quoted, there are many in agreement as to the identity of the Celtic (the Gaelic of more modern times) with the Irish language. The Scottish people seem to have preferred the word Gaelic to Celtic, with the result that there are three names for the one language, namely, *Celtic*, *Gaelic* and *Irish*. The first dictionaries published in Scotland of the so-called *Gaelic* language were written in the 18th century.

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (ed. 1886) states that "Their language, Gaedhelic, was the ancient form of the Irish of Ireland, and the Gaelic of the Scottish Highlanders." W. C. Mackenzie[1] thinks that "In works of the seventh to the twelfth century, the names Scotia and Scotti apply almost exclusively to Ireland and the Irish, while Scotland, or the northern part of it, prior to the final domination of the Scots over the Picts in the ninth century, was known as Alba or Albyn." He adds: "Whatever affinities linked the Picts with the Scots, a common language was not one of the factors in the bond."

[1] *Short History of the Scottish Highlands*, p. 26.

In confirmation of the previous quotations, no more reliable authority can be found than the Venerable Bede, who gives perhaps the most dependable account of the origin of the Picts and Scots. He, living and writing in the eighth century, was in far closer touch with all sources of information than any other writers dealing with the same subject. The period of his labours closely preceded the union of the two races under Kenneth MacAlpin. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, continuing his account, is a narrative written at different dates, and in the Anglo-Saxon language, of the most important events in English history, beginning with the year 1154. As will be seen, the following facsimiles are taken from the only English edition obtainable, namely, that published in London in 1892:

THE

VENERABLE BEDE'S

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF ENGLAND.

ALSO THE

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

WITH

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES, A MAP OF ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND,
AND A GENERAL INDEX.

EDITED

BY J. A. GILES, D.C.L.,

LATE FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTIE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

LONDON:
GEORGE BELL & SONS, YORK ST., COVENT GARDEN,
AND NEW YORK.
1892.

AIN, an island in the ocean,* formerly called Albion, uated between the north and west, facing, though at a derable distance, the coasts of Germany, France, and n, which form the greatest part of Europe. It extends miles in length towards the north, and is 200 miles in dth, except where several promontories extend further readth, by which its compass is made to be 3675 miles.† the south, as you pass along the nearest shore of the ic Gaul, the first place in Britain which opens to the eye, e city of Rutubi Portus, by the English corrupted into tacestir.‡ The distance from hence acr es the sea to Ges- acum,§ the nearest shore of the Morini, is fifty miles, or as e writers say, 450 furlongs. On the back of the island, re it opens upon the boundless ocean, it has the islands d Orcades. Britain excels for grain and trees, and is adapted for feeding cattle and beasts of burden. It produces vines in some places, and has plenty of land water-fowls of several sorts; it is remarkable also for rs abounding in fish, and plentiful springs. It has the atest plenty of salmon and eels; seals are also frequently en, and dolphins, as also whales; besides many sorts of l-fish, such as muscles, in which are often found excellent

pearls of all colours, red, purple, violet, and green, mostly white. There is also a great abundance of cockles, which the scarlet dye is made; a most beautiful colour, wh never fades with the heat of the sun or the washing of rain; but the older it is, the more beautiful it becomes. has both salt and hot springs, and from them flow riv which furnish hot baths, proper for all ages and sex and arranged according. For water, as St. Basil sa receives the heating quality, when it runs along cert metals, and becomes not only hot but scalding. Brit has also many veins of metals, as copper, iron, lead, a silver; it has much and excellent jet, which is black a sparkling, glittering at the fire, and when heated, dri away serpents; being warmed with rubbing, it holds f whatever is applied to it, like amber. The island was f merly embellished with twenty-eight noble cities, besides numerable castles, which were all strongly secured with wa towers, gates, and locks. And, from its lying almost un the North Pole, the nights are light in summer, so that midnight the beholders are often in doubt whether the ev ing twilight still continues, or that of the morning is comi on; for the sun, in the night, returns under the ear through the northern regions at no great distance from the For this reason the days are of a great length in summer, on the contrary, the nights are in winter, for the sun th withdraws into the southern parts, so that the nights eighteen hours long. Thus the nights are extraordinar short in summer, and the days in winter, that is, of only equinoctial hours. Whereas, in Armenia, Macedonia, Ita and other countries of the same latitude, the longest day night extends but to fifteen hours, and the shortest to nine

This island at present, following the number of the bo in which the Divine law was written, contains five natio the English, Britons, Scots,* Picts,† and Latins, each in

The expression, "an island in the ocean," seems to be used to dis- ish Britain from the other islands known to the ancients, almost all o h were in the Mediterranean sea.

This total varies in different authors: some make it 4875. The first pages of Bede are of not much value, being copied out of Pliny, Soli- and other Roman authors. See the Appendix to my History of the ient Britons.

Richborough, Kent. § Boulogne.

* The *Scots* were the relatives of the Cymri, being another branch of great Celtic nation, who, at a period far beyond all authentic hist had established themselves in Hibernia, Erin, or Ireland. Hence island, from its predominant population, was generally called Scotia Insula Scotorum, by the writers of the sixth and seventh centuries. name of *Scotia*, or Scotland, as applied to the northern portion of Brit is comparatively of modern origin.

† The original of the *Picts*, has caused various opinions. Hector

peculiar dialect cultivating the sublime study of Divine
h. The Latin tongue is, by the study of the Scriptures,
me common to all the rest. At first this island had no
r inhabitants but the Britons, from whom it derived its
e, and who, coming over into Britain, as is reported,
n Armorica, possessed themselves of the southern parts
eof. When they, beginning at the south, had made
nselves masters of the greatest part of the island, it hap-
d, that the nation of the Picts, from Scythia, as is re-
ed, putting to sea, in a few long ships, were driven by
winds beyond the shores of Britain, and arrived on the
hern coasts of Ireland, where, finding the nation of the
s, they begged to be allowed to settle among them, but
d not succeed in obtaining their request. Ireland is the
test island next to Britain, and lies to the west of it;
as it is shorter than Britain to the north, so, on the other
l, it runs out far beyond it to the south, opposite to the
hern parts of Spain, though a spacious sea lies between
n. The Picts, as has been said, arriving in this island
ea, desired to have a place granted them in which they
ht settle. The Scots answered that the island could not
ain them both; but "We can give you good advice,"
they, "what to do; we know there is another island,
far from ours, to the eastward, which we often see at a
nce, when the days are clear. If you will go thither,
will obtain settlements; or, if they should oppose you,
shall have our assistance." The Picts, accordingly, sail-
over into Britain, began to inhabit the northern parts
eof, for the Britons were possessed of the southern.
v the Picts had no wives, and asked them of the Scots;
would not consent to grant them upon any other terms,
that when any difficulty should arise, they should choose
ng from the female royal race rather than from the male:
ch custom, as is well known, has been observed among
Picts to this day. In process of time, Britain, besides
Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots,

derives them from the Agathyrsi, others from the Germans, Bede from
hia, and the author of the Saxon Annals from the southern parts of
hia. Mr. Camden is of opinion that they were originally Britons, who
into the northern parts of the island from the Roman invasions, as the
sh into the western. But this is opposed by Bishop Stillingfleet, who
of opinion that they came from Scandinavia, Orig. Brit. c. 5.

who, migrating from Ireland under their leader, Reuda, either by fair means, or by force of arms, secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts which they still possess. From the name of their commander, they are to this day called Dalreudins; for, in their language, Dal signifies a part.*

Ireland, in breadth, and for wholesomeness and serenity of climate, far surpasses Britain; for the snow scarcely ever lies there above three days: no man makes hay in the summer for winter's provision, or builds stables for his beasts of burden. No reptiles are found there, and no snake can live there; for, though often carried thither out of Britain, as soon as the ship comes near the shore, and the scent of the air reaches them, they die. On the contrary, almost all things in the island are good against poison. In short, we have known that when some persons have been bitten by serpents, the scrapings of leaves of books that were brought out of Ireland, being put into water, and given them to drink, have immediately expelled the spreading poison, and assuaged the swelling. The island abounds in milk and honey, nor is there any want of vines, fish, or fowl; and it is remarkable for deer and goats. It is properly the country of the Scots, who, migrating from thence, as has been said, added a third nation in Britain to the Britons and the Picts. There is a very large gulf of the sea, which formerly divided the nation of the Picts from the Britons; which gulf runs from the west very far into the land, where, to this day, stands the strong city of the Britons, called Alcluith. The Scots, arriving on the north side of this bay, settled themselves there.

The Tanistic Law, according to Bede, probably originated at the time of the arrival of the Picts from Scythia:

> Now the Picts had no wives, and asked them of the Scots; who would not consent to grant them upon any other terms, than that when any difficulty should arise, they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than from the male; which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day.

This law seems to have continued until the reign of Malcolm II., son of Kenneth III., who succeeded Grimus (Kenneth IV.). All writers on the ancient history of Scotland mention this law, regarding the descent of the crown, because, in nearly every instance, the death of the king was followed by a struggle among the claimants as to the right of succession, each contending that he was the "fittest to rule." From the very nature of the law there could be no quiet accession to the throne, since the most powerful, crafty, unscrupulous or fortunate, of the claimants, could obtain the kingdom, and under such a law no one could be called *usurper*, if he came of the royal female line. This system accounts for the average short reigns of the kings, as shown in the several lists furnished by Innes, Chalmers, Pinkerton and Duncan.

Fordun and Boece give considerable space to the law of tanistry, especially as relating to the time of Kenneth III., during whose reign attempts were made to change the law. Fordun (*Historians of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 164) says:

> Having heard rumours of these changes in the rule of succession, King Kenneth wished that the law of succession of the ancient kings of his country—who had hitherto reigned in entangled disorder—should be abolished; and that, after each king, his offspring of legitimate birth should, in preference to the rest, be decked with the kingly diadem. He himself had an illustrious son, named Malcolm; and he proposed to use every endeavour to have the throne assigned to him. He therefore appointed, with the consent of all his chiefs, with the exception of a few supporters of the old rule of succession, that, thenceforth every king on his death, should be succeeded by his son or his daughter, his nephew or his niece; or by his brother or his sister, in the collateral line; or in short, by whoever was the nearest survivor in blood to the deceased king surviving him, even though it were a babe a day old; for it is said "A king's age consists in his subjects' faith," and no law contrary to this has since prevailed.

Boece (vol. ii., pp. 225–6) likewise attributes to Kenneth the effort to change the law:

Sic thing is done, King Kenneth, be advise of his noble, abrogat the auld lawis concerning the creation of thair king, and maid new lawis, in manner as followis: The King, beand decessit, his eldest son, or his eldest nepot, notwithstanding quhatsumevir age he be of, and thoucht he war born efter his faderis deith, sal succede the crown. The nepote gottin on the kingis son, sal be preferrit to the nepote gottin on the kingis douchter. On the samen maner, the nepote gottin on the kingis bruithir, sal be preferrit to the nepote gottin on his sister. The samin lawis sal be observit amang al otheris noblis of this realm, in succession to thair heritage. Quhen the King is young, ane nobil man of gret prudence and auctorite sal be chosin governour of the realme, quhil the king be cumin to the age of XIV yeris; quhilk yeris beand outrun, the king sal be fre to governe his realme be his awin auctorite. All othir heritouris sal succede to their faderis heritage, efter the ische of XXI yeris; and within that time, thay sal be governit be thair curatouris; and quhil that yeir be outrun, thay sal not be admittit to clame thair heritage.

It is fully attested that this effort on the part of Kenneth III., to have his son Malcolm succeed him on the throne of Scotland, cost him his life, and ended in one of the most bitter wars of succession ever recorded in the early annals.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY CENTURIES

Roman Invasion of Britain—Fergus mac Erc in Caledonia—Union of Picts and Scots under Kenneth MacAlpin—Extinction of the Pictish Language—Celtic or Gaelic Literature—Sennachies and Bards—Early Scottish Church—Descent of the Highlanders—The Scotch-Irish in America.

AS stated in the first chapter, our information of Britain begins with the Roman invasions under Julius Cæsar, in the year 55 B.C. Under the Emperor Claudius, the southern part of the island was modelled after Roman customs and polity, though it remained for Agricola (79 A.D.) to make any progress north of the Friths. He lost as fast as he gained, so that no permanent conquest of the northern part of the island is recorded until several centuries later.

Of the building of the various walls in Britain under the Roman government, Innes is as clear and concise as any writer. He divides the people, during the Roman occupation, into provincials and extra-provincials, the former being those inhabitants of the south who became subject to the Roman empire —willing to be governed by its laws, reduced into provinces, and civilised according to Roman polity and manners. The extra-provincials he states "were those of the north, who never submitted to the Roman yoke, but preserved their liberty, and continued to live according to their own ancient customs, and were therefore called barbarous by the Romans. These were particularly the inhabitants of Caledonia, on the north side of the Friths of Clyde and Forth."[1]

The reliable writers of those early times are unanimous in their statement that the Romans were never able to invade Caledonia on the north side of the Friths, and, according to Chalmers:

[1] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., p. 9.

Long after Britain had passed under the yokes of the Romans, and the Saxons, Ireland continued unconquered by any foreign power, unmixed with any alien people, uncontaminated by any new manners, and unperplexed by any heterogeneous speech.[1]

Very few of the early writers give us details as to the country during this period. While the Venerable Bede is as explicit as any, the works of Marcellinus, Isidore of Seville, and the Irish and Scottish chroniclers, Ninian, Kentigern, Nennius, Adomnan and the "Four Masters," must be relied on to give us a fair conception of Ireland and Scotland prior to the fifth century. The real date of the permanent invasion of the Irish Scots into Caledonia has never been settled, some writers claiming that important invasions took place prior to the birth of Christ, while others, with apparent authority, deny the fact. In two particulars at least, none of the early writers have disagreed: that in the year 503 an invasion of Caledonia took place under the leadership of Fergus mac Erc, and that he and his followers had come to stay. Many important invasions may have taken place prior to this date, however, as we frequently read of the Scots and the Picts assisting one another against the Romans. It is hardly possible that the Scots, without some friendly interest in the Caledonians, came over from their own country, where they were unmolested, to assist in driving the Romans out of the land of the Picts. The advent of Fergus mac Erc from Hibernia, a country already familiar with continental learning, and abounding in monasteries and churches, marked an epoch in the history of Caledonia. As a natural result, social relations between the Picts and the Scots followed, and intermarriages became a matter of course. The Scots founded schools and colleges, and built monasteries and churches in Caledonia, just as they had in Ireland, and logically became the dominant race in Scotland. The Pictish Princess, Fergusia, became the wife of the Scottish King, Achaius, and the mother of Alpin. It is not to be wondered that the Picts gradually disappeared, leaving no record of their existence, beyond the names of individuals and localities, with possibly a few pictorial inscriptions on stone. Edward B. Nicholson states, "There is not one single MS. nor one simple literary work in existence, which was produced by a Pict before their union with the Scots.

[1] *History of Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 271.

. . . If, however, the Picts did not produce books, they did produce endless sculptured stones, most of them with pictorial devices only, but fifteen of them bearing inscribed sentences."[1]

Nicholson's work serves to show that the origin of the Picts is of a remote antiquity, before the invention of letters, or even the hieroglyphic writing of the Egyptians and other ancient nations.

The invasion of Caledonia by the Dalriadic Scots under Fergus mac Erc has always been considered the most important movement of those early times, for the reason that the royal families of Scotland to the reign of James VI., and later, the royal families of England, trace their descent from him. It is no less important from a historical or antiquarian point of view, by reason of the attitude of the modern anti-Celtic writers. While there has been some question among the older writers as to the exact year of this invasion, there has been none whatever as to the historical fact of its occurrence, nor of its influence upon the governments of Scotland, England and Ireland. Thomas McLauchlan states:

> Bede is quite distinct; nor could he have been mistaken regarding an event that took place less than 200 years before his own time. The Irish annalists are equally distinct with regard to it. Neither of these, however, describe it as an invasion. . . . Irish writers have maintained that there were two great migrations of the Scots from Ireland into Scotland—one about 250 years after Christ, and another, commonly called the Dalriadic Settlement, in the year 503 A.D., when Loarn, Fergus and Angus, the sons of Erc, led a colony across the Irish Channel, and settled with them in Argyleshire.[2]

McLauchlan claims that nothing is easier to prove than that the Celtic races cultivated letters, for several centuries after the sixth, to an extent unknown among their Saxon neighbours in England. In the above quotation, the progenitors of the Houses of Loarn, Fergus and Angus are referred to as the three sons of Fergus.

Bede, in the following passage quoted by Dr. W. K. Sullivan, than whom no better authority can be found, says:

> In process of time Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who, migrating from Ireland under their leader

[1] *The Vernacular Inscriptions of the Ancient Kingdom of Alban*, p. xii.

[2] *Celtic Gleanings*, pp. 53, 54.

Reuda, either by fair means or by force of arms, secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts which they still possess. From the name of their commander, they are to this day still called Dalreudians, for in their language *dal* signifies a *part.*[1]

Dr. Sullivan states that Bede obtained this information from the Columban clergy, and, as Bede knew nothing of Wales he was not, therefore, informed on the subject of previous settlements. Of the invasion of the Irish Scots under Fergus mac Erc, Sullivan bears testimony in the following:

About three hundred years after the first settlement a body of the Irish Dalriads of Antrim went to Alba under the leadership of Fergus mor, son of Erc, and his brothers, and founded on the basis of the previous colony a new Dal Riata, which became known as *Airer Goedel*, or *region of the Gael*, a name now pronounced *Argyle*. This petty kingdom ultimately developed into the kingdom of Scotland, and appropriated to itself the name of the mother country, or at least that which was its Latin name.

It will be observed in the list given from Innes[2] that Pictish rule ended with the coming of Kenneth MacAlpin as King of Scotland, during whose reign the two nations were united in 843 A.D. He is frequently spoken of as "King of the Picts," as also "King of the Scots." It has never been denied that he reigned by right of birth, conquest and diplomacy, and that his descendants, either through the male or female lines, occupied the throne of Scotland to the reign of James VI., afterwards James I. of England. The line of Fergus mac Erc was thus continued through his Dalriadic successors down to the present ruler of Great Britain.

The reign of sixteen years of Kenneth marked a very important epoch in the history of Scotland, and is the point where, according to most historians, the true annals of the country should begin. As Innes is very thorough regarding the reign of Kenneth, and as our work deals chiefly with that period of Scotland's history, I quote from him at some length on the subject[3]:

Here ends the series of the Pictish kings, according to the abstract and Lynch's catalogue; and this period agrees perfectly with the Era of the beginning of Keneth MacAlpin's reign over all Albany, which, according to all ancient writers that treat of it, lasted sixteen years. For King Ken-

[1] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1886, vol. xiii., p. 247.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 9–12.
[3] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., pp. 139–142.

eth died idib. Februæ, feria tertia, according to a short, but ancient chronicle of the first kings of Albany. . . . Now this character of the Ides, or the thirteenth day of February, concurring with the third Ferie, which is Tuesday, can only agree to the year 858, which is according to the account now in use the year 859, and by no means the year 854, where, according to Fordun and our *Scotish* historians, *Keneth's* death is placed. Now subtracting the sixteen years of *Keneth's* reign over all *Albany*, from A.D. 858 or 859, the beginning of it, and by consequence the period of the *Pictish* monarchy, under their own name, must have happened A.D. 842 or 843, which perfectly agrees with the abstract of their chronicles, and is a new confirmation of the authentickness and exactness of the second part of it, down from the time that the gospel was preached to the *Picts*, and shews the preference that it deserves before all the Scotish or any other catalogues.

All our writers do agree, that the union of the kingdom of the Picts and Scots happen'd towards the middle of the ninth age; that Keneth MacAlpin was the first monarch of the united kingdoms. All our modern writers do also agree, that as *Keneth* was by hereditary succession king of the *Scots*, he had an equal title to the kingdom of the *Picts*, in the right of his father *Alpin*, son to *Eocha*, or *Achajus*. *Alpin* having laid claim to the *Pictish* crown as next heir, after the death of *King Eogan*, son to *Hungus*, whose daughter *Fergusia* being married to *Achajus* king of the Scots, conveyed to her son *Alpin* the right to the *Pictish* crown, preferable to any other pretender, after the death of his uncle *Eogan*.

This account of the title and claim of the *Scotish* kings to the *Pictish* crown, as next heirs by right of blood, is unanimously delivered by all our *Scotish* writers after *Fordun*, such as *Boece*, *Buchanan*, *Lesly*, *Chambers*,[1] etc.

Alluding to the preceding account of the union of the two nations, Innes further says:

By this it appears, that whatever opposition king *Keneth* might have met with at first in his pretensions to the *Pictish* crown from the generality of the nation, he having asserted his title by his victories, and at last, by their submission, became lawful sovereign, as well of the *Picts* as of the *Scots:* not only by conquest, but in the right of his father *Alpin*, only lawful heir of both, and was the first monarch of all *Albany* or *Scotland;* and all our kings being ever since lineally descended of him, are by consequence lawful successors, as well of the *Pictish* as of the *Scotish* kings, and may equally reckon the number of their royal predecessors from the first king of the *Picts* as from the first of the *Scots*. And thus independently of the royal line of the *Scots* come from *Ireland*, the kings of *Scotland* were in the royal line of the *Picts*, and as succeeding to the *Pictish* kings by the right of blood, and by that of conquest, the most ancient monarchs in Europe; and this with the concurring testimony both of our own historians and of those of Ireland.[2]

[1] David Chambers.

[2] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., pp. 144–5.

According to Innes, not only the ancient succession of the Pictish monarchy remained in the Scottish line established by Kenneth MacAlpin, but the Pictish people in all the provinces of Scotland, having once admitted his title to rule, became submissive to him, and by degrees, during the succeeding ages, became so intermixed and incorporated into one people with the Scots, as to lose their identity as a separate race. He likens their case to that of the ancient Gauls and Franks, and the ancient Spaniards and Goths.

The explanation by Innes for the complete extinction of the Pictish language is as clear as any found. He believes that with the mingling of the two nations, the Scots, being better educated and more powerful, made the Picts their subjects. Naturally the language and the name of the former prevailed, so that the Picts by degrees lost their identity, as the two races mingled in the following ages:

> The Pictish language ceased also as a distinct language from the Gaelick, or old Scottish, which being at the time of the union of the two kingdoms, the language of the court, and of the ruling part of the united kingdoms, got soon the upper hand of the Pictish; and this last did so much the sooner and more easily disappear, as the change from the one language to the other, was very easy and natural; the Pictish and Gaelick, as well as the British, being, as far as appears, but three different dialects of the same mother-tongue, to wit, the Celtick.[1]

Gradually the English tongue began to replace the Gaelic, or Scottish, and from the time of Malcolm Canmore, 1057 A.D., Saxon began to be the language of the court and of the governing faction of Scotland. Innes says that in time the Gaelic or Scottish, although the native language of the inhabitants, became "reduced to the corners and extremities of the kingdom; the like happened to the Pictish language: the Saxon to the south, and the Gaelick to the North of the Friths, gaining such ground daily upon it, that at last it was quite extinct. Thus both the name of the Picts, and their language, were so worn out by the middle of the twelfth age that we have from that time no more account of them as a distinct people from the Scots than if the whole race of them had been cut off like one man that had left no posterity."

The loss of identity by the Picts as a separate race, and

[1] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., pp. 146–7.

the extinction of their language, gave rise to the statement that under the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin they had been "exterminated—man, woman and child." Innes emphatically denies this, not only in the terms just quoted, but by stating that a universal massacre of such a powerful nation, famous in all modern and ancient histories, could not possibly have failed to be recorded as one of the most memorable events of the age. After thoroughly investigating the matter in his time, both from the old documents, and from statements of writers who had preceded him, he states there is no record of such an event, not even so much as a notice of it in any reliable history:

> Not only no historian for three hundred years after the union of the Picts and the Scots takes any notice, or gives so much as the least insinuation of this total subversion of the Picts, but on the contrary they mention them as still in being long after that . . . and the accounts we have from the best historians of our neighbourhood concerning the Picts, about the times of King Keneth and his successors, not only contradict the barbarous notion of a total extirpation, but exactly agree with the scheme of the union of the Picts and the Scots under one monarch, and of King Keneth's succeeding by an hereditary right to the Pictish kings, as I have above set down.[1]

The question is still an unsettled one in Scottish antiquarian circles, and is discussed here at some length because of the fact that modern writers have tried to prove the Scottish Highlanders descended from the Picts rather than from the Scots; yet Innes states very clearly that owing to the superiority of the Scots in governing power, education and influence, the Picts disappeared as a separate race. This would seem to settle the question as to the real origin of the Highlanders of to-day. Innes continues:

> Thus Keneth and his successors, we have already observed, are called Kings of the Picts in the appendix to Nennius, the British historian, quoted by Lynch, in the Ulster Annals, as Usher and O'Flaherty have remarked. . . . . For Keneth is called *Rex Pictorum*, and not Rex Pictiniæ or Pictaviæ, which were the names of their kingdom.[2]

He also believes that if there had been any writer of prominence, contemporary with the union of the Picts and Scots, we should find Kenneth MacAlpin recorded as King of both nations,

[1] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., p. 153.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 153–4.

with very ample proof of the Picts existing long after the union. He thinks that when the later writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth ages began to look into the matter, finding there were no Picts existing as a separate nation, they considered it a greater honour to Kenneth to attribute to him their complete extermination than their subjection. So the story arose, owing to the long time which had elapsed since their absorption by the Scots and consequent loss of identity, that they had been wiped out as a nation—man, woman and child. He bases his authority for the assertion that no such extermination occurred, on the *Annals of Ulster* and *Annals of Tighernac*, in neither of which is there any mention of such an event. As *Tighernac* wrote in the eleventh century, before the name of the Picts was out of use, Innes considered that document ample proof that such an event was unheard of at the time.

Thomas Smibert, one of the strongest believers in the Pictish descent of the Highlanders, states that while men were wont to marvel at the strange and anomalous disappearance of the Pictish language, they failed to look for it where it was still in actual use. He likens "the prolix and disputatious inquiries of Pinkerton" to the foolish search of the man who looked long and vainly for the spectacles which were all the time upon his nose, adding:

> That the Picts spoke the Celtic tongue (or the Gaelic, as it has ever been called from the name borne by the Scottish Celts of the north) is proved by many circumstances, and particularly by numerous Gaelic names, given indubitably to different localities in the days of the Picts.[1]

Joseph Ritson goes into the subject at considerable length and in minute detail, citing many names of persons and places not to be found in any other language, and instancing that when Columba went among the Picts in his capacity of missionary and teacher, he had to use an interpreter. He concludes that since the Picts could not understand the language of the Scots as spoken by Columba, their languages must have been totally different. Some of the names to which he refers are *Alpin*, *Bili*, *Bred*, *Cealtraim*, *Drest*, *Drostan*, *Gyrom*, etc., adding:

> The only Pictish word, beside *pean* and *fahel*, . . . not being the proper name of man or place, still preserved, is *Geone*, the name it would

[1] *The Clans of Scotland*, p. ix.

seem of a particular military cohort among the Picts. Henry, arch-deacon of Huntingdon, who wrote the first seven books of his history before 1139, having, after Bede, enumerated the five languages formerly used in Britain, adds "although the Picts seemed then destroyed, and their language so utterly perished, that what mention was found of them in the writings of the ancients then seemed a fable." He considers the extinction of the language of the Picts as even more wonderful than that of their kings, princes and people. . . . It is therefore clear that no vestiges of the Pictish language remained in the age of this writer, nor, excepting the few proper names already noticed, are any such to be now found.[1]

Ritson does not, however, throw any new light on the real reason for the disappearance of the language, nor does he settle satisfactorily the problem as to whether the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin was one of "the extermination of the Picts," or merely the beginning of the assimilation of the two nations by means of a peaceful union.

John Emery Ross attributes the victory of Kenneth MacAlpin over the Picts to religious culture alone, his logical conclusion being that what Rome accomplished in Gaul by her legions, her colonies and her civilisation, the monastic brotherhood, which traced its origin to Iona, accomplished in the land of the Picts by religious culture, effacing the language of the people by compelling them to accept the dialects of their teachers. He adds:

> Men still helplessly discuss the question "What has become of the Pictish tongue?" and in the almost total absence of data have preferred the absurdest answers. So complete was the triumph of the Scottish missionaries that in the course of a few centuries Irish Gaelic was in use wherever their influence extended, and has probably for more than a thousand years been the sole speech in the Highlands.[2]

But a vastly differing opinion is expressed by W. C. Mackenzie, in attributing this victory to the ravages of the Northmen, during the eighth and ninth centuries, the resultant exhaustion of the Picts rendering relatively easy the power which was exerted by Kenneth MacAlpin—"as the fruit of which the Pictish power was finally broken, the ascendancy of the Scots was finally assured, and the name of Dalriada, as a symbol of sovereignty, was merged in the triumphant name of Scotia."[3]

[1] *Annals of the Caledonians, Picts and Scots*, vol. i., p. 126.
[2] *Scottish History and Literature*, p. 29.
[3] *A Short History of the Scottish Highlands*, pp. 26–35.

In the diversity of opinions expressed, from Innes to Mackenzie, one finds little satisfaction as to the true solution of the disappearance of the Pictish language. One may, however, safely agree with Innes that anything less than an assimilation with the Scots—until they finally lost their name and identity in after ages—would be absurd.

If the extinction of the Pictish language gave rise to surmise and to discussion, a parallel problem may be found in the statement, frequently made by the Anti-Celtic writers, "You have no literature." The Rev. Thomas McLauchlan asserts that the Celts had a vernacular literature before any other nation of modern Europe, adding that there was nothing "but their untoward circumstances with regard to the rising literature of England which prevented its growth."[1] As McLauchlan was chosen by the editors of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* to discuss the subject, he may naturally be considered most authentic:

> The written Gaelic literature was at an earlier period so mixed up with that of Ireland that it is not easy in every instance to distinguish them. The early church of both countries was one, and the early literature was the offspring of the church. . . . The earliest specimen of Gaelic writing which can be pronounced to be Scottish beyond any question is "The Book of Deer," said already to be a work of the eleventh to twelfth century. . . . The Book itself consists of portions of the New Testament written in Latin. The Gaelic portion consists of historical references with notices of grants of land bestowed on the old Monastery of Deer in Aberdeenshire. These references and notices are, for the most part, written on the margin. They show that at the time the book was written, the Gaelic language was used both for writing and speaking in the district around Deer, where it is now unknown, except in the topography. There is not a shade of difference between the language of the Book of Deer and the Irish writing of the same age. . . . All of the literary relics that have come down to us are written in what is usually called the Irish dialect. . . . And this arose from the identity of the Irish and Scottish churches. . . . There is not a page of Gaelic written in any other dialect before the middle of the last century.

The same author, writing of the union of the two nations, further states regarding the Gaelic language:

> The united people are the ancestors of the present Scottish Highlanders, and the Gaelic language has come down from them to us uninfluenced by the dialect spoken by the victors. . . . The Gaelic language as now in use in Scotland, resembles the Irish and the Manx. They form one family,

[1] *Celtic Gleanings.*

and yet it has its own distinctive features. . . . At the same time it must be admitted that there is a difficulty in proving from any literary remains existing that the present Scottish form of the language is of great antiquity.

W. K. Sullivan, author of the article on *Celtic Literature* in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, states:

As regards the dialect of each branch, the Irish ones differ less from each other than do the British dialects. Irish proper and Scottish Gael are practically the same language, and do not differ greatly more than the dialect of English spoken in the Scotch Lowlands does from common English.

Doctors Sullivan and McLauchlan, above quoted, were the most prominent Irish, Celtic or Gaelic scholars of the nineteenth century, and are now generally recognised as the best authorities on that language and its literature. Dr. McLauchlan translated the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*,[1] 1862, supposed to have been written in old Gaelic by two churchmen of the name of MacGregor, 1512 to 1551. He rendered it in modern Gaelic and English.

The English version of the Dean of Lismore's work, referred to above, contains a very exhaustive introduction and additional notes by William F. Skene, in regard to the Gaelic and Celtic literature of the early centuries. In the following words he pays tribute to Rev. Thomas McLauchlan:

It is hardly possible to convey to the reader an adequate conception of the labour of the task undertaken by Mr. McLauchlan, or of the courage, perseverance and ability with which it has been overcome.[2]

Of the importance of the *Dean of Lismore's Book* among the Gaelic literature of Scotland, he considers that it has a double value, philological and literary, and that it is calculated to throw light both on the language and the literature of the Highlands of Scotland. He considers it of philological value because its peculiar orthography represents the language of its time in its true aspect and character as a spoken language, "and enables us to ascertain whether many of the peculiarities which now distinguish it were in existence three hundred years ago; and it has a literary value because it contains poems attributed to Ossian, and to other poets prior to the sixteenth century, which

[1] Cf. *infra*, Chap. X., where this work is reviewed.
[2] *Dean of Lismore's Book*, p. xii.

are not to be found elsewhere; and thus presents to us specimens of the traditionary poetry current in the Highlands prior to that period, which are above suspicion, having been collected upwards of three hundred years ago, and before any controversy on the subject had arisen."

Skene thinks there can be no question that the collection was formed during the lifetime of the Dean of Lismore, and that a great part of it may have been collected and transcribed as early as 1512. This valuable collection of Gaelic poetry is now in possession of the Highland Society of Scotland and is preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. According to Skene, it forms a part of a rare collection of Gaelic MSS., which he has been at great pains to collect and preserve, as outlined in a footnote as follows[1]:

> This collection has been formed within the last few years, mainly through the instrumentality of the writer. When he commenced, the Faculty of Advocates possessed four Gaelic MSS. The collection now consists of sixty-five.
>
> The writer formed the plan of collecting the remains of the MS. Gaelic literature of Scotland, which was rapidly disappearing, into one place, where they could be preserved, by inducing the possessors of Gaelic MSS. to deposit them in some public library for preservation; and as the Faculty of Advocates were already in possession of some MSS., their library was evidently the most appropriate depository for this purpose. . . . The collection now embraces nearly all the MSS. known or believed still to exist.

Regarding this valuable collection, Skene says that a catalogue of the entire contents has been prepared by himself. This is an admirable piece of work, for which he should be commended. The literature is rare enough at best, and without such forethought on the part of some one, must eventually have been lost.

If, therefore, we accept the *Book of Deer*, with its very important marginal notes in Gaelic, the *Dean of Lismore's Book*, and MacPherson's Ossianic Poems, together with the various smaller collections, such as the poems of Ian Lom, the Lochaber poet of the Wars of Montrose, Duncan Ban MacIntyre, whose poem, *Bendoran*, printed in 1778, is reckoned by Skene as one of the most valued specimens of pure Gaelic, we shall agree with him that we have ample evidence of the "existence and char-

[1] *Dean of Lismore's Book*, p. vii.

acter of a vernacular dialect, in which the people interchanged their homely ideas, and their favourite bards composed their poems which found an immediate access to the hearts and imaginations of the people, while the language in which their scriptures and formularies were conveyed was looked upon as a sort of sacred dialect, through which they received their religious teaching."

The priests and monks of the Irish Scots generally wrote in Latin, but their vernacular was undoubtedly the continental Celtic, called by many of the early Scottish and English antiquarians and historians, "Irish." Until within the last one hundred and twenty-five years, it was seldom designated by any other name.

Skene thinks that the language of the Scots was undoubtedly the language of the Irish still spoken in Hibernia, and that it is identical with the Gaelic of the Scottish Highlanders and with the Manx of the Isle of Man. He asserts that they form one language, the Gaelic. He also refers to the fact that when the Picts obtained their wives of the Scots in Ireland, they did so upon the condition that their issue should speak the Irish language—"which language remains to this day in the Highlands among those we call Scots."[1]

According to Dugald Mitchell, the Celtic entries of the *Book of Deer* constitute the earliest specimens of Gaelic writing on parchment discovered in Scotland, "and in the fact that in point of language they are identical, as Stokes tells us, with the oldest Irish glosses, we have an additional element of interest, for it goes to prove the similarity of the written language in both countries at that time."[2]

If, therefore, we follow the opinions of such scholars as McLauchlan, Skene and Mitchell, we may safely conclude that there is sufficient literature still extant, properly belonging to Scotland, to refute any charges made by modern writers that there is no Celtic or Gaelic literature.

McLauchlan considered the Highlanders more the descendants of the Irish Scots than of the Picts, as shown by the following passages from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1886 edition, vol. x.:

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, 1886.
[2] *History of the Highlands*, p. 208.

Two important contributions were made towards the close of the [17th] century. The one of these was the metrical translation of the Gaelic Psalms executed both by the Synod of Argyll and the Rev. Robert Kirke of Balquhidder; and the other was an edition in the Roman letter of Bedell's Irish Bible for the use of the Highlanders of Scotland. The first fifty of the Psalms by the Synod were published in 1659, and the whole Psalter was completed by 1694. Kirke published his version in 1684. . . . Kirke's version of the Irish Bible for the use of the Highlanders was published in 1690. The New Testament is that of O'Donnell. This work is accompanied by a glossary including the words in the Irish Bible not generally in use in the Highlands. The book was for a time in use in the Highland churches, but the Irish Bible, in the Irish letter, was well known and read in the Highlands—both in churches and in families.

The language, the religious customs and the literature of the seventeenth century in the Highlands of Scotland must, therefore, have been very similar to those in Ireland, making it reasonable to suppose that the two people had a common origin.

Before the art of printing, even before the advent of letters, the sennachies of Scotland were the only custodians and historians of the traditions and genealogies of families. They answered, in many respects, to the historians of the present day, but as their fund of information was handed down from father to son, without the use of writing, only the most important events were kept. It was the custom for the sennachies to make their yearly rounds of the houses in their districts, often accompanied by the bard, the latter of whom rendered the important events in song and music. It is said that in each house was kept a "sennachy's chair," made of rushes from the lochs of Scotland, in which the sennachy sat on his yearly visits and related the important events occurring since his previous visit. These related chiefly to births, marriages, deaths and transfers of property. With them, to prove their scholarly attainments, they carried their Virgil and Homer, and oftentimes the inner lining of their coats concealed the valuable manuscripts in which they were beginning to put these relations into permanent form. Such manuscripts were written with a quill pen in Celtic. The sennachies and bards of the various districts held periodical conventions, at which times they compared and exchanged their records. The material thus gathered was afterwards put into permanent form by the monks and

priests coming over from Ireland, and forms to-day the basis for the only genuine history of ancient Scotland. When the monasteries of Scotland became the seats of priests and monks, with their knowledge of Latin, the sennachies became of less value, being no longer the only historians of the time. The importance of these two men—the sennachy with his historical data, and the bard with his love for music and poetry—is still recognised in many corners of Scotland. In Ireland, so much weight was laid upon the yearly visit of the bard, that on the first Sabbath of August, the people still observe the time of his former coming by strewing pathways of green rushes to the doors of their houses, and still designate it the "Sunday of the Bard."

According to David Campbell,[1] quoting from MacDonald's *Collection of Gaelic Poetry*, the social equality of the clans of Scotland, where no one could consider himself on a higher plane than another, is largely due to the office of the sennachy who stood at the entrance during every social gathering and proclaimed this equality in the following words: "Sit turner, sit tailor, sit every man in the readiest place; and sit thou arrow-maker." With this greeting, it was impossible for any man to arrogate to himself a position higher than another, and, as they always sat in a circle, Campbell thinks that the Round Table was neither fabulous nor peculiar to King Arthur, but the regular rule at every Celtic banquet.

Dugald Mitchell, in his *History of the Highlands*,[2] states that:

> The old genealogical manuscripts referred to, and which are extremely helpful, as far as they go, in regard to the matter in hand, are all the productions of Irish sennachies. Doubtless similar records were constructed by the old sennachies of Scotland also, and were they but in existence now would prove of the utmost interest and value. Evidence exists that with the re-establishment of a close connection with Ireland from the thirteenth century onwards, it was the custom of the sennachies of Scotland to proceed to Ireland for instruction in their vocation, and in the Irish Annals we read of men who are designated chief preceptors and teachers of the Poets of Erin and Alban.

As previously stated, the old documents which we possess are doubtless the work of these sennachies, though compiled by a later hand, after the use of letters began to be more generally

[1] *The Caledonians and Scots*, 1861.
[2] P. 268.

known among them, as traditions and historical data were "handed down from father to son" with an accuracy which is commented upon by many of the reliable writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Mitchell further says: "To the Highland Clans, as to the Irish Septs, the office of the sennachy was one of the highest importance, for upon the accuracy of his work depended, to a large extent, the rights of families. It was these pedigrees that demonstrated the relationship between individuals and the acknowledged founder of the clan, and upon that relationship depended the land each was entitled to hold."

The charge has been made that the lists of kings compiled in the monasteries were partly matters of invention, basing the statement upon the assertion that as the monks and priests received their information from the sennachies it was unreliable.

In Chapter IV. will be found many documents from an important work of the nineteenth century, which is a compilation of the old documents of an earlier period. An examination of these documents will convince any one of the uniformity of these lists, which could scarcely be expected if they were matters of invention. There is every evidence that these sennachies were most accurate, and were absolutely reliable in decisive matters. It would seem reasonable that such lists as we possess to-day were compiled and written from the information obtained at first hand from the sennachies. Mitchell calls special attention to the fact that the very kings who are said by these modern writers to be spurious, are those whose reigns have come within comparatively modern times, and who occupy niches later in date than many of those acknowledged to be genuine. He adds, "nor on the other hand, can we believe that the Irish lists were framed without there being some really satisfactory foundation for what they contained."

Thomas D'Arcy McGee believes that since we have no Roman accounts of the form of government or state of society in ancient Erin and Alban, we must at least accept the statements of the sennachies and bards, in so far as their accounts are credible and agree; finding the main points in agreement, he thinks they should be considered authoritative.

The importance of the genealogies handed down by the

sennachies and bards of Scotland is illustrated in the following passage from Thomas Innes:

In the thirteenth age, the Highland Sennachy, or Antiquary mentioned by all Fordun's continuators, and by Major, pronounced this genealogy in the same series of names, from Fergus son of Erch to Fergus son of Ferchar, and upwards, at the coronation of king Alexander III., A.D. 1249; and this being on so solemn an occasion, in presence of the three estates of the kingdom, assembled for the coronation, carries with it the sense of the whole kingdom, especially that of all the Highland Sennachies, so well versed in, and so tenacious of, the ancient genealogies; and this whilst our ancient recòrds or histories were as yet entire, and even before they were destroyed by Edward I.[1]

[1] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., p. 237.

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

BEGINNING THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 203, AND CONTINUED TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF KING JAMES VI.

BY THE

RIGHT REV. JOHN SPOTTISWOODE,

ARCHBISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, AND LORD CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH AND NOTES,

BY THE

RIGHT REV. M. RUSSELL, LL.D., D.C.L.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

EDINBURGH:

OLIVER & BOYD, TWEEDDALE COURT.

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & CO.

M.DCCC.LI.

The religion of the people exerts the greatest influence upon a nation, not only in culture but in government building. In Scotland, as elsewhere, it proved a powerful factor in the establishment of such institutions, both religious and secular, as form the backbone of national existence. Through the itinerant preaching of missionaries, and later the founding of monasteries, not only was the Christian faith in its simpler forms extended widely, but learning and culture followed closely in its train, to soften, in the course of centuries, the ruthless habits of the mountain tribes.

Its introduction into northern Britain is veiled in the obscurity of legend and tradition, largely for the reason that the abbots of the various monasteries, in later days claimed each a famous saint or missionary as the patron founder of his religious house.

McLauchlan, in his exhaustive and authoritative work, *The Early Scottish Church*, mentions the traditional preaching of the Apostle James in Britain, 41 A.D., and the story that Simon Zelotes preached, was crucified and buried in the island. While such accounts are in themselves purely legendary, they are evidences of the early extension of Christian faith to these distant isles of the Western ocean. During the period that saw its crystallisation into a church and creed, Roman troops and traders were passing from one boundary of the Empire to another, taking an active part in affairs, and becoming acquainted at first hand with world thrilling events, the news of which they carried and spread broadcast over the world. Even in the northern angle of Britain, Christianity had made noticeable progress among the commons and nobles. According to Spottiswoode:

> In the year of our Lord 203, which was the fourth of Donald the First his reign, the faith of Christ was in the Kingdom first publicly embraced, King Donald, with his Queen and divers of his nobles, being then solemnly baptized. Yet was not that the first time wherein Christ was here made known; for Tertullian says "and what these parts were we cannot doubt, all the island of Britain being then made subject to the Romans, and no part free but that little corner of the isle which the Scots did inhabit. Moreover, it cannot in reason be thought that the conversion of this kingdom was all wrought at one instant; great alterations, such as that must needs have been, not being made but by little and little, so as we may well think that numbers of people have been won to the Christian pro-

fession before the same was publicly embraced by the king and his nobles."[1]

With this as an epoch mark, christianity slowly but surely extended its foothold toward the mountain fastnesses, entering the homes of the savage chieftains, and leaving an influence that was to prove the first step in the advancement of real civilisation. From the time of the withdrawal of the Romans, says McLauchlan, "in tracing the progress of christianity, we must deal entirely with the labours of native missionaries; the Romans had retired, but the gospel of God's grace remained in the land. The first of those missionaries of whom we have any authentic account, if authentic much of it may be called, was Ninian, usually called St. Ninian, or St. Ringan." He adds:

> Ninian, according to Bede and Ailred, was a Briton, a native of the Roman province, where he was born about A.D. 360, or about two hundred years before the time of Columba. His parents were Christians, and early devoted him to the Christian ministry. Ailred says of him (Vit. Nin. Pink. Ed., p. 4): "He was characterised by deep devotion in the church, and warm affection among his associates; moderate in eating, sparing of his words, assiduous in study, courteous in manner, abstaining from jests, and ever subjecting his flesh to the spirit; devoting himself to much searching of the Holy Scripture, so much so that he discovered that among his people its real sense was not thoroughly understood." Upon this, we are told that he journeyed to Rome in search of truth.[2]

Bede speaks of him simply as a missionary. There were undoubtedly at this time some differences in ritualism between the church of the remote British Isles and Rome, the latter already beginning to look upon itself as the world See. The British churches "denied that they had received the Gospel through the Roman See, and refused to submit to its claims of supremacy; *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* This is the only substantial charge that can be brought against the early British Churches."

McLauchlan states that in his own country Ninian was received as a great prophet, and that "he commenced by tearing up what was ill planted, dispersing what was improperly gathered together, and pulling down what was ill built."

The very fact that there existed differences, which he was

[1] *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 2.
[2] *The Early Scottish Church*, p. 57.

trying to compromise, was the best evidence of the establishment at that time of christianity.

The next prominent missionary, according to Innes, was St. Patrick:

> St. Ninian was born of Christian parents, in what was afterwards called Galloway in the one extremity of it; and in the other, near Dunbarton, St. Patrick was also born of Christian parents, and in a place peopled by Christians, and these two bishops became by themselves, and by their disciples, the first apostles of the Picts and Scots, both in Ireland and Britain.[1]

Innes gives no authority for the above statement as to St. Patrick, but, as he was a Catholic priest, and was so candid and honest in all he wrote, he must have had some reliable basis for it. Of the same Saint, McLauchlan, who was equally honest in his statements, says: "Patrick McAlpine [and the very name savours of Ben Nevis] or the son of Calpurnius, as Latinised by himself, was the son of a deacon, who was himself the son of a Presbyter named Potitus."[2]

McLauchlan had previously mentioned him as "Patrick, the son of Calpurnius, or Patrick McAlpin." Again, in *Celtic Gleanings*, he repeats the same descent in the following terms:

> Patrick, the patron Saint of Ireland, was a Scotsman and a Celt. It is worthy of notice that while in Ireland, he is spoken of as "Filius Calpurnii," being the latinised form of his name; in the Highlands he is universally spoken of as "Patrick MacAlpain." In the Dean of Lismore's Gaelic MS., written about the beginning of the sixteenth century, his name almost uniformly appears in this latter form, when given in full.

McLauchlan devotes considerable space in *Celtic Gleanings* to this subject, and makes reference to Dr. Todd's volume on St. Patrick.

Spottiswoode says: "About this time, the fifth century, was Ireland converted to the faith of Christ by the labours of Patrick, a Scotchman born upon the river Clyde, not far from Glasgow."

In John Pinkerton's *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*[3] may be found the following tribute to the same Saint:

> Patrick was born at Nemthur, near Alclud or Dunbarton, now thought

[1] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., p. 23.
[2] *Early Scottish Church*, p. 95.
[3] Vol. ii., pp. 274–277.

to be old Kirkpatrick. From his own name *Patricius*, and that of his father *Calphurnius*, he appears to have been of Roman extract; and he was indeed born about the year 400, when the Romans possessed Valentia. In 432 he went to Ireland; and after converting that whole Island, died about 480. He was certainly a man of extraordinary talents for the time and country. His first and greatest care was to teach the Irish the use of letters, as the prime means of making their conversion permanent. Would that he also had been the apostle of the Piks, or that Ninian and Columba had shown such care. The supreme veneration, in which the Irish always held, and still hold Patrick, is most deserved and just; while it is no wonder that Ninian and Columba were forgotten among us. Two genuine epistles of Patrick are preserved and have been published by Ware. . . . *Columba*, the apostle of the northern Piks, is said to have written one or two pieces extant. But he wanted the talents of Patrick, and did not teach his converts the use of letters. . . . Patrick understood the Irish language himself, while Columba was forced to use an interpreter among the Piks, as Adomnan tells; whereas he ought to have studied their language in the very first place.

Dugald Mitchell is considered an unprejudiced writer on the subjects he treats:

And just as it was a Strathclyde Briton who thus successfully disseminated Christianity among the Southern Picts, so also do we find that it was a native of the same district—St. Patrick, or "Patrick M'Alpain," as he was designated by the Highlanders—who was destined to become the great apostle to the people of Ireland—a service which was repaid a hundred-fold in later years to the people of Scotland.[1]

The same author adds:

It is in the records of the Christian Church that we first touch historic ground after the Romans left. Although the legends of Christian superstition are almost as fabulous as those of heathen ignorance, we can follow with reasonable certainty the conversion of the Scottish Celts. . . . Ninian, Kentigern, Columba, Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland; David, the patron saint of Wales; and Cuthbert, the apostle of Lothian and patron saint of Durham, belonging to the Celtic Church, though probably not a Celt, mark the common advance of the Celtic races from heathenism to Christianity between the end of the 4th and the end of the 6th century.

There are various opinions as to the birth and career of Saint Columba, who probably wielded as great an influence over the religious life of Scotland, as St. Patrick, at an earlier period, exerted over Ireland. It has been claimed by some of the

[1] *History of the Highlands*, p. 36.

earlier writers that Columba's lack of knowledge of the Pictish tongue militated against his work among them, but there has been little proof that such was the case. In the review of the *Book of Deer* (Chapter III., beginning at page 70) it will be seen that Drostan, nephew of Saint Columba, is said to have been of the royal family of the Scots, as well as "son of Cosgreg," and because of his predilection for the church, was "sent to his uncle, Saint Columba, to be educated." Excerpts from the life of Saint Columba, in which the Houses of Loarn, Fergus and Angus are outlined, are taken from Duncan MacGregor's *Saint Columba—A Record and a Tribute:*

Saint Columba, chief of the Saints of Scotland, was born on the 7th of December, A.D. 521, at Rathan, near Lough Garten, in the county of Donegal. His father, Felim, an Irish nobleman of royal blood, was son of Fergus, surnamed Cennfada (Longhead), who was the son of the famous Conall, founder of the ruling family of Tyrconnel, who was the son of the still more celebrated Niall of the Nine Hostages. The Saint, therefore, belonged to the northern branch of the Clan O'Neill, and had a very distinguished ancestry. His mother, Ethna, surnamed Belfhoda (Long-Mouth) was the daughter of Dimma MacNave, and sprang from the illustrious house of Leinster. When he was born, his half uncle, Murdoc, was supreme king of Ireland, and by the Tanist laws regulating the royal succession, Columba himself was eligible for the Irish crown. Through his father's mother, Erca, he was also closely connected with the royal family of Dalriada in Ulster. She was the daughter of Lorn, king of the Irish Picts; and about twenty years before the Saint's birth, the three brothers, Lorn, Fergus Mor, and Angus, with a colony of Cruithne (Picts) from Dalriada, emigrated to Argyle, which they divided among themselves, and with their followers and posterity became known in history as the Dalriadic Scots of Albany.

In the same work we find further mention of the erection of the Monastery of Deer by Columba, which would seem to refute the claim made by some writers that Columba was not a learned man. He may not have been able to converse with the Picts in their own language, and may perhaps have talked to them through an interpreter, but we must admit that only a man of learning and of power could have conceived and carried into execution the work performed by him:

Itinerating through Buchan and successfully preaching the Gospel everywhere, Columba deemed it advisable to erect a more central institution. Accordingly at Deer he selected a site which combined convenience and amenity of situation. . . . At Deer, then, Columba erected the

buildings of his religious establishment [church, school, etc.], supplied it with all the necessaries of such an institution, manned it with a staff of officers from his own retinue, and placed the whole in charge of his trusted nephew, Drostan.

In a footnote, the author says that Drostan was the founder, along with his uncle, of this famous monastery. He also speaks of the *Book of Deer*,[1] as "an ancient manuscript of the Gospels, with an Irish office for the healing of the sick by the administration of the Communion; and some old Gaelic notes."

There seems to be ample proof that the Monastery of Deer was the best model that could have been devised for the early days in which Columba worked, and that such institutions were not only evangelistic but educational as well. These institutions were not constructed of heavy and expensive material, as in later days. They were, on the contrary, built of earth and wattles, very much as a bird builds its nest, by intertwining branches through the upright pieces in basket fashion, cementing the whole with earth, between the inner and the outer layers. Some of these were large and comfortable, accommodating many monks and priests. Later writers assert that in the northwest islands, even to the present day, many institutions of this character are found. Uncemented stone has been substituted for wattles, with a space between the walls three feet thick, filled in with peat.

According to Dugald Mitchell, Columba was one of a noble band of missionaries known as the *Twelve Apostles*, who issued from the great monastery of St. Finnian at Clonard, and made themselves famous by the success with which they founded churches and monasteries, not only in Ireland but also in other lands. The description he gives of their lives in the monasteries affords a clear insight into the strength of character of those early ministers:

In their monastery they set themselves to the practice of self-denial, charity, purity, and practical holiness, and from it, as a convenient base, they spread themselves over the surrounding district, and by example and teaching, shed Gospel light and holy influence around. Their preaching, like the Highland preaching of to-day, was emotional, spiritual, and mystical, and their unwearying zeal is a noble example for all times. Many of these monasteries became celebrated as schools of learning, both sacred and profane, and in those of Ireland in particular students flocked, students of

[1] Reviewed in Chapter III. of this work.

all ranks and from all quarters, even from Rome itself, at those times when affairs on the Continent of Europe were in a disturbed condition.[1]

By this time, the Church had been firmly established and wielded an important influence over the country. Yet by reason of the strifes and jealousies of the chieftains with this new and growing estate in the land, which began to usurp some of their functions and powers, they became united in an effort along certain lines to subject the lands of religious houses to secular service.

The first king, according to Skene, to exert his efforts toward the emancipation of the church from secularisation, was Gregory, or "King Giric." This is one of the most important epochs in church history. Skene's pages dealing with Gregory's attitude toward the Church, and his efforts in its behalf, are reproduced in facsimile:

[1] *History of the Highlands*, p. 74.

CELTIC SCOTLAND:

A HISTORY OF

Ancient Alban

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VOLUME II.

CHURCH AND CULTURE.

SECOND EDITION.

EDINBURGH: DAVID DOUGLAS
1887

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A.D. 878-889. First appearance of the name 'the Scottish Church' when freed from servitude under Pictish law.

'THIS is he who first gave liberty to the Scottish Church which had been until now under servitude, according to the law and custom of the Picts.'[1] Such is the almost unanimous testimony of the chronicles as to King Giric, who reigned from 878 to 889; and this is the first appearance of the church under the name of 'the Scottish Church.' At this time the kingdom ruled by the new dynasty of kings of Scottish race was still the kingdom of the Picts, and the kings were still called kings of the Picts. Giric therefore must be regarded as such; and he seems also to have broken in upon the Tanistic law of succession, and reintroduced the Pictish law, by which the throne descended to the sister's children in preference to the son's; while by 'the Scottish Church' could only be meant that church which his predecessor Kenneth had constituted and placed under the rule of one bishop. The first, as we have seen, was the abbot of Dunkeld; but the election of this bishop was now in the hands of the church of Abernethy. Giric's object therefore probably was to secure the support of the Scottish clergy by conferring a boon upon their church. Whatever that boon may have been, the expression 'that he first gave it' seems to imply that it was something which the Pictish kings had not previously given, but in which he was followed by his

[1] Hic primus dedit libertatem ecclesiæ Scoticanæ quæ sub servitute erat usque ad illud tempus ex consuetudine et more Pictorum.—*Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 151. The Chronicle of St. Andrews has, for consuetudine, constitutione. The Chronicon Elegiacum has

Hic dedit ecclesiæ libertates Scoticanæ
Quæ sub Pictorum lege redacta fuit.

successors. What then was implied by the church being under servitude, and having liberty given to it? These are terms which, in connection with the church lands, have a very definite meaning. About thirty years before this date Ethelwulf, king of Wessex, as we are told in the Saxon Chronicle, in the year 855, 'chartered the tenth part of his land, over all his kingdom, for the glory of God and his own eternal salvation;' and in the deeds rehearsing this grant we find the same expressions used. Thus, in one grant he says that he has not only given the tenth part of his lands to the holy churches, but also 'that our appointed ministers therein should have them in perpetual liberty, so that such donation shall remain permanently freed from all royal service, and relieved from all secular servitude;' and in another there is a still more detailed explanation of it. He grants the tenth part of his lands 'to God and St. Mary, and to all the saints, to be safe, protected and free from all secular services, not only the greater and lesser loyal tributes or taxations, which we call Witeredden, but also free from every thing, for the remission of souls and my sins, to the sole service of God, without hosting or construction of bridges or fortification of citadels, that they may pray for us without ceasing, in as far as we have freed them from their servitude.'[2] In the early Irish Monastic Church, the land granted for the endowment of a church or monastery to its first founder or patron saint, was usually called its *Termon* land, and was considered by right to have the privilege of sanctuary and to be free from any rents, tributes, or other exactions by temporal chiefs; but the close connection between the church and the tribe, and the rights of the latter in connection with the succession to the abbacy, led to a constant attempt on the part of the secular chiefs to bring these lands under the same obligations towards themselves as affected the tribe lands; and, when they succeeded

[2] See Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, vol. iii. pp. 636, 638, 641.

in this, they were held to have brought the church under servitude. This appears even as late as the Synod of Cashel, in 1172, the fourth act of which is as follows:—'That all church lands, and possessions belonging to them, be wholly free from exaction on the part of all secular persons, and especially that neither petty kings, nor chieftains, nor any other powerful men in Ireland, nor their sons with their families, are to exact, as has been customary, victuals and hospitality in lands belonging to the church, or presume any longer to extort them by force;'[3] and there is an instructive passage in the Annals of the Four Masters, about the same time, where we find it stated, in the year 1161, 'It was on this occasion that the churches of Columcille in Meath and Leinster were freed by the Coarb of Columcille, Flaithbheartach Ua Brolchain; and their tributes and jurisdiction were given to him, for they had been previously enslaved.'[4]

When the Columban monks were expelled from the Pictish territories in the beginning of the preceding century, and a different system introduced, the church lands would no doubt be brought under the same burdens and exactions as applied to other lands. This appears to have taken place about the same time in England; for St. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, who was himself an Englishman, writes to Cudberht, archbishop of Canterbury about 745, regarding 'the enforced servitude of the monks in royal works and buildings, which is not heard of in the whole Christian world save only among the nation of the Angles—which cannot be acquiesced in or consented to by the priests of God—which is an evil unknown to past ages.'[5] So it seems also to have been among the Picts; and it had become their custom and usage that the church lands and their

[3] See King's Introduction to the *Church of Armagh*, p. 18.
[4] O'Donovan, *Annals of Four Masters*, vol. ii. p. 1143.
[5] Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, vol. iii. p. 382.

occupants should not be exempted from secular services. It is therefore probably by a prolepsis that the first grant of St. Andrews by King Hungus is accompanied by exemptions really due to King Giric, when we are told that the donation is 'with such freedom that its occupiers should always be free and quit from all hosting and construction of castles and bridges, and the vexation of all secular exactions.' The ordinary burdens of the land among the Picts were exigible by their kings, mormaers and toiseachs; and the proportion received by each was termed their share, as appears from the grants in the Book of Deer. What King Giric did, therefore, was probably to issue a decree, similar in terms to that of the Synod of Cashel at a later period, 'that all church lands and possessions belonging to them be wholly free from exaction on the part of all secular persons, and that neither kings nor mormaers nor toiseachs are to exact, as has been customary among the Picts, victuals and hospitality in lands belonging the church, or presume any longer to extort them by force.'[6]

A.D. 908. Primacy transferred to St. Andrews. Cellach first bishop of Alban.

Though the church benefited by this act of King Giric, it does not appear to have availed much, so far as his personal object was concerned; for he was, along with his pupil the British son of Kenneth's daughter, driven out, and the throne was once more occupied by his male descendants. They now were called no longer kings of the Picts, but kings of Alban; and the districts between the Forth and the Spey are no longer Fortrenn, or Pictland, but Alban. The reign of the second of these kings of Alban was an important one for the Church, for in his sixth year—that is, about 908—a great meeting was held on the Moothill of Scone, at which King Constantin and Bishop Cellach 'solemnly vow to protect the laws and discipline of the faith, and the rights of the churches and of the Gospel,

[6] See on this subject Mr. Robertson's *Statuta Ecclesiæ*, vol. i. p. 19, and Dr. John Stuart's preface to the Book of Deer, where the whole subject is well and fully treated.

> equally with the Scots.' Two facts may fairly be deducted from the short notice of this meeting given in the Pictish Chronicle; first, that it secured the rights and liberties of the church as now amalgamated into one body; and secondly, that the leading part taken in it by Bishop Cellach obviously places him at the head of the church, and the primacy must now have been transferred from Abernethy to St. Andrews. There are two lists of the bishops of St. Andrews given to us; one by Bower, who was abbot of Inchcolm, and the other by Wyntoun, who was primate of Lochleven. These lists agree, and in both Cellach appears as first bishop of St. Andrews. Teis meeting may be held to have in fact finally constituted the Scottish Church under its then organisation, in which it was placed under the government of one bishop, who was designated *Epscop Alban*, or bishop of Alban.

It seems scarcely possible at this late day that writers should raise any question as to the true descent of the Scottish Highlander. Some, however, assert that he is the descendant of the Dalriadic Scot from Ireland, while others produce strong arguments in favour of his descent from the Caledonian Pict. After weighing both opinions, the reader is still left in confusion, though inclined to believe that the Highlander owes equally to the Pict and the Scot that splendid physique, manly courage and character which distinguish him in any part of the world. In the present work, both sides of the question are presented by writers whose names are not unknown in Scottish literature:

> The Irish Scots, in the course of two or three centuries, might find time and opportunities sufficient to settle in North Britain, though we can neither assign the period nor the cause of that revolution. . . . And, in a word, it is clear from the language of the two countries, that the Highlanders and the Irish are the same people, and that the one are a colony from the other. We have positive evidence, which, though from neutral persons, is not perhaps the best that may be wished for, that the former, in the third or fourth century, sprang from the latter; we have no evidence at all that the latter sprang from the former. I shall add that the name Erse, or Irish, given by the low country Scots to the language of the Scotch Highlanders, is a certain proof of the traditional opinion delivered from father to son, that the latter people came originally from Ireland.[1]

The Highlanders of Scotland, according to James H. Robertson, "are the true descendants of the ancient Caledon-

[1] Hume's *History of England*, p. 476.

ians; though their early history has been greatly obscured by some pretended historians, and continues to be so even to this day; whereby readers are misled, yet the true narration of ancient facts respecting them, is independent of all the vain prejudice of those who would represent them, and their language, to be merely derived from the insignificant colony of Irish Scots which came into Argyleshire in the sixth century, where still remain their descendants, properly the *only Scots* in Scotland."[1]

In the above, Robertson emphatically asserts that the Highlanders are descendants of the Caledonian Picts, and assigns a Scotch-Irish descent to a very limited territory in Argyleshire. The query naturally arises whether all of these descendants remained there. He bases this statement largely on proofs arising from place names, the language spoken by the inhabitants, and some of the physical and geographical characteristics of the country—all of which he brings out in his *Gaelic Topography of Scotland.*

The same author claims, and endeavours to prove, that the Picts, from time immemorial, spoke the Gaelic (or Celtic) language. In this, however, he seems to have taken Celtic and placed it, *nolens volens* in the mouths of the Caledonian Picts, after the fashion of some modern anti-Celtic writers. His own belief in this contention is evidenced by the statement, made in the first chapter of his *Historical Proofs:*

> It has always been held and said by the Gael of Alban, or Scotch Highlanders, that they are the representatives and descendants of the Caledonians; that noble race of men who with success defended their country and maintained their freedom against all the attacks made on them by large Roman armies, under the command of celebrated generals and emperors, and which resulted in the defeat and withdrawing of the invaders.
>
> To this claim the Highlanders of Scotland can have no right whatever unless they are the descendants of the Picts, who were the Caledonians under a new name, equally as at a subsequent period the Caledonian Picts came to be called Scots.
>
> With regard to the people called Scots, it ought to be remembered that they were the inhabitants of Hibernia, or Ireland—the name first appears towards the end of the fourth century, at and after which period, some straggling bands of Irish Scots came over and fought along with the Caledonian Picts against the Romans, yet we have as clear evidence

[1] *Historical Proofs on the Highlanders* (1865) supplemented in 1869 by *Gaelic Topography of Scotland*, devoted to the same purpose as the first.

that they returned to their own country Ireland, as of their being in Caledonia.[1]

The whole matter is logically and clearly summed up in the words of Thomas Smibert:

During several even of the early centuries of our era, the Scots in North Britain seem to have been comparatively few in number, and to have but held their place as secondaries or auxiliaries to the Picts. But, in the fifth or sixth century, they received large accessions of numbers from Ireland and became firmly and independently planted in the west of Scotland, or in Argyle and in Islay. They are generally known about this point in history as the Dalriads or Dalriad-Scots. . . . The ordinary historians of Scotland, in fact, say that in this conflict the Pictish race was *annihilated*. Pinkerton and others who examined authorities for themselves, perceived this conclusion to be so utterly ridiculous, that they again, declared the Scots to have been vanquished and absorbed in the larger Pictish race. The actual truth seems to be, however, that Kenneth did certainly break for ever the warlike strength of the southern Picts, and gained a large and rich territory for himself and his people. That he massacred all of the hostile blood, young and old, is not for a moment to be credited. But even had he done so, the race of the Picts would not have been extinguished. The great tribes of the northern Picts, his friends and not his enemies, still remained—they remain to this day—they hold and have ever held the very lands of their sires—they are the present Gael—the existing Highlanders of Scotland.[2]

After discussing the subject of the Picts, their origin, their strength, and their influence on the early history of Scotland, Innes states:

The royal family, and present inhabitants of Scotland, are in general as well the descendants and progeny of the ancient Caledonians, or Picts, as they are of those Scots that came in from Ireland; and have as good a title to the actions, religious or military, performed in ancient times by the one as by the other.[3]

Robertson, Smibert and Skene are three of the most important writers who have attempted to prove that the Picts and the Scots are of one and the same origin. Skene, in the *Highlanders of Scotland*, undertakes to prove their descent from the Picts.

Whatever be his descent, whether from Dalriadic Scot, or from Caledonian Pict, it is a matter for regret that in this age of

[1] *Historical Proofs*, pp. 1, 2.
[2] *The Clans of the Highlands of Scotland*, pp. viii, ix.
[3] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., p. 165.

commercialism the old "highlander," with his clan, his tartan, his bagpipe and his dialect, will soon have disappeared entirely, leaving in history alone the eternal record of a powerful, romantic and picturesque people. The Celts have tenaciously clung to their language and to their Celtic principles. In this country, to which they have come in large numbers, they have excited our admiration for their prowess in times of war and maintained our respect for their loyalty and conservatism in times of peace.

The Year Book of the Scotch-Irish Society of America contains an address before that Society at their Fifth Annual Meeting in Springfield, Ohio, May 11th, 1893, by William McKinley, then Governor of Ohio and later President of the United States. He said in part:

> With the conflicting theories of those who delve into the musty past, we need to trouble ourselves but little. The Scotch-Irishman comes of mighty stock—that we know—descending from those who would fight, who could die, but never surrender. Celt and Saxon in him are combined, after each has been tempered and refined. The Celt made his stand as a racial individuality in the extremities of Western Europe. Hence he issued forth as a colonist and missionary. Taking up his abode in the Lowlands of Scotland, he became subject to Anglo-Saxon influence. The blood of the North Britons mingled with that of the Celt from the Green Isle, and with that of the ancient Pict. The result of this commingling of blood and local environment was the Lowland Scot, even then possessing characteristics distinct from the Highlander and the Irish Celt. The Lowlander recrossed the narrow sea to Ulster. His going marked an epoch in the history of civilisation. The tragic history of Ireland has been for centuries food for racial hate. In this land, at least, however, the irremediable past should not be a matter for quarrel, for who of us can say that naught of wrong tarnishes the history of his race? Scot though the Ulsterman is proud to call himself, yet is he also re-transplanted Celt.

On the same occasion, Judge John C. Miller read an original poem on the *Scots in America*, from which the following extract is taken:

> This is the race who with Milesius came
> To the far Western Isle, and laid their claim
> To all its emerald hills and sea-girt shore,
> The name of Scot their banners proudly bore;
> And when its borders they had all possessed,
> Their eager, untamed spirits knew no rest,
> But fondly yearned for other lands to gain,
> And sought for other vict'ries to attain.

They boldly crossed the swelling flood again
To ravage hapless Caledonia's main,
From all its peaks, from Forth to John O'Groat,
With pen of sword the name of Scotland wrote.
And then to Scotia Major, Erin now,
They turned again, and with the peaceful plough
Made newer conquests upon Ulster's soil—
The soldiers had become the sons of toil.

There they took on another form of life,
In arts of peace, and knew no hostile strife,
Save of the Church within whose walls they bowed
In prayer, with lordly priests and Pontiffs proud
With one hand on the Word; the other grasped
The plough, or the swift shuttle firmly clasped,
Till woeful want to peace and plenty grows,
And wasted Ulster "blossoms as the rose."

This is the race which, from its northern hive
Hath sent its countless swarms to live
On all the wide domain of mother earth;
Their hardy deeds in every land gave birth
To a new name—Scotch-Irish—they are called;
They fought for liberty where men were thralled
In either Church or State; in every land
Where freedom sought its birth they formed a band
Of equal men, whose only Lord was God,
Whose only servant was the soil they trod.

To fair Columbia's happy land they brought
Their best of blood and brawn and thought,
And in the ranks with other peoples fought;
And side by side with other peoples wrought
To wrest the country from the savage beast
And men more savage still; until from East
Unto the farthest West the smiling field
Harvests of golden grain was made to yield;

Where erstwhile was the forest dark with shade,
The swamp, the canebrake and the everglade,
Here they their lowly cabins built and reared
To God their humble shrines—to them endeared
By many mem'ries of the olden time—
When in that far-off land, that far-off clime,
The Church which stood on every countryside
Was more to them than all the world beside.

This is the crudest picture of a race
Which hath with all men fully kept apace
In pious deeds, and in affairs of State,
In science, art, and all that make men great;
On every field of battle lie their bones,
In every forum's heard their honeyed tones,
In every shop their talent fruitage bears,
In every excellence their genius shares.

All hail, Scotch-Irish! Lift your banners bright
(The Scottish lion on a field of white)
And in the fav'ring breezes float them high,
Wherever 'neath the overarching sky
One of your race doth live. Then 'twill be found,
Throughout the globe encircling wide around,
As in the thick'ning storm the snowflakes are,
Your banners, glist'ning white, fill all the air.

Referring to the mention by Judge Miller of "Scotia Major," it is a well known historical fact that during some centuries succeeding the Dalriadic invasion, the Latin writers called Ireland "Scotia Major" and Scotland "Scotia Minor."

Sir Robert Sibbald in his *History of Ancient and Modern Fife and Kinross*, says on this subject:

Certain it is that the ancient Caledonia, or modern Scotland, had obtained the name of Albania or Albany, before the year 1070, a name preserved till the 12th century, when it was superseded by that of Scotia, or, as it were, *New* or little Ireland. The parts inhabited by the Picts, which Adomnan and Bede called the *provinces* or terra Pictorus, were also denominated Pictiana or Pictavia, as those possessed by the Scots were called Dalriada; the name of Scotia or Scotland being never given to the North of Britain till about the 11th century, to which period it was peculiarly appropriated to Ireland, the mother country of the Scots, a fact of the utmost notoriety and authenticity, and only to be controverted by ignorance or fallacy.

CHAPTER III

THE BOOK OF DEER

Versions by Cosmo Innes, George Grub and John Stuart—Review of Stuart's Version —Arbitrary Alteration of Proper Name—Columba and Drostan of the Royal Line —Exercise of Royal Prerogative by Domnall mac Giric—Mormaers of Moray and Buchan—"Ciric" the Earliest Form of "Greg"—Gregory as Mormaer of Moray As King of Scotland—His Conquests in Ireland—Grimus, or Greg, commonly Known as Kenneth IV.

THE *Book of Deer*, variously attributed to the ninth, tenth, eleventh or twelfth century, written in Latin with marginal notes in Celtic, contains one of the earliest accounts of the founding of the Monastery of Deer. The marginal notes are stated by authors, reviewers and editors to have been "written at a later date." They constitute the chief value of the work, for they contain the historical data regarding the territory of Buchan, together with references to many persons of prominence during those early days, not found in any other document.

To be more explicit in my review of the different versions of this valuable work, I shall give more facsimiles than may seem absolutely essential to the casual reader. The Rev. Thomas McLauchlan makes the following mention of the work in his *Early Scottish Church:* "The Book of Deer, a relic of the twelfth century, records several grants of lands by Maormors and others written in the Gaelic language, to the religious house at Deer."

The first version is found in a publication by the English Government, entitled *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland*, selected by Sir William Gibson Craig, Lord Clerk Register of Scotland; printed by the Ordnance Department at Southampton, in two volumes, with introduction, comment and description by Cosmo Innes. This work contains photozincographic facsimiles from the *Book of Deer.* The first passage to draw my attention was in Celtic, as follows: "*Colum-*

cille acusdrosten mac cosgreg adalta," which was translated by Cosmo Innes thus: "Columcille and Drosten the son of Cosgreg,[1] his disciple."

Since the prefix "mac," meaning "son of," did not become a part of the surnames of Scotland until sometime after the writing of the original manuscript of the *Book of Deer*, here reproduced in facsimile, it was invariably written in early times with a small *m*.

The second version of the *Book of Deer* was published by the Spalding Club in 1869, with a preface by George Grub, stating that "ancient tradition hath connected the name of St. Drosten, another disciple of St. Columba, with the churches of Deer and Aberdour, in Buchan. . . . The Book of Deer shows that this tradition was well founded." Grub's version forms the fourth volume of a series entitled *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*. It contains marginal notes as follows: "Columcille and Drosten the son of Cosgreg [MacCosgreg] his disciple came from Hi as God had shown them unto Aberdour."

It also contains the following mention of the gift of lands by the son of Gregory: "Domnall MacGiric and Malbrighte MacCathail gave Pettit in Mulein to Drosten."

Grub's capitalisation of the "mac" is an error and therefore misleading.

The third version was also published for the Spalding Club, with preface by John Stuart, LL.D., Edinburgh, with photo-zincographic facsimiles. The preface gives an account of the mission of Columcille and Drosten from Iona to the North of Scotland, then the land of the Picts.

The Book of Deer is a memorial of the monastery thus founded by St. Columba and his disciple. It contains the Gospel of St. John complete, and portions of the other three Evangelists, in writing probably of the ninth century, besides a collection of Memoranda of grants by the celtic chiefs of Buchan, written in Gaelic at a later time.

The following facsimiles, taken from Stuart's version, throw much light on the original text:

[1] Cf. translation by Stuart, p. 86.

THE

BOOK OF DEER

Edited for the Spalding Club

By JOHN STUART, LL.D., Secretary

EDINBURGH

PRINTED FOR THE CLUB BY ROBERT CLARK

MDCCCLXIX

Preface.

I.

INTRODUCTORY—MONASTERIES OF ST. COLUMBA—ONE OF THEM AT DEER—CHURCHES FOUNDED BY NATIVE SAINTS—ST. FERGUS, ST. DROSTAN—THE BOOK OF DEER: ITS HISTORICAL VALUE—THE LATER CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF DEER.

AMID the darkness which enshrouds those missionaries who imparted to the heathen tribes of Alba the blessings of the Christian faith, the form of St. Columba stands out with exceptional clearness of outline; and the popular instinct has not erred which ascribes to him the largest share in the great work, and traces to his mission the most enduring results.

The almost contemporary pages of his biographer, St. Adamnan, enable us to realise to ourselves the system adopted by the great missionary in his enterprise. When he first took possession for Christ of the little island of Hy, which, under the name of Iona, was to become illustrious for all time from its association with him, he founded upon it a monastery, in conformity with the system which then prevailed, not only in the country of the Scots from which he came, but throughout Europe.

Every fresh settlement which the saint effected as he pushed his Christian conquests, whether in the islands of the Hebrides or in the mainland country of the northern Picts, consisted of a monastery for a body of clerics, from which they might disperse them-

selves in circuits among the surrounding tribes, returning to their home for shelter and mutual support.[1]

One of these monastic settlements was that of Deer, in Buchan, a district of Aberdeenshire, which, projecting into the German Ocean, forms the most easterly point of Scotland; and the legend in the Book of the Gospels of this house preserves in traditional detail the circumstances which marked the infancy of the establishment.

It represents the arrival at Aberdour, a sheltered bay on the rocky shores of Buchan, of St. Columba, accompanied by his pupil Drostan; but we are left to conjecture whether the strangers arrived by sea in one of the frail coracles so much in use with the saint and his followers, or were on a landward circuit through the northern districts.

The mormaer or ruler of the district of Buchan, who seems to have been on the spot, made an offering to the clerics of the "city" of Aberdour with freedom from mormaer and toisech.

There are reasons for believing that a considerable population was gathered in the country around the rocky coast of Aberdour[2]

[1] The same course was followed in the Northumbrian monasteries. Of St. Cuthbert we are told that, leaving Mailros, he would spend sometimes several weeks together among the people settled in the glens and hillsides of the Cheviots and the Lammermoor, returning afterwards to his monastery for repose and the refreshment of society, as the bird to the ark; and of St. Aidan's wanderings we also hear in the pages of Venerable Bede (B. iii. c. 17), who elsewhere describes the practice of the time, "Erat quippe moris eo tempore populis Anglorum, ut veniente in villam clerico vel presbytero cuncti ad ejus imperium verbum audituri confluerunt."—(B. iv. cap. 27.)

[2] In the country, about a mile inland from the bay, numerous hut-foundations have been discovered, some of them under a great depth of moss. In some parts of the moss, trees and roots have frequently been turned up, apparently the remains of an early forest. Similar hut-foundations have been found along the coast in the country southwards.

and the red Dun[1] which overlooked its southern side; and as we are frequently able to trace the progress of the Roman armies through places of dense population, where their "ways" were led amid the raths and abodes of the Britons, so we may infer from the numerous churches dedicated to Celtic saints, throughout Scotland,[2] in sites of early settlement, that the missionaries

[1] The colour of the rocks at Dundarg is of a dark red, and the neck of the Dun was cut off from the land by transverse earthworks, of which portions still remain.

[2] Of these there are two classes—first, the churches actually founded by the saints themselves in the course of their missions; and next, the foundations of later date dedicated to the memory of the saints by their spiritual successors. The names of St. Ninian, St. Kentigern, and St. Columba, were held in reverence throughout the kingdom, and churches were dedicated to them in all parts of Scotland. In other cases, the dedications are more restricted in their range, and suggest their origin in the circuit of the patron saint himself.

Of this character are the churches dedicated to St. Fergus, which seem all traceable as original foundations by himself in the course of his labours, as they are related in the Breviary of Aberdeen (Part. Estiv. fol. clxii.) According to this authority, St. Fergus, after having performed the office of a bishop for many years in Ireland, came on a mission to the western parts of Scotland, in company with a body of presbyters or clerics. Arriving in the neighbourhood of Strogeath, he and his friends settled there for a time, leading a somewhat solitary life; but seeing the country good and suitable for settlement, St. Fergus put his hands to the work, and erected three churches. From thence he pursued his course to Caithness, where he preached to the rude people of the country, and drew them to the faith, not more by the truth of his doctrine than by the greatness of his virtues. Again, leaving Caithness he arrived in Buchan, in the place which came commonly to be called Lungley, and where the church which he built is dedicated to his memory. Forsaking Buchan for the country of Angus, he settled at Glammis, where he erected fresh *cenobia* to God, choosing this as the place of his rest. Here accordingly he died, and here, after his death, many miracles were wrought by his relics. So great were these, that in course of time an abbot of Scone, with much devotion, removed his head from his tomb, and placed it in his own monastery at Scone, where, in like manner, miracles were wrought through the merits of St. Fergus.

This is the legendary account of the saint, and many circumstances concur to prove its substantial accuracy.

were attracted in their Christian warfare to these by the denseness of the neighbouring population. St. Columba, on his first mission to Pictland, sought out at once the royal seat of Brude, near Inverness, and he may have been led to the verge of Buchan by the presence of the chief and his followers at one of his residences.

It is probable that the clerics tarried at Aberdour for a time, and founded a monastery on the land which had been granted to them

In later times the parish church of Aberdour was dedicated to St. Drostan.[1] It was placed by the brink of a gorge, on a ledge or table-land overlooking the burn of the Dour, at a spot about 150

Beginning with his first supposed settlement, we find that the three neighbouring churches of Strogeath, Blackford, and Dolpatrick, in Perthshire, were all dedicated to St. Patrick, according well with the idea that the founder was a missionary fresh from the influence of the Irish church.

The church of Wick in Caithness was dedicated to St. Fergus himself — a fact which may be held to support the legendary statement of his visit to that country.

The parish church of Lungley, or, as it has long been called, St. Fergus, is dedicated to him, and preserves the memory of his labours in Buchan, while the parish of Glammis, where he finished his course, also owns him as its patron saint. Here his memory is associated with a holy well, which still freshens the glen in which the hermitage of the saint is said to have been placed.

And, finally, the alleged removal of the saint's head to Scone may be held to be established by the following entry in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, recording one of the many like offerings made by King James IV. at the shrines of saints :

xi October 1503. To the kingis offerand to Sanct Fergus heide in Scone xiiii s.

[1] According to the legend of St. Drostan in the Breviary of Aberdeen, he was descended of the royal family of the Scots. His parents, in consequence of his devotion to religion, sent him to his uncle, St. Columba, in Ireland, to be perfected in his studies. Afterwards he became a monk at Dalquhongale or Holywood, of which place he came to be abbot. Desirous of a stricter life, he retired to Glenesk, in Angus, where he led an eremitical life, and founded a church or monastery by the side of lonely Lochlee, where his memory still survives in such names as "Droustie's Well" and "Droustie's Meadow," after all other trace of his foundation has long vanished.— (Land of the Lindsays, p. 61.)

The parish of Edzell, in Glenesk, is said to be dedicated to St. Drostan. The parish

yards distant from the shore of the Moray Firth. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the bones of the saint were here preserved in a stone chest, and many cures were effected by means of them.[1] In the face of the rock, near where the stream falls into the sea, is a clear and powerful spring of water, known as St. Drostan's Well.

The legend states that thereafter they came to another of the mormaer's "cities," which being pleasing to Columcille, as full of God's grace, he asked it in gift. This the ruler declined. Thereafter his son became sick, and was all but dead, when the mormaer besought the prayers of the clerics for his recovery, and gave them an offering of the "town" which he had formerly refused. They complied with his request, and their prayers were heard in the recovery of the son.

On the land thus granted the clerics founded a monastery, which came to be known as that of Deer.

But this having been done, the island saint must hasten to other districts to diffuse the precious seed entrusted to him, and establish other colonies of missionaries. Before doing so, however, he transferred to Drostan all his authority over the newly-founded church: in the words of the legend, "After that, Columcille gave to Drostan that town, and blessed it, and left as his word, that 'whosoever should come against it, let him not be many-yeared

of Skir-durstan, on the banks of the Spey (now united to Aberlour), had St. Drostan for its patron. He was also patron of the parish of Alvie, higher up the river; and a chapel at Dunaughton, in that parish, was dedicated to him.—(A Survey of the Province of Moray, pp. 261, 286; Elgin, 1798. Shaw's Hist. of the Province of Moray, p. 371; Elgin, 1827.) The churches of Insch in the Garioch, and of Rothiemay on the Deveron, belonged to St. Drostan, besides those of Deer and Aberdour. In Caithness his name was had in reverence, as we find a church dedicated to him in the parish of Halkirk, and Cannisbay was also one of his churches.—(Origines Parochiales Scotiæ, vol. ii. pp. 758, 792.)

[1] Breviar. Aberd. Part. Hyemal. fol. xx

[or] victorious.' Drostan's tears came on parting with Columcille. Said Columcille, Let Dear be its name henceforward."[1]

This "town" was about twelve miles inland from the first settlement of the clerics at Aberdour. It was placed on the fertile banks of the river Ugie, sheltered by wooded heights, on one of which it is probable that another rath of the mormaer was placed;[2] while the district seems to have been the seat of an abundant population, of which many traces yet remain.

The Book of Deer is a memorial of the monastery thus founded by St. Columba and his disciple. It contains the Gospel of St. John complete, and portions of the other three Evangelists, in writing probably of the ninth century, besides a collection of Memoranda of grants by the Celtic chiefs of Buchan, written in Gaelic at a later time.

In subsequent chapters of the Preface translations of the latter will be found, together with notices of the condition and polity of Celtic Scotland, designed to illustrate the bearings of the Book of Deer on an early and obscure period of our national history. I need, therefore, only here advert to the great interest and value of these *memoranda*. On various points connected with our early history, regarding which the historical student has hitherto had to grope his way, amid faint

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[1] As to the name of Deer, see p. xlviii. *post*. The spelling of the word has varied at different times. In its first form it is Déar, "tear," in harmony with the traditional belief of its origin. In the charter of David I. it is Dér. It afterwards appears as Deir, Dere, and Deer. The last has been the ordinary spelling for a long time, and I have retained it, in the belief that, as the word is commonly pronounced, this is nearest to the earliest form of it.

[2] On the hill of Biffie (the Bidben of the grants), and on the opposite hill of Bruxie (of old Altrie—the Alterin of the records), circular foundations are still traceable, and others have been obliterated in recent times. In the district there was formerly a great number of stone circles; and many cists, flint weapons, and other indications of early settlement, have at various times been discovered within its bounds.

light and doubtful analogies, these entries supply new and solid standing-ground. They enable us to discover the condition of the Celtic population of Alba, separated into clans, under the rule of the mormaer, with their chiefs or toisechs, and their brehons or judges.

We discover the division of the country into town-lands, with fixed boundaries, and can trace the different and co-existing rights in them of the ardrigh, the mormaer, and the toisech. We are likewise furnished with notices of various kinds of burdens[1] to which they were subject.

The period embraced in these entries is towards the conclusion of the Celtic period, while the patriarchal polity had not yet given way to the feudal kingdom; the monastic system—at least in the northern districts—was yet flourishing, and the parish and territorial diocese were unknown.

Of what great interest is it, then, to have preserved to us in the Gaelic notices of the Book of Deer such authentic glimpses of the departing economy, which they enable us to understand, while they at the same time throw light on the origin of some of the institutions which superseded it!

I have attempted to sketch the progress of events which, shortly after the period of these memoranda, led to the development of the monastic into the parochial system, and to the substitution of the church of the parish, in the room, and often on the site of, the earlier church of the monastery (chapter v. p. cvii.)

At an early period, the possessions of some of the chief monas-

[1] The amount of some of these was determined by the number of davochs comprised in the territory, affording the earliest instance in our records of a system, which at a later period formed the basis for apportioning the national taxes.

teries in Alba—foundations of Culdees, such as St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Abernethy—had been secularised, and when our earliest records enable us to understand their position, they appear in the hands of laymen.

It was not so in the case of Deer, the clerics of which, down to the middle of the twelfth century, were still receiving, from the bounty of the Gaelic chiefs of the district, additions to their monastic inheritance, in the whole of which they were secured by King David I., with full immunity from all secular exactions. It is plain, however, from the terms of the royal charter, that attempts had been made to "enslave" the monks, probably in the same way as the chiefs of Ireland usurped the rights of the monasteries of that country, and that they were able to maintain their "freedom" in virtue of the grants recorded in their "Book," being the venerable volume now printed for the Members of the Spalding Club.

There seems little reason indeed to doubt that we may trace the occurrence of these memoranda to the attempts made by laymen to usurp the property of the clerics, and to the changed circumstances which demanded *written* evidence to maintain them in possession.[1]

But this was only for a time. The parochial arrangements which had been spreading in the southern parts of the kingdom, very soon after came to supersede in the north as well, the earlier condition of things. One result of the change was the conversion of the churches of the smaller monasteries into parish churches.

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[1] The forged charters, which are of such frequent occurrence among the records of religious houses, seem to have been in many cases attempts to give a legal form to grants which had originally been made by unwritten symbolical gift; and in others to replace some written grant which had been lost.

(1.) The Manuscript.

ITS HISTORY—STYLE OF THE HANDWRITING AND ILLUMINATIONS—WHETHER OF IRISH OR PICTISH EXECUTION—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

The remarks on the volume naturally arrange themselves under two heads—first, the history and character of the manuscript; and secondly, the version of the Gospels.

As to the book itself, while its early connection with the Columbian monastery of Deer is unquestionable, we are entirely ignorant of its subsequent history till the end of the seventeenth century. For the following facts illustrative of its later existence I am indebted to Mr. Bradshaw. "In 1697 the Book of Deer formed part of the collection of MSS. of John Moore, then Bishop of Norwich. It came into the possession of the University of Cambridge in 1715, forming part of the library of Moore, Bishop successively of Norwich and Ely, who died in 1714, and whose library was bought (it is believed at the suggestion of Lord Townshend) by King George I. for a sum of six thousand guineas, and presented to the University." It remained there unnoticed till Mr. Bradshaw's research made its real character to be known.

The volume (numbered I. i. b. 32.) is of a small but rather wide 8vo form of eighty-six folios. It contains the Gospel of St. John,

and portions of the other three Gospels; the fragment of an office for the Visitation of the sick, the Apostles' Creed; and a charter of King David I. to the clerics of Deer. The notices in Gaelic of grants made to the monastery of Deer are written on blank pages or on the margins.

A reference to the plates of facsimiles will show that the text of the Gospels is written in a character different from and older than that of the Celtic entries.

A comparison of the handwriting used in various early codices of the Gospels has led Professor Westwood to conclude that the date of the Deer Gospels may be ascribed to the ninth century, and I see no reason against accepting this conclusion.

The form of the letters in the Gospels is that which was common to the Irish and Anglo-Saxon schools, being the debased Roman minuscule, and, according to Mr. Westwood, "not very unlike the Bodleian Cædmon."[1]

The style of ornament of the illuminations is similar to that used in many of the early Irish Books of the Gospels, as in the illuminated figures of the four Evangelists in the Book of Dimma (MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin); of St. Mark and St. Luke in the Book of Durrow (MS. in the same collection); and of St. Matthew and St. Luke in the Gospels of Mac Durnan (MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth);[2]—all of which are of a date prior to the ninth century, the Book of Durrow being traditionally ascribed to the penmanship of St. Columba.[3]

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[1] Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts, p. 89; Lond. 1868.

[2] Drawings of the last are given in Mr. Westwood's great work just quoted, Plate xxii., and in the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii. Plate iv. of "Illustrations."

[3] Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, by Reeves, *notes*, p. 276.

and birds, occupy many of the open spaces and margins of the pages."[1] (Westwood's "Miniatures and Ornaments," pp. 89, 90.)

A question here naturally suggests itself,—Are we to ascribe the Book of Deer to an Irish or a Pictish origin? and when we recollect the community of religious institutions and art which in their infancy pervaded the churches of both countries, it is one that can only be answered by a consideration of the probabilities and analogies connected with it.

The variety and beauty of the manuscripts of the Gospels, and other works left to us by the early scribes of Ireland, show that the art of writing and illumination was there cultivated and brought to the highest perfection.

There is no reason to doubt that writing was likewise cultivated in the Columbian institutions of Alba, although the productions of the Pictish scribes have not come down to us.

St. Columba was himself a skilful scribe. The copy, which at an early period of his life he made of St. Finian's Gospels, was the remote cause of his mission to Alba from the disputes to which it gave rise. Just before his death, too, as we learn from Adamnan, he was engaged in transcribing the Psalter; and of Connachtach, one of his successors, who died in A.D. 801, it is recorded that he was "scriba selectissimus."[2]

The "Legend of St. Andrew" preserves the name of one Pictish scribe in the following notice:—"Thana filius Dudabrach hoc monumentum scripsit Regi Pherath filio Bergeth in villa Migdele;"[3]

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[1] [Plates xxi. xxii.]

[2] Reeves' Adamnan, pp. 233, 388.

[3] This is Meigle in Strathmore, which in Pictish times seems to have been a place of high ecclesiastical importance. In no site have so many of the sculptured monuments peculiar to Pictland been discovered. (See "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. i., Notices of the Plates, p. 22; vol. ii., Notices of the Plates, pp. 2, 73.)

and this, with other historical facts, was copied from ancient Pictish books into the Register of St. Andrews about the middle of the twelfth century,—"Hæc ut præfati sumus sicut in veteribus Picto rum libris scripta reperimus, transcripsimus."[1]

On a review of these facts, there seems nothing improbable in concluding that the Book of Deer may have been written by a native scribe of Alba in the ninth century. The existence of a *Fer-leiginn*, or scribe, in the neighbouring monastery of Turriff, would entitle us also to look for one in the monastery of Deer; and we learn from Colgan that the duty of these officials was

[1] See the reading of it given by Professor Sir James Y. Simpson in "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," vol. ii., Notices of the Plates, p. 70. The Pictish character of the inscription is supported by Dr. Petrie and Mr. Whitley Stokes in "Goidilica," by the latter, p. 37. Calcutta, 1866.

[2] "It seems very probable, on the whole, that the sculptor of the crosses, as well as the 'scribe' who prepared the design, was a member of the monastic community, if indeed the offices were not united in one person. Under the rule of St. Benedict every monk was compelled to learn some trade, and many of them became the ablest artists, writers, architects, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, sculptors, and agriculturists in the kingdom. In Ireland the monks were the artificers of the shrines, croziers, book-covers, and bells, which yet excite our wonder by the grace and at the same time the minute intricacy of their style; while they were also the writers of those manuscripts of matchless caligraphy to which I have referred." (Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol. ii. Pref. p. 16.)

the transcription of manuscripts, the framing of annals, and teaching the schools.

It is reasonable, therefore, to believe that the same aptitude for writing and illuminating which characterised the Irish foundations of St. Columba was manifested in his Pictish monasteries, and that we ought to expect the production of copies of the Gospels in the one as well as in the other.

If it should be suggested that the Irish missionaries, to whom so many of the monasteries in Pictland owed their foundation, probably carried with them copies of the Gospels, and that the Book of Deer may have been one of them, it may be answered that the time for such importations had passed away, and that the intercourse between the churches, originally so close, had been greatly interrupted before the date ascribed to that book.

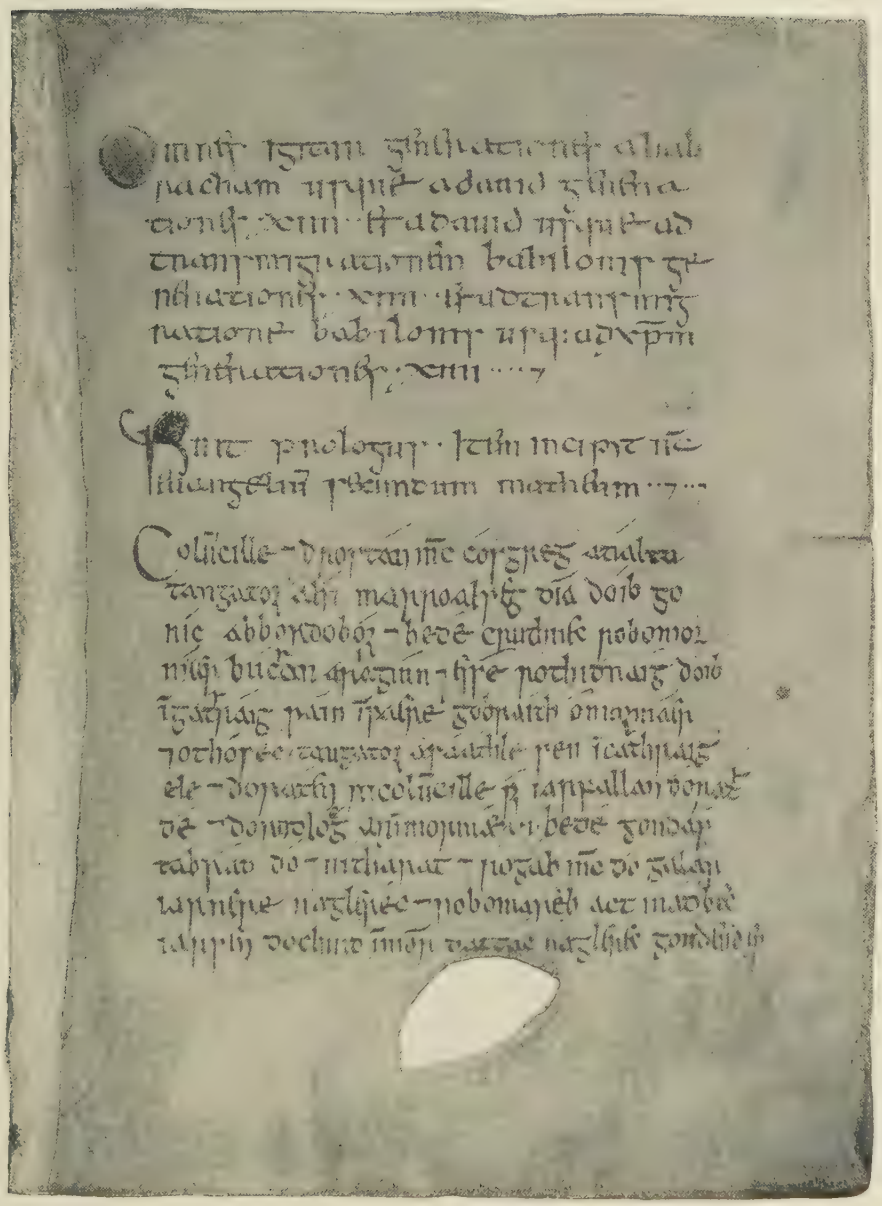
The comparative abundance of illuminated copies of the Gospels by Irish scribes still remaining, with the almost total want of any Scotch examples, may at first sight suggest the idea that the Book of Deer also should be ascribed to Irish hands. But the circumstances which in Scotland attended the ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth century, resulting in an entire breach with the past, led to such a ruthless destruction of the books in any wise associated with the ancient church, that not merely are we without specimens of the books of the early Celtic church of Alba (if we except the Book of Deer) ; but, even of all that enormous number of service-books used in the offices of the later church of St. Margaret and her sons, we have scarcely a trace beyond a stray volume saved by some happy and rare accident,[1] so that the

[1] As in the case of the missal and other service-books of the church of St. Ternan of Arbuthnott, which were probably rescued from destruction by the lord of the

absence of these later books might with equal justice be adduced as an argument for disbelieving *their* native character, which, however, is beyond doubt.

I think, therefore, we may assume that the Book of Deer was the production of a native scribe, if not of a scribe of the monastery of Deer itself.

Columcille, and Drostán son of Cosgrach, his pupil, came from Hí, as God had shown to them, unto Abbordoboir, and Bede the Pict was mormaer of Buchan before them, and it was he that gave them that town in freedom for ever from mormaer and toisech. They came after that to the other town, and it was pleasing to Columcille because it was full of God's grace, and he asked of the-mormaer, to wit Bede, that he should give it to him; and he did not give it, and a son of his took an illness after [*or in consequence of*] *refusing the clerics, and he was nearly dead* [lit. *he was dead but if it were a little*]. *After this the mormaer went to entreat the clerics that they should make prayer for the son, that health should come to him; and he gave in offering to them from Cloch in Iprat to Cloch petie meic Garnait. They made the prayer, and health came to him. After that Columcille gave to Drostán that town, and blessed it, and left as (his) word, "Whosoever should come against it, let him not be many-yeared* [*or*] *victorious." Drostán's tears came on parting from Columcille. Said Columcille, "Let* DÉAR *be its name henceforward."*



FROM THE "BOOK OF DEER."

Celtic Entries in the Book of Deer.

NOTES OF GIFTS AND IMMUNITIES TO ST. COLUMBA, AND DROSTAN, BY THE MORMAERS AND TOISECHS OF BUCHAN—BY THE KING OF ALBA—AND BY THE MORMAERS OF MORAY.

THESE entries, in the vernacular Gaelic of Alba, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are represented in facsimile on Plates III. IV. V. VI. and VII.

[THE FOUNDATION OF DEER.]

The legend which records the foundation of the monastery is begun on a spare half of folio 3, and is continued on the following folio. It is in the following terms:—

Columcille acusdrostán mac cósgreg adálta tangator áhí marroalseg día doíb goníc abbordobóir acusbéde cruthnec robomormáer búchan aragínn acusesse rothídnáig dóib ingathráig sáin insaere gobraíth ómormaer acusóthóséc . tangator asáathle sen incathraig ele acusdoráten ricolumcille sí iarfallán dórath dé acusdorodloeg arinmormáer . i . bédé gondas tabrád dó acusnithárat acusrogáb mac dó galár iarńeré nagleréc acusrobomaréb act mádbec iarsen dochúid inmormaer dattác naglerec góndéndæs ernacde les inmac gondisád slánte dó acusdórat inedbairt dóib úaćloic intiprat goníce chlóic pette meic garnáit doronsat ínernacde acustaníc slante dó; Iarsén dorat collumcille dódrostán inchadráig sén acusrosbenact acusforacaib imbrether gebe tisad ris nabad blienec buadacc tangatar déara drostán arscartháin fri collumcille rolaboir columcille bedeár ánim óhúnń ímácć;

"Comgeall son of Ed gave from Orti to Furene to Columcille and to Drostán. Moridach son of Morcunn gave Pett meic Garnait and Achad toche temni; and it was he that was mormaer and was tosech·Matáin son of Caerell gave the mormaer's share in Altere and Culi son of Baten gave (the) toisech's share·Domnall son of Girec and Maelbrigte son of Cathal, gave Pett in Mulenn to Drostán·Cathal son of Morcunt gave Achad

[1] The words between asterisks are written in ink of a different colour from the others. See Preface, pp. xxiv. xxvi.

naglérech ("the clerics' field") to Drostán. Domnall son of Ruadri and Maelcoluim son of Culéon, gave Bidbin to God and to Drostán. Maelcoluim son of Cinaed, gave (the) king's share in Bidbin and in Pett meic Gobroig and two davochs of Upper Rosabard·Maelcoluim, son of Maelbrigte, gave the Delerc. Maelsnechte, son of Lúlóg, gave Pett Maelduib to Drostán· Domnall, son of Mac Dubbacín, immolated all the offering to Drostán, giving the whole of it to him·Cathal immolated in (the) same way his toisech's share, and gave a dinner of a hundred every Christmas and every Easter to God and to Drostán·Cainnech son of Mac Dobarcon (otter's son) gave Alterin alla bhethe (birch-cliff) na camone as far as the birch-tree between (the) two Alterins. Domnall and Cathal gave Etdanin to God and to Drostán·Cainnech and Domnall and Cathal immolated all these offerings to God and to Drostán from beginning * to end in freedom from mormaer and from toisech to (the) day of judgment." *

Fol. 4 *b*. ACUSBENNACT INCHOMDED ARCECMORMAR ACUSARCECTOSECH CHOMALLFAS ACUSDANSIL DANEIS.

"AND THE LORD'S BLESSING ON EVERY MORMAER AND ON EVERY TOISECH WHO SHALL FULFIL (THIS) AND TO THEIR SEED AFTER THEM."

Donchad mac mec bead mec hídid dorat acchad madchór docrist acusdodrostan acusdocholuimcille insóre gobrád malechí acuscómgell acusgillecrist mac fingúni innáienasi intestes·acus malcoluim mac molíní·Cormac mac cennedig dorat goṅige scáli merlec·Comgell mac cáennaig táesec clande canan dórat docrist acusdodrostán acusdócholuim cille gonige ingort lie mór igginn infius isnesu daldín alenn ódubúci gólurchárí etarsliab acusachad·* issaeri othesseach cubráth acusabennacht arcachhén chomallfas araer cubrath acusamallact arcachén ticfa ris ; *

Donchad son of Mac Bethad son of Ided gave Achad Madchor to Christ and to Drostán and to Columcille in freedom for ever: Malechi and Comgell and Gille-Christ son of Fingune in witness whereof in testimony, and Maelcoluim son of Molíne·Cormac son of Cennedig gave as far as Scale Merlech·Comgell son of Caennech, chief of Clan Canan, gave to Christ and to Drostán and to Columcille as far as the Gort-lie-Mór at (the) hither (?) End which is nearest to Aldin Alenn from Dobaci to Lurchari both mountain and field * in freedom from chief for ever; and his blessing on every one who shall fulfil (this) and his curse on every one who shall go against it." *

With regard to the manuscript of the *Book of Deer*, Stuart finds himself in some perplexity, whether to ascribe to it an Irish or a Pictish origin. He attempts to solve the problem by a comparison of the religious institutions and art, pervading to a very similar degree in the churches of both countries. It is quite evident, he states in his preface, from a study of the manuscripts of the Gospels left us by the early Irish scribes, that the art of writing and illuminating was brought to the highest perfection in their country. The style of ornamentation of the illumination in this manuscript he finds is in close resemblance to certain authentic copies of the Gospels of a date prior to the ninth century.

It may well be said, however, that inasmuch as there is no shred of evidence as to the existence of a written Pictish language, it could hardly have been written in Pictish. As the Monastery of Deer was inhabited by Irish monks, it would be no stretch of the imagination to ascribe the manuscript to one of the Irish brothers in that Monastery.

Stuart credits the legend of St. Andrews with preserving the record of a Pictish scribe in the following notice, "Thana filius Dudabrach hoc monumentum scripsit Regi Pherath filio Bergeth in villa Migdele." He states that this, in connection with other historical facts, was "copied from ancient Pictish books into the Register of St. Andrews about the middle of the twelfth century,—'Hæc ut præfati sumus sicut in veteribus Pictorum libris scripta reperimus, transcripsimus.'"

The above furnishes only a *reference* to a Pictish scribe and does not give us any example of Pictish writing, nor does it establish the fact that there ever existed a written language of the Picts. Stuart concludes, as shown by facsimile, "On a review of these facts, there seems nothing improbable in concluding that the Book of Deer may have been written by a native scribe of Alba, in the ninth century."

If the *Book of Deer* was written by a "native scribe of Alba," and, as inferred by Stuart, by a "Pictish scribe," why did he use the Celtic instead of his own, the Pictish, language?

It would be well at this point to note in Stuart's version an apparent error in a proper name. While the question of the name itself may not be one of importance, it might raise a query as to the accuracy of his version. In the facsimile of

the original manuscript, the word *cosgreg* appears. By a comparison of this facsimile with his transliteration and translation on page 86, it will be seen that he changes the name, apparently without warrant, to *cosgrach*, its final form in his version. Grub and Cosmo Innes have made no such attempts in their versions to effect any change in the spelling of the name. The Rev. Thomas McLauchlan has raised the same issue in the following passage:

> Columcille and Drostan son of Cosgrach, his pupil, came from I. . . . Then the names in this document are of interest. Besides that of Bede, we have Drostan and CosGreg his father, and Gernaid. Bede, Drostan and Gernaid, are names not known in the Gaelic nomenclature of Scotland and Ireland. . . . Donald Mac Giric and Maelbrighte Mac Chail gave Petit in Mulein to Drostan. It will be observed that some of the words in this translation are different from those given in the Spalding Club. Some of the readings in that edition, notwithstanding its general accuracy, are doubtful.[1]

There are too many valuable passages in this version of the *Book of Deer* to be passed over without comment, since they confirm what has heretofore been said with regard to the reign of King Gregory and his descendants, to the time of Malsnechtan, the son of Lulach. Stuart says:

> In the lists of the Pictish kings, from the Register of St. Andrews, it is said of Girg, or Grig, "Et hic primus dedit *libertatem* ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, quæ sub servitude erat usque ad illud tempus ex consuetudine et more Pictorum."[2]

Since, according to the same authority, it was the privilege of the mormaer, a royal official resembling the graphic of the early Franks, and the Scandinavian jarl, as king's deputy, to retain a third part of the royal revenue and prerogatives, it is quite evident from the exercise of such function by Domnall mac Giric; Malcoluinn, son of Cinaed; and Malsnechte, son of Lulach, that they were of the highest rank, for the *Book of Deer* records:

> Maelcoluim son of Cinaed, gave [the] King's share in Bidbin and in Pett meic Gobreig and two davochs of Upper Rosabard. Maelcoluim son of Maelbrigte gave the Delerc. Maelsnechte, son of Lulog gave Pett Maelduib to Drostan.

[1] In an article contributed to Keltie's *Highlanders*.
[2] *Book of Deer*, p. xcix.

Stuart explains the above passage as follows:

> The first of these grants is by Malcolm, Mormaer of Moray, son of Maelbride, who was also Mormaer of that province, and the second is by Malsnechte son of Lulach, who, as representing the House of Moray, is styled "King of Moray" by the Irish annalists in recording his death in 1085.

In writing as to the existence of the Delerc and Pett Malduib grants, Stuart says:

> No such local names as *the Delerc* or *Pett Malduib* are now to be found in any district; but if the lands consisted of small portions which afterwards were merged in larger possessions with definite names, this could hardly be expected. It does not seem likely that the lands were isolated fields lying in Moray and at a distance from the Monastery; nor do I think the difficulty is removed by Mr. Robertson's remark that "the grants of Malcom Mac Malbride and of Lulach's son, Malsnechtan, would appear to mark the tenacity with which the family of Moray clung to their claim of exercising proprietary rights in that province, in which both the kings who sprang from their race met their deaths," as the province of Moray was always confined within the limits of the Spey as its southern boundary.[1]

A casual examination of the chronicles given in Chapter IV. will convince any unbiased reader that from the province of Moray came two of the most successful kings of Scotland—Gregory the Great and MacBeth. It is not, therefore, surprising that the families from whom these two famous kings sprang should have clung tenaciously to their proprietary rights in that province. Stuart's *Abstract of the Grants in the Book of Deer* contains the following entries, of special interest to my subject:

> Domnal, son of Giric; and Malbrigte, son of Cathal to Drostan, Pett in Mulenn.
>
> Maelcoluim, son of Cinaed (Kenneth, G.), the king's share in Bidbin.
>
> Maelcoluim, son of Maelbrigte, the Delerc.
>
> Maelsnechte, son of Luloeg (Lulac, G.), to Drostan, Pett Maelduib.
>
> Donnchad, son of Mac Bethad, son of Hided, to Christ and to Drostan and to Columcille, Achad Madchor in freedom for ever.[2]

Stuart considers these Gaelic entries on the margin of the manuscript, of the highest interest, particularly as being the only specimens left of records of our forefathers "at a time when the people and polity were Celtic, and just before the intro-

[1] *Book of Deer*, p. lii.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. lxi.–lxii.

duction of elements which changed the aspect and character of both." He states that from these entries we are able to form conclusions which have hitherto been matters of conjecture and speculation only, rather than of historical certainty. He also suggests that perhaps five centuries elapsed between the writing of the original MS. of the *Book of Deer* and the marginal entries.

In reference to the Roman occupation of North Britain, and the division of the country at that time, Stuart claims:

> Of these kingdoms, the country between the Dee and the Spey formed one. In a description of Scotland, written in the twelfth century, it appears in two forms. In one case it is said, "Quartum regnum (fuit) ex De usque ad magnum et mirabile flumen quod vocatur Spe, majorem et meliorem tocius Scocie"; and in the other, it is spoken of as one of seven districts into which Scotland was divided, and as composed of Marr with Buchan.[1]

Reference is here made to the country "between the Dee and the Spey" as forming one portion. It is more than amply proven that this was the home of King Grig, or Greg; of Kenneth IV., whose family name was Greg, or Grimus; of Malcolm, the son of Kenneth; of MacBeth, Lulach and Malsnechtan.[2] Nearly all the chronicles agree in this statement as to dates and location. In Stuart's preface to the *Book of Deer*, the following entries confirm this:

> When Macbeth confirmed to the monks of Lochleven the lands of Kirkness, *with freedom from the king, or the king's son, or the sheriff*, his title to grant resulted from his position as King of Alba, his own inheritance lying in Moray—thus witnessing to the rights of the crown in the lands.[3]

There can be no question that Stuart's investigations led to the conclusion that Macbeth was both Mormaer of Moray and King of Scotland by right of birth and marriage. His version of the *Book of Deer* places Gregory the Great; Greg, or Grimus (Kenneth IV); MacBeth; Lulach and Malsnechtan in their rightful places in the royal line.

In a footnote (p. clix.) Stuart mentions:

> Some pages of the Book of Deer have been reproduced by the process of photozincography in the first part of the volume of the National MSS.

[1] *Book of Deer*, p. lxxiv.
[2] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. cxlv.
[3] *Book of Deer*, p. lxxx. (Footnote).

of Scotland, published under the directions of the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland.

He does not mention, however, that Cosmo Innes edited that work, and that he is considered one of the fairest Scottish antiquarians of the nineteenth century.

Stuart's index to his version of the *Book of Deer* is incomplete and imperfect, as it omits many names of persons and places frequently referred to in the preface and in the text, among which are Ciric, Grig, Cosgreg, Drostan, and Ecclesgreig. Lulach is mentioned only once in the index, though occurring many times in the text. MacBeth is indexed only with reference to the preface.

In the foregoing accounts from the *Book of Deer*, it is plainly shown that St. Drostan was of the royal Irish-Scot line, and that he was a nephew of Columba, also of the same royal line. It is equally evident that his father's name was *Cosgreg* and not *Cosgrach*.

The *Book of Deer* makes mention of *Domnall mac Giric*, which could mean no other than *Donald, the son of Greg*, since King Gregory was Mormaer of the "country between the Dee and the Spey" before he came to the throne in 875, the district in which Domnall mac Giric makes his gifts of property. Hollinshead's unsupported statement[1] that King Gregory never married is not sufficient evidence upon which to base a fact so important. If the *Book of Deer* has been properly ascribed to the tenth, eleventh or twelfth century, the dates and locations therein recorded would clearly indicate that Domnall mac Giric bore his title of *son of Greg* justly. Facsimiles reproduced from Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii., confirm this fact:

[1] See facsimile from *The Scottish Chronicle*, infra., p.

Like them, they were viewed as the hereditary rulers of the territory with which they were connected, and as protecting the rights of the Crown within its bounds. That the office, whatever it was, was held hereditarily by the same family we see in the notices of two of these families preserved in the Pictish Chronicle and in the Irish Annals. In the one we find Dubucan, son of Indrechtaig, Mormaer of Angus, succeeded by his son Maelbrigdi; and in the other we see the family of Ruadri filling the office of Mormaer of Moray, and the succession apparently following the Irish law of tanistry, and alternating between the descendants of his two sons Maelbrigdi and Findlaec; and when this family was finally driven from the throne in the person of Lulach, the grandson of the former, we find his son Maelsnectai appearing as *Ri Muireb* or king of Moray, from whom it passed through his sister to Ængus, termed in the Annals 'son of the daughter of Lulaig.'[25]

Mormaers of Buchan from the Book of Deer.

A more complete revelation, however, is made to us with regard to the Mormaers of another district, that of Buchan, in the Book of Deer, which contains the usual memoranda of the old grants made to that monastery while still retaining its character as an old Celtic foundation. Here the names of seven of the old Mormaers during the five centuries and a half which elapsed between the foundation of the Celtic monastery in the time of Columcille and the reign of David the First are given. We are told that Bede *Cruthnech*, or the Pict, Mormaer of Buchan, gave the *cathair* or city *Abbordoboir*, now Aberdour, on the south shore of the Moray Firth, to Columcille and Drostan, and afterwards certain lands called also a *cathair* or city, to which Columcille gave the name of Dear. He seems to have been followed by Comgall, son of Aeda, who made a grant to Columcille and Drostan. After him we have Matan

[25] *Chron. Picts and Scots*, pp. 370, 372.

son of Cearill, Domhnall son of Giric, and Domnall son of Ruadri, but there is nothing to show what the connection of these Mormaers with each other was or when they lived, but the dignity then passes to a family called Mac Dobharcon.[26] Two brothers, Domhnall son of Mac Dobharcon, and Cainneach son of Mac Dobharcon, follow each other as Mormaers, and the latter is succeeded by his son Gartnait, who, with his wife Ete, daughter of Gillemichel, makes a grant in the eighth year of King David, that is, in 1132.

The succession among these latter Mormaers seems to follow the same rule of tanistic succession which we have seen among the Mormaers of Moray.

Toisechs of Buchan.

The same valuable record, however, makes a further revelation regarding the organisation of those districts ruled over by the Mormaers. It shows us that the next rank under the Mormaers of Buchan was held by persons termed Toisechs, who possessed a similar relation in a subordinate capacity to the land and the people. Thus we find that Bede the Pict grants Abbordoboir free from the claim of Mormaer and of Toisech, and in the grants of land by the subsequent Mormaers there is usually associated with them the Toisech as having an interest in the subject of the grant. Among these Toisechs a family descended from Morcunn or Morgan appears very prominent. Thus Comgall, son of Aeda, grants the land from Orti to Furerie, and Mondac, son of Morcunn, gave Pette mic Garnait and Achad Toche Temni, and it is added that 'one was Mormaer and the other was Toisech.'[27] Then Cathal, son of Morcunt, gives Achadnagleree; and Domhnall

[26] *Dobharcu*, of which Dobharcon is the genitive form, signifies literally water-dog, and is the name usually given to an otter.

[27] The words *agus ise Mormaer agus ise Toisech.* This has been translated as if it meant that Mondac was both Mormaer and Toisech, while Comgall is left without a designation, but the above is the obvious meaning.

mac Giric, the fourth Mormaer named, and Maelbrigdi, son of Cathal the Toisech, gives Pett in Mulenn ; and finally Colban, Mormaer of Buchan, and Eva, daughter of Garnait (the previous Mormaer), his wife, and Donnachac, Toisech of the clan Morgainn, mortmained all the foregoing offerings to God, Drostan, Colcumcille, and Peter, free of all burdens except four davachs of such burdens as come upon chief residences of Alban and chief churches. Among the witnesses to this grant are Morgunn and Gillepetair, sons of Donnachach, and others who are called *Maithi*, that is, good men or nobles of Buchan. Another family of Toisechs which appears is that descended from Batni. Thus Matan, son of Cairill, who is the third-named Mormaer, gives the Mormaer's share in Altere, now Altrie ; and Culi, son of Batni, gives the Toisech's share. Then Domhnall, son of Ruadri, the fifth-named Mormaer, and Malcolm, son of Culi, give Bidhen, now Biffie ; and here the king comes in as also possessing rights in these lands, for Malcolm, son of Cinaetha, or Malcolm II., gives the king's share in Bidhen, Pett mic Gobroig, and the two davachs of Upper Rosabard. Then Domhnall, son of Mac Dubhacinn, mortmains all these offerings to Drostan upon giving the whole of them to him, and Cathal mortmains in the same way his Toisech's share. They also give Eddarun, and Cainnech, son of Mac Dobharcon, and the same Cathal give Alterin of Ailvethenamone; and then it is added Cainnech, Domhnall, and Cathal mortmained all these offerings free from Mormaer and Toisech. It is unnecessary to notice the other grants further than that Comgall, son of Cainnaig, Toisech of Clan Canan, gives certain lands free from Toisech. Thus in the organisation of these districts we find a gradation of persons possessing territorial rights within them, consisting of the Ardri or supreme king, the Mormaer, and the Toisech, and the latter of these appears as not only possessing rights in connection with the land, but also standing in a relation

to the tribe or clan which occupied them as their leader.[8] The same record discloses a similar connection between the Mormaer and the land in the person of two of the Mormaers of Moray. Thus Malcolm, the son of Ruadri, who died in 1029, gives the Delerc, and Malsnectai, the son of Lulach, the successor of Macbeth as usurper of the throne, gives Pettmalduib to Drostan. These lands were probably within the province of Moray ruled by them, and we are told by the Saxon Chronicle that 'in 1078 King Malcolm won the mother of Maelslaht or Maelsnectai and all his best men,' an expression similar to that of the *Maithi* or good men of Buchan, which, as we have seen, included the Toisech 'and all his treasure and his cattle,' and he himself escaped with difficulty. His death as *Ri Moreb*, or king of Moray, is recorded, as we have seen, in 1080.

Seven earls first appear in reign of Alexander the First.

On the death of Eadgar, the successor of Malcolm III., his brother Alexander the First ruled as king over Scotland proper, while Lothian and Cumbria or Strathclyde fell to his brother David. From the time when the Celtic king Malcolm had married the Saxon princess Margaret there had been an increasing Saxon influence in the government of the Celtic provinces; and when his sons by that princess had been firmly established on the throne by foreign aid, in opposition to the attempt of their father's brother to maintain his right under the older law of succession, with the assistance of the Gaelic population, and found their chief support in the Anglic population of Lothian and the Merse, the reigns of Eadgar and Alexander the First must be viewed as essentially those of Saxon monarchs modelling their kingdom in accordance with Saxon institutions; while the object of David from the first,

[8] In the above notice from the Book of Deer the reader is referred to the edition of it printed for the Spalding Club under the able care of the late Dr. John Stuart. The facts they disclose are given here merely, and the explanation must be reserved to a subsequent chapter.

Attention has frequently been called to the errors and discrepancies of Skene, particularly in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*. I must admit, however, that his works have been of invaluable aid in the preparation of this volume. He has brought to light, in concise form, many documents hidden in obscure places throughout Ireland, England and Scotland. His works, however, being decidedly anti-Celtic, would bias the views of any one not having access to the earlier histories and documents upon which the history of Scotland should be builded.

The previous pages fully confirm the fact that Stuart and Skene were agreed regarding Stuart's version of the *Book of Deer;* the footnotes of each bearing reference to the other.

From the review of the *Book of Deer*, the writer believes that if it had been written for the sole purpose of establishing the royal descent of the families Grig, Greg, Gregg, Gregor, MacGregor and (Scottish) Gregory, it could hardly have furnished more complete and adequate evidence, since it proves beyond a doubt there were Mormaers of Moray and Kings of Scotland by the names of Giric, Greg, or Grimus, whose reigns are fully recorded in nearly every old document dealing with that period.

Many of the modern writers, notably Skene, Burton, Stuart and Grub, have substantially agreed in their accounts of King Gregory, though they have tried to adapt the records to their own views, rather than their views to the records.

In addition to the frequent mention made in Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, with reference to the importance of the Mormaers of Scotland, it will be of interest to note that in one of his earlier works[1] the importance of the office is clearly defined in the following passage, in which both Lulach and Malsnechtan are mentioned:

> In 1032, the Annals of Ulster mention the death of Gilcomgain Mac Maolbride, Maormor of Mureve. Afterwards in 1058, they have the death of Lulac Mac *Gilcomgan*, king of Scotland; and in 1085, the death of Maolsnechtan Mac *Lulach*, king or Maormor of Mureve. Here we see that although one of the Maormors of Moray had obtained possession of the throne of Scotland, yet on his being driven from that prominent station, his son appears as Maormor of Moray. The history of the same family also shows very clearly, that the succession to the dignity of Maormor was strictly a male succession, for in the beginning of the eleventh century we find Malcolm Mac Maolbride, the Maormor of Moray, in possession of the

[1] *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 80.

throne of Scotland; and although it appears from the Sagas, that Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, married Malcolm's daughter; and that on Malcolm's death, Thorfin, Earl of Orkney, his grandson, was his nearest heir according to feudal principles, yet we find that he was succeeded in Moray by his brother Gilcomgain Mac Maolbride, to whose posterity also his claim to the throne of Scotland descended.

As the reign of Gregory the Great occurred during the period recorded by nearly all historians as "lost in obscurity"; and, as a very recent effort has been made by some modern authors to eliminate him entirely from the lists of kings of Scotland, *except as tutor or governor* to one Eochodius, it is well to bear in mind that the quotations and facsimiles regarding his reign are of special importance to the origin of the Greg and allied families. I have found very few documents dealing with the early history of Scotland or Ireland which do not mention him as king of Scotland for twelve or more years. In Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* (reviewed in Chapter IV., herewith), he is indexed under many names: Grig, Girg, Gyrg, Girig, Greg, Gregour, Gregorious, Ciric, Carus, Tirg, son of Donald, and Grig, son of Dungal, King of Scotland. The existing controversies of the past three centuries have necessarily aided in confusing his reign; Skene's publication of the various documents recording him is, therefore, very valuable to the subject. From his preface, the following extract as to the origin of the name is taken:

> The old form of his name is *Ciric*, which is the same as the name of one of the seven sons of Cruithne, from whom *Maghcircin* took its designation. There is a curious notice in the "Pictish Chronicle," that in his ninth year an eclipse of the sun took place "die Cirici." The day of St. Cyricus fell on the 16th of June, and there actually was a great eclipse of the sun on the 16th of June, 885, which corresponds tolerably well with his ninth year. This seems to show some connexion between his own name and that of the saint; and it is curious that a church in the Mearns dedicated to St. Cyricus, is called in old Charters Ecclesgreig, or the Church of Greig. He seems, therefore, to have founded a church among the Picts of Maghcircin.[1]

From the account of Cruithne and his seven sons, in which the name of Ciric first appears, Skene promulgates a theory that the country was divided into seven districts, each district being called after a son, and each son, in the beginning, ruling over

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p cxxxvii.

his own district. This theory, however, was not original with Skene, having been advanced by Innes in 1729 and endorsed by Pinkerton in 1814. Though considered fanciful and without proper foundation, there may have been such an arrangement for a time at least. Of course, as the Picts had no written language, the tradition, handed down from father to son, has become a part of the early history of Scotland. In the same preface, Skene says:

> Turning now to the legend which is expressly said to have been taken from the books of the Picts and therefore applies more peculiarly to their kingdom in Scotland, we find it there stated that Cruithne, the *eponymus* of the race, had seven sons, Fib, Fidach, Fodla, Fortren, Cait, Ce, Ciric, and that they divided the country into seven portions. This means simply that the territory occupied by the Cruithne in Scotland consisted of seven provinces bearing these names. Five of these can be identified. Fib is obviously Fife, Fortren can be identified with the western part of the country of Perth, including the vale of Strathearn; Fodla appears in the name Atfodla, the old form of the word now corrupted into Athole; Ciric, or Circin, as he appears in the Pictish Chronicle, is found in the Maghcircin, now corrupted into Mearns; Cait is Cathanesia or Caithness; and the only two names unidentified, are Fidach and Ce.[1]

According to the list of kings furnished by Matthew Duncan,[2] Gregory was descended from the house of Loarn, being the son of Dungallus and grandson of Solvathius, or Selbach. Nearly all chronicles record the fact that when Dungallus was drowned in the river Spey, Gregory was only two months old, and that he did not succeed to the throne until 875. The fact that his father was of the royal Scottish race, and his mother of the Pictish, gave him a two-fold claim. At the time of his accession he was Mormaer of Moray, an office which "appears to have been next in dignity and power to that of the king." Until modern writers accepted the *Pictish Chronicle* as authority for a *joint rule* with Eochodius, no question was raised as to Greg's *sole* reign by right of birth. Nearly all of the old chronicles, with this one exception, show that he succeeded as son of Dungallus, whose reign of seven years preceded that of King Alpin, the father of Kenneth. Because of Greg's age at the time of his father's death, the rule fell to King Alpin, as "next of kin" and "fittest to rule." The only reference to King Greg,

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. ciii.

[2] Cf. pp. 307 *et seq.*

during the intervening years, is the mention of gifts of property to the Church by his son, *Domnall mac Giric*, in the *Book of Deer*. All early historians relate that he resided in his Castle of Dunadeer in the Garioch and that he died, after a reign of eighteen years, in A.D. 893. His reign was considered one of the most important during that early period, as attested by various authorities:

> This glorious King Gregory, after a vigorous reign of eighteen years, all but a few months, closed the last of his days at Dounedoure, and lies buried in the island of Iona.—*John of Fordun* (A.D. 1394).
>
> Gregory was solemnly crowned at Scone in the year of our Lord eight hundred and seventy-five. He increased the liberties of the Church, which had been diminished before his time. He assuaged the enmities and strifes existing among the chief men of his kingdom. After this, he invaded Ireland, which he said fell to him by law of succession, which he subdued in a short time. He also obtained possession of the northern part of England, partly by his humanity and tact, and partly by force of arms. Then he closed his eyes in peace.—*John Major* (1469–1549).
>
> Gregory, called the Great, a king endowed with all the virtues that can be wished for, or desired in a king. . . . The privileges and immunities granted by him to the Church do witness his piety.—*John Spottiswoode* (1565–1639).
>
> Having thus settled both his foreign and domestic relations, he died in the eighteenth year of his reign, no less illustrious for his equity and moderation, than for his bravery; whence he justly received from his countrymen the surname of Great, A.D. 892.—*George Buchanan* (1506–1582).

Even according to Skene, who has so much to say against him in other works:

> Gregory the Great was solemnly crowned at Scone, and was one of the most powerful of the early Scottish kings.—W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 334.

In the early records treating of King Gregory's period, frequent mention is made of his conquest of Ireland and the protection he gave to the youthful king because of near relationship. Some of the more modern writers have endeavoured to prove this statement fabulous, even though the reliable writers of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries considered it authentic.

I cannot too often assert my candid opinion that if we do away with those early records, on which the true history of Scotland of that period should be builded, and endeavour to

substitute the "theories," "conclusions" and "arguments" of some of the modern writers, we shall have no history of Scotland at all.

In the *Highlanders of Scotland*,[1] Skene clearly outlines the power of the Mormaers of Scotland, with especial reference to those of Moray:

> The Maormors of Moray were, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, by far the most powerful chiefs in Scotland; their immense territories extended from the eastern nearly to the western seas, and their power and influence over the whole of the north of Scotland. They were the only chiefs who attempted, during this period, to resist the encroachments of the Norwegians, and although that resistance was unsuccessful, yet in consequence of a connexion which was formed between the head of their race, and the Norwegian Earl, the very success of the Norwegian ultimately contributed to increase the power of the Maormors of Moray, and to extend over Scotland the tribes dependent upon them.

No one could more truthfully portray the immense power wielded by the Mormaers over a large part of Scotland than Skene has in the above passage. The land between the Dee and the Spey, during the reign of King Gregory, was one of the largest provinces in Scotland. He states:

> Three of these Maormors succeeded in attaining the crown of Scotland, and until the fall of their race, before the increasing power of the Kings of the line of Malcolm Kenmore, they may be considered as kings of the Highlands.

Skene probably referred to Gregory the Great, Macbeth and Lulach in the words, "three of these Maormors succeeded in attaining the crown of Scotland," as they were Mormaers of Moray, and Lulach was succeeded by Malcolm Canmore. In the following quotations there will be little room for doubt that Gregory the Great was Mormaer of Moray before his accession to the throne:

> It was his misfortune to reign while Grig was Maormor of the extensive country between the Dee and the Spey.—George Chalmers, *Caledonia*.
>
> This was once the principality of Cyric. . . . (Note) The Isle and the Dee are the boundaries assigned to one of the old Pictish kingdoms, in the description of Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, in Innes App. 2, p. 334. . . . The Primacy was eventually transferred during the reign of Cyric.—E. W. Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*.

[1] Vol. ii., p. 161.

Robertson indexes King Gregory under the names of Greg, Grig, Cyric, Ciric and Gregory the Great.

Aodh was slain in a civil broil. Girg, or Girg Mac Dungal, was Maormor of Mar (?) the province extending from the Dee to the Spey.—Rev. Thomas McLauchlan, *Early Scottish Church.*

Grig, an artful chieftain, who was Maormor of the country between the Dee and the Spey.—Brown's *History of the Highlands.*

In the following quotations from Duncan MacCallum I have gone somewhat into detail. I do this because of the efforts of the modern anti-Celtic school to deny the facts. MacCallum's is one of the most graphic, and perhaps one of the most authentic, accounts found in any work. His history begins with the usual accounts of the Roman occupation, the Dalriadic invasions, the careers of Saints Columba and Patrick, leading up to the reigns of Alpin and his son Kenneth. The passages bearing upon my subject will be of interest to all who have followed me thus far:

Kenneth left his kingdom in peace, from the Isles of Shetland and Orkney to the Wall of Adrian, when he died at Forteviot (Abernethy, the Pictish capital) A.D. 854, leaving a son and daughter. . . . Hugh, surnamed Alips, succeeded Constantine. Being swift of foot, he acquired the name of Alips, and it was the chief property of which he was famous. . . . In a conspiracy of the nobles, a long speech was made, enumerating all of his faults, to which he was made to listen. Grig, an artful chieftain, who was Maormor of the country between the Dee and the Spey, raised the faction against him, and appealed to the sword. Hugh was wounded and died in the space of two months, in 875. . . . Grig, or Grigory, son of Dongal, succeeded Hugh. He wanted no virtue which became a chieftain. He was the author of the rebellion; fought and wounded Hugh, and seized the sceptre. He, in the beginning of his reign, reconciled to himself all who were adverse to him when he aspired to the sovereignty; and he laboured to remove the discord among the nobles. He tempered the severity of ruling with courtesy, and effected more by leniency than fear. The law that bore hard on the clergy, who were reduced to a destitute state, and almost slavery, by the Picts, he cancelled and made new ones in their favour.[1]

An epitome of Grig's reign, especially as to his war in Northumberland, when he assisted the English to drive out the Danes, is given very fully. In this it is stated that "their whole force, so formidable to Britain, was annihilated, partly by Grig, and partly by Alured, the English commander." After reciting

[1] *History of the Ancient Scots*, pp. 70–79.

further complications arising between Grig and the officials of Cumberland and Westmoreland, he says:

Peace was made on these terms, that they were to assist in opposing and repelling foreign foes. They were to send auxiliaries to aid wherever enemies should land; and the people were to assemble, and give all the assistance in their power; that whatever land the Scots took from the Danes they should possess in future, as belonging to them without doubt or dispute: so peace was made with all, and treaties were ratified.[1]

Nearly all the chronicles for some hundreds of years after King Gregory's reign show very plainly that for a long time Scotland was better governed, more civilised and powerful than England or Ireland. There can be no doubt that this was particularly true during the reign of King Greg. The following passages from MacCallum as to Greg's conquests are as authoritative as any:

The Irish made an irruption into Galloway; they alleged it was to avenge themselves on some Galloway men who had seized and plundered some long boats that belonged to the inhabitants of Dublin, which happened to be driven to their shores. Grigory marched immediately against them. The Irish, hearing of his arrival, suddenly withdrew with their booty and sailed away. Grigory having collected a fleet, and augmented his army, sailed to Ireland and landed his forces.

Donacha, Duncan, their king, was a minor; Bryan and Cornelius were, next to the king, the most powerful in the state. They often distracted the nation with their factions; but hearing of the invasion of a foreign king they made a truce on the banks of the river Bann; and fortified their camps in places which appeared to them to be impregnable. At a Council, called on the occasion, they argued that they should lay waste the country, and protract the war till the enemy should be obliged to withdraw their troops from want of provision. But Grigory, suspecting their intentions, sent a party of his army privately at night, to seize on an eminence above the camp of Bryan; the next day when he approached the camp to attack it, great masses of rock were rolled down into the camp, many were crushed to death and the rest fled in disorder, whichever way they could make their escape. Cornelius hearing of the fate of the auxiliary forces withdrew his men into safer places. Bryan perished in the camp. Grigory restrained his men and prevented the slaughter of the fugitives as much as possible. The soldiers passed through the country without injury. It was so well managed that the people would rather subject themselves to the King's clemency than attempt to oppose him. Grigory, passing Dundarg and other places fortified by nature, that would occasion delay and loss of men in reducing them, resolved to bring Dublin under his power. But under-

[1] *History of the Ancient Scots*, p. 80.

standing that Cornelius, the other leader, was approaching with a great army, he turned his forces and overcame him in battle; then pursuing his route, laid siege to the town. When provision could not be supplied to the great multitude that fled into it for safety, Cormac, the Bishop of the place, offered to surrender on condition that no loss or injury should be done to the people. Grigory entered the city and visited Donacha, his relative, to assure him that he came, not with a desire of conquest, or thirst of gain or booty, but to vindicate the injury done to his subjects; all he demanded was that the elders should be careful in the trust they held, in educating the young king; and that the authorities would not admit an English, British or Danish vessel into the island without a charter from him. Grigory appointed governors in proper places, to decree justice by the law of the land; and having received sixty hostages for observing these conditions, he returned home with honour and respect. The report of his actions and justice rendered peace more certain. Having settled his affairs at home and abroad, he died in the eighteenth year of his reign, 892. Grigory was not less illustrious by his justice and temperance than by his courage and magnanimity. The superiority of the Scots over the English, Irish and Danes, was obvious in this reign. They might have claimed the northern counties of England by right of conquest; but they had the best claim to it, as these were granted to several Scottish kings for their ready and often effectual aid, in settling or dispelling the Danes from those parts of England. The Danes were faithless, and disturbers of tranquillity.[1]

I have availed myself of these rather copious quotations from MacCallum, by reason of his very full account of Gregory's expeditions into England and Ireland. His conquests in these two countries are well authenticated by nearly all the old chronicles written subsequent to the transactions narrated. There is absolutely *no testimony* to the contrary. The modern writers who belittle Gregory's reign give absolutely no proof of their assumptions, simply denying his victories, despite voluminous testimony. All reliable accounts of the times say that he conquered Ireland and a part of England, that he held and governed Ireland for a time by proxy, as narrated by the above quotation. There is no better proof of this fact than that found in Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, reviewed in the following chapter.

Greg, Kenneth IV., is the next king of Scotland related to the line with which we have to do. In the list by Innes he is termed, *Greg, Grimus, Grim mac Dubh* and *Chinet.* By others, from Fordun to Skene, he is called *Kenneth, son of Dubh; Cinaet mac Duib; Kinedius, filius Duf;* and by all earlier writers is recorded

[1] *History of the Ancient Scots*, pp. 80–82.

as the *ninth King of Scotland after Gregory the Great.* He ascended the throne in A.D. 997, and reigned until A.D. 1005.

George Buchanan, at one time literary attaché at the court of Mary, Queen of Scots, in charge of the education of her son, James VI., gave to King Gregory the title of "Great," by which he has come to be more generally known in history. In his *History of Scotland*, published in four volumes in 1582, the career of Grim, as he calls Kenneth IV., was written before the anti-Celtic writers began to attack the history of Scotland, and may be considered authentic:

> Grim, the son of King Duff, or as others say of Mogall, his brother, on the death of Constantine, was carried to Scoon by his faction, and there proclaimed king. Having found some of the nobles of his party already corrupted, and others tampered with, by emissaries from Malcolm, he seized several of these emissaries and threw them into prison. Malcolm, who wished that this action should be considered as a violation of the law of nations, openly declared war. . . . Fothadus, a bishop of great authority among all parties . . . endeavoured to effect a reconciliation . . . he at last brought them to agree to a truce for three months—Grim retiring to Angus, and Malcolm to Cumberland—arbitrators to be chosen on both sides, to settle the matters in dispute.[1]

Fothadus was not content, however, until the following conditions were complied with: The Wall of Severus was to be the dividing line between Malcolm and Grim; each to be content with the portion assigned to him. One was not to invade the territory of the other, nor to assist outside enemies. Grim was to remain King so long as he lived, and upon his death the crown was to revert to Malcolm, after whose death the law of Kenneth was to be established, by which the kingdom was to revert to the children of the King. This law was henceforth to be kept sacred and inviolable. This arrangement afforded a peace which was faithfully kept for eight years, and, according to Buchanan, was finally broken by Grim:

> In the trying period at the beginning of his reign, Grim had afforded an example of a good prince; but his activity being relaxed by ease, he gave himself wholly up to pleasure; then want arising, as is usual from luxury, and avarice springing from his necessity, he confiscated many of the rich upon fictitious accusations.[2]

[1] *The History of Scotland* (vol. i., p. 314) translated from the Latin of George Buchanan with notes by James Aikman.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

Then followed a war among his own subjects, plundering wherever his wanton will dictated, many of his noblemen being thrown into prison as an example to others whom he wished to terrify. Malcolm, engaged in assisting the English against the Danes, was appealed to by Grim's subjects. Those who had most admired Grim for his many princely qualities of mind and heart, in the beginning of his reign, now assembled in large concourse to greet the return of Malcolm, and Grim found himself practically deserted. Buchanan adds:

> When the armies had approached near each other, upon Ascension Day, Grim, who knew how holily Malcolm would observe that festival, determined to attack him, unsuspicious and unprepared. But intelligence of Grim's design being brought to Malcolm, he kept his army in readiness, under arms, and though he confidently expected victory in so good a cause, he sent a message to Grim, advising him as a Christian, not to pollute the memory of that sacred day with the blood of their countrymen. Grim, however, persisted in his determination, and having drawn out his army in order of battle, marched forward to attack his rival, representing to his soldiers that the pretended reverence of Malcolm for the holy festival, proceeded from fear, and was to them a sure omen of victory. But while the battle, which began keenly, was raging with the greatest fury, Grim, suddenly deserted by his soldiers, was wounded in the head, taken prisoner, and presently deprived of his eyes. He did not long survive his disaster, for the anguish of his mind inflaming his wound, put an end to his sufferings in the tenth year of his reign. Malcolm behaved magnanimously towards the vanquished. He caused Grim to be laid in the sepulchre of his ancestors, and burying in oblivion the memory of all past offences, received into his favour the faction which had followed him. Then, having called an assembly at Scoon he would not undertake the government until the Law which his father had enacted had been publicly ratified by their unanimous suffrages.[1]

Very little is known of the domestic relations of Kenneth IV. It is not strange, however, that the name of his wife is unknown, since very few of the wives' names are mentioned in the records of the early Kings. That he had at least one son, named Boete, or Boedhe, is certain. We find very frequent mention of Boete's daughter, Lady Gruoch, who became the wife of Gilcomgain, Mormaer of Moray, and by him the mother of Lulach. After the death of Gilcomgain she married Macbeth, and, as Lady Macbeth, became a well-known historical character.[2]

[1] *The History of Scotland*, p. 316.

[2] Cf. outline of Macbeth's career as King of Scotland, p.

Skene's record of the reign of Kenneth IV. may be of interest[1]:

A.D. 997-1004. Kenneth son of Dubh, king of Alban.

Constantin's successor was Kenneth, son of Dubh, who was the son of Malcolm, and the elder brother of Kenneth, son of Malcolm, the predecessor of Constantin. He is termed by St. Berchan

> The Donn, or brown, from strong Duncath,

which is probably the fort on one of the Sidlaw hills in the parish of Fearn, Forfarshire, now called Duncathlaw, which connects him with the same part of the kingdom with which the branch of the descendants of Kenneth mac Alpin to which he belonged were peculiarly connected. In his fourth year Aethelred, king of England, appears to have attempted to wrest the Cumbrian kingdom from him, as the Saxon Chronicle tells us that in the year 1000, 'the king went to Cumbraland and ravaged it very nigh all, and his ships went out about Chester, and should have come to meet him but could not,' while St. Berchan implies that he had successfully resisted the attempt.

> He will scatter hosts of the Saxons.
> After the day of battle he will possess.

Five years after this, we are told by the Ulster Annals that a battle took place between the men of Alban among themselves, in which Kenneth, son of Dubh, the king of Alban, fell.[66] This expression, 'a battle among the men of Alban themselves,' usually implies a war of succession, and the later chronicles tell us that he was slain by Malcolm,

[66] A.D. 1005 Cath etir firu Alban imonetir itorçair Ri Alban .i. Cinaed mac Duib.—*An. Ult.*

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 382–383.

the son of Kenneth, in Moeghavard[67] or Monzievaird in Stratherne, and St. Berchan confirms this when he says

> Eight years and a half, bright the deeds,
> To the Donn in their sovereignty
> 'Twas shut till they came against him.
> Alas! the Gael again,
> The Gael gathered around him,
> The day on which he will be killed by us
> At his stone of blood between two glens,
> Not far from the banks of the Earn.

St. Berchan's expression, 'Alas! the Gael again,' seems to imply that on this occasion Malcolm, son of Kenneth, brought against him the men of Moerne, who appear to have occupied an important position in the population of the kingdom of Alban throughout the entire history of her kings.

[67] Interfectus a filio Kinet in Moeghavard. — *Chron. Picts and Scots*, pp. 175, 289. The later Chronicles term this king Girus or Grig, son of Kenneth, son of Dubh. The Albanic Duan calls him simply Macdhuibh, but Flann Mainistrech has Cinaet mac Duib, the oldest authority thus confirming the Annals of Ulster.

With the death of Kenneth IV. in 1005 A.D., Malcolm II. ascended the throne of Scotland. He had no son, and with his death, in 1034 A.D., Dugald Mitchell says:

The succession passed from the male line of Kenneth MacAlpin and devolved upon the representative of the female line in the person of Duncan, son of Crinan, lay abbot of Dunkeld. By his grandfather, and immediate predecessor, the way seems to have been paved for Duncan by the slaughter of the last male scion of the race—a son or grandson of Boete, the son of Kenneth III. This was compassed by Malcolm in some way unrecorded; but although the immediate intention was thus gained, it did not ensure future peace, for there sprung from the female children of Boete descendants who on more than one occasion made vigorous and righteous efforts to secure the inheritance that was justly theirs in accordance with the principles of Scottish succession.[1]

The above refers to Lady Gruoch, afterwards Lady Macbeth, daughter of Boete and thus granddaughter of King Kenneth IV. Macbeth, as sub-king or "Ri" of the province of Moray, and as husband of Lady Gruoch, was thus connected

[1] *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, p. 169.

with the old Scottish dynasty, and at the same time made guardian of his step-son, Lulach, the son of Lady Gruoch by Gilcomgain. It is not necessary to go into the details of Macbeth, whose right to reign has been so often questioned. Upon his death, the son of Duncan, Malcolm the third, became King of Scotland after a short struggle with Lulac, who claimed the throne as grandson of Boete, and great-grandson of Kenneth IV. Lulac reigned for seven months and was slain in a battle at Strathbolgy in 1058 A.D., succeeded by Malcolm III., known as Malcolm Canmore.

With the accession of Malcolm Canmore, a new and important epoch in the history of Scotland began, since which time there has been less of conjecture and more of certainty as to the reigns of kings, and other historical data.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY CHRONICLES

Variant Ways of Spelling Proper Names—Skene's Chronicles of the Picts and Scots —Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach—Continuations of Flann—Irish and Pictish Additions to Historia Britonum—Duan Albanach—Chronicle of Marianus Scotus—Prophecy of St. Berchan—Chronicle of the Scots (1165)—Of the Scots and Picts (1187)—Of the Picts and Scots (1251)—Cronicon Elegiacum—Of the Picts and Scots (1280)—Chronicle of Huntingdon—Tracts Relating to English Claims——Chronicle of Picts and Scots (1317)—Chronicle of the Scots (1333)—Chronicle of the Scots (1348)—Of the Scots (XIV. Cent.)—Tract on the Picts (before 1418)—Chronicon Rhythmicum—Annals of Ulster—Of Tighernac—Extracts from Skene on Each Chronicle—Tabulation of Greg's Reign—Annals of Tighernac and Ulster Compared.

AS we are about to take up a review of the various early chronicles dealing with the reigns of the Scottish kings, it may be well to devote a little time to a consideration of the various forms under which their names appear. The spelling of the early manuscripts is almost chaotic, the name of King *Greg*, or *Gregory*, appearing in over forty ways, the earliest form being *Ciric:*

Carus	Circin	Giricius	Girus	Gregor	Gregory the Great
Ceric	Cirig	Giricium	Girgurum	Gregore	Girg Ear Mor
Ciric	Cyric	Girec	Gerig	Gregour	Girus mac Dungal
Ciricc	Creac	Gireg	Grig	Gregorum	Garig mac Dungal
Cirici	Curig	Girg	Grieg	Gregorius	Greg mac Donnagal
Ciricium	Garig	Girge	Greig	Gregory	Gregus
Ciricius	Girig	Girgh	Grigor	Grigory	Gregorus; Tirg

Chalmers is authority for the form "Geirig;" Skene alone calls him "Curig," while George Buchanan entitles him, "Gregory the Great."

The name *Ciric*, when first used by writers in Lowland Scotch and English, was more nearly expressed by the word "Grig" than any other, so that it very easily became "Greg."

The Gregs, Greggs and the MacGregors are very numerous, while the Grigs, Griggs and MacGrigors are comparatively few in number. In Scotland the name is very frequently spelled with both the "e" and the "i"—*Greig, Grieg.*

The same variation in the spelling of many other names is fully shown by the following lists, dealing with some of those pertaining to our subject:

KENNETH

Canath	Cinador	Cionadh	Keneth	Kynel	Kinath
Chinet	Cinaed	Connadh	Kennethus	Kiniod	Kinedus
Ciannacht	Cinaeth	Cynoth	Kennahath	Kinat	Kinel
Cinacha	Cinedh	Kenaucht	Kenneth	Kinadius	Kynec
Cinade	Cineoch	Kened	Kinetus	Kined	Kynath
Cinadh	Cinoid	Kenedus	Kinoid	Kineth	Kyneth
Cinadius	Cionaedh	Kenethus	Kynoid	Kinet	Knyth

DONALD

Donnald	Doneval	Dongal	Dovenald	Dunel	Dunenald
Domnall	Dofnal	Dondgal	Donenhal	Dungal	Dunenaldus
Domhnal	Dolfnal	Donnaill	Donenhald	Dungel	Dunghel
Domnahll	Donenall	Donaldus	Donenwaldus	Dungald	Dunguel
Domnail	Donnhuill	Donenaldus	Dougal	Dungall	Dumnagel
Donall	Domenaldus	Doenenald	Doughel	Dungaile	Dounald
Donnal	Donnel	Donvald	Douvivaldus	Dunghal	Dubgal
Domnal	Dovenal	Donevaldus	Dongallus	Dungallus	Doubgail
					Donemnaldus

HUGH

Aodh (pronounced *Hugh*)	Ethus
Aetho	Hedfin (nickname)
Alipes (nickname)	Hede
Aeh	Hew
Aedh	Hugo
Ath	Het
Eachan	Heth
Ed	Hedwhite
Lightfoot (Nickname)	

ACHAIUS

Achy	Eoka-Annuine
Achai	Eckal
Achajus	Eochoid
Echach	Eochod
Ethacus	Eochodius
Eocha	Eohach

LULAC

Luthlath	Luoeg
Lahoulan	Lucatus
Lulaigh	Lulatus
Lueig	Luctagous
Luidig	Luidhadh

MACBETH

Macbetha	Macabeta
Machetad	Macabeda
Macheth	Machabeaus
Macbethad	Macbet
Macbeda	Micbetha

Lulac		Macbeth	
Lutach	Lelach	Macbethai	Macbeathadh
Luig	Dulach		
Lueg	Gulac		

Angus		Mormaer, or Earl	
Aongus	Hungus	Mormair	Mormar
Aengus	Oengusa	Mumer	Maomar
Aongus Mac Fergus	Oengus	Mormaor	Marmoer
Hergustus	Ungus	Maomer	Maormor
Hungust			

CHRONICLES OF THE PICTS,

CHRONICLES OF THE SCOTS,

AND OTHER

EARLY MEMORIALS OF SCOTTISH HISTORY.

EDITED BY

WILLIAM F. SKENE, LL.D.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF
HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE LORD CLERK-REGISTER OF SCOTLAND.

H.M. GENERAL REGISTER HOUSE,
EDINBURGH.
1867.

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As these pieces consist in the main of fragments of old chronicles and other early memorials, in which the exact form of every name, and the exact construction of every sentence, may be of importance, the Editor has, as a general rule, resolved, after full consideration, to make no conjectural emendations, either in the orthography or in the construction, but to present the document in the exact shape in which he found it, and he has rarely departed from this rule.[1]

As may be seen by the above quotation from Skene's Preface to *The Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, a review of which forms the subject of this chapter, our information as to the old documents is most authoritative. Skene admits that a "compilation" from various manuscripts has been made, in some instances giving as many as three or four chronicles, in as many libraries. He gives first place, both in point of time and importance, to the *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine*. As this Chronicle forms so important a part in the discussion of King Greg's reign, it is treated in a separate chapter, and is not, therefore, given first place in the review of Skene's book. It is the only Chronicle which he deemed of sufficient importance to reproduce in facsimile from the original. Many points of discussion as to the reigns of kings are based upon this Chronicle alone.

While Skene's methods in history writing are not always commendable, he deserves the highest praise for his excellent work in collecting these very valuable documents, many of which were stored away in obscure libraries in England, Scotland and Ireland, totally inaccessible to the average scholar.

In his efforts to "reconstruct" Scottish history, and to "prove" that the present day Highlanders are the direct descendants of the Picts, he has "builded better than he knew." When men begin to think on this subject for themselves, they will no longer blindly follow such plausible arguments, even though advanced by so great a writer as Skene, unless these arguments are based upon historical data. The "pendulum will begin to swing backward," and the historians of the future will accept the older documents as their basis for the true history of Scotland, rather than the new works of the recent anti-Celtic school.

A history must either be true or it must be false, and no

[1] *Chronicles of Picts and Scots*, p. xviii.

history can be "reconstructed" hundreds of years after being written, without a perversion of its documentary foundation. A plain, unequivocal statement by the anti-Celtic writers that all histories of Scotland written before the Reformation are false, would be entirely consistent with their attitude. They have no honest right, however, to take those histories, particularly the documents known to be in existence before the Reformation, and accept only such portions as meet their own modern, sophistical views. Such action reminds one of the following resolution passed by the Board of Supervisors in Tombigbee County, Alabama, many years ago:

1st. Resolved, that this County build a new jail.
2d. Resolved, that the new jail be built out of the material of the old.
3d. Resolved, that the old jail shall be used until the new one is completed.

The following facsimiles[1] are given fully, by reason of their interest for many Scottish families descended from the various kings therein mentioned, and for the further reason that they record in agreement the sole reign of King Gregory, and of Kenneth IV., Macbeth and Lulach. The title, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, is to a certain extent misleading, as it conveys the impression that the Picts wrote chronicles, while as a matter of fact there has never been a *written* Pictish language. All of these chronicles are, therefore, of Scottish, Irish or English origin, and merely relate to the reigns of the Pictish and Scottish kings and relative events.

Skene states in the Preface[2] to the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots:*

The Chronicles and Memorials contained in this collection are placed in chronological order, so far as the Editor has been enabled, from indications afforded by each document, to determine the period at which it was probably compiled, and the date so assigned to it is placed after the title of the document. This date is to some extent conjectural; but the reasons which led the Editor to assign it will be stated in the account of each piece. This date has no reference whatever to the date of the MSS. from which the documents are printed, the oldest copy found being often much posterior to the date contained in the document itself.

[1] See *post*, pages 188–201, for explanatory notes regarding each document.
[2] P. xvii.

[A]

SYNCHRONISMS OF FLANN MAINISTREACH,

MXIV.-MXXII.

a MS. BIB. FAC. JUR. EDIN. KILBRIDE. 28.
b MS. R. I. A. DUBL. BOOK OF LECAIN.
c MS. BODL. RAWLINSON. B. 512.

* * * * * * * *

Conall Crandomna[1] 7.
Dunchad mac Dubain 7.
Dondcad[2] Donn 7.
Duncad[3] 7.
Ferchair Foda 7.
Eocho Rianamhail (mac Aeda Find) 7.
Ainbhceallach mac Ferchair 7.
Selbach mac Ferchair 7.
Eochaig Angbaid a meadon flaith.
Da bliadhna ar xxx. ar ced o bas Aeda Allain co bas Aeda Finnleith.
III.[4] righ deg don for Albain fri sin .i.
Dungal mac Selbaig 7.
Ailpin (mac Echach) 7.
Muredac ua Daiti 7.
Aed Aireatec[5] 7.
Fergus[6] 7.

Conall Crandomna.
Duncan, son of Dubain.
Duncan Don.
Duncan.
Ferchar Fada.
Eocho Rineamhail, son of Aeda Fin.
Aincellach, son of Ferchar.
Selvach, son of Ferchar.
Eochaig Angbhaid to the middle of his chiefship.
One hundred and thirty-two years from the death of Aeda Allan to the death of Aeda Finnleith (743-879).
Thirteen kings over Alban during that time ; viz.,
Dungal, son of Selvach.
Alpin, son of Echach.
Muredach, grandson of Daithi.
Aed Aireatech.
Fergus.

[1] *b* and *c* read *Ceanngamna.*
[2] *b* and *c* read *Domnall* more correctly.
[3] *b* and *c* read *Mailduin mac Conaid*, which seems the right reading.
[4] instead of III. *righ deg*, *b* and *c* have XIIII. *righ.*
[5] *b* and *c* have *Airgnech.*
[6] Not in *b* and *c.*

[A]

Eochoid 7.
Domnall (mac Custantin) 7.
Custantin[1] (mac Fergusa) 7.
Da Conall reime (.i. Conall Caeim 7 Conall aile a brathair) 7.
Aengus (mac Fergusa) 7.
Aed (mac Boanta) 7.
Eoganan (mac Aengusa) 7.
Cinaet mac[2] Ailpin, ise cet righ ro gab righe Sgoinde, do Gaidelaib.
VIII. m-bliadhna ar xxx. ar ced o bas Aeda Finnleith co bas Briain mic Cennedig.
Ceithri ri dec[3] for Albain fri sin .i.
Domnall mac Ailpin.
Custantin mac Cinaeta.
(Aedh mac Cinaedha.)
Girg mac Dungaile 7.
Domnall Dasachtach (mac Custantin).

Eochoid.
Donald, son of Constantine.
Constantine, son of Fergus.
Two Conalls together, Conall Caemh and another Conall, his brother.
Angus, son of Fergus.
Aed, son of Boanta.
Eoganan, son of Angus.
Kenneth, son of Alpin; he was the first king, who possessed the kingdom of Scone, of the Gael.
One hundred and thirty-eight years from the death of Aeda Finnleith to the death of Brian, son of Cenedig (879-1014).
Fourteen kings over Alban during that time; viz.,
Donald, son of Alpin.
Constantine, son of Kenneth.
Aedh, son of Kenneth.
Grig, son of Dungal.
Donald Dasachtach, son of Constantine.

---

[1] *b* and *c* place *Cusantin* after the two *Conalls*, which is preferable.
[2] *Cinaet mac* not in *b* and *c*.
[3] *b* and *c* read *V. rig dec* fifteen kings.

[B]

Custantin mac Aeda 7.
Maelcolaim mac Domnall 7.
Illolb mac Custantin 7.
Dub mac Maelcolaim 7.
Cuillen mac Illiulb 7.
Cinaet mac Maelcolaim 7.
Custantin mac Cuilen 7.
Cinaet mac Duib 7.
Maelcolaim mac Cinaeta. Finis.

Constantine, son of Aeda.
Malcolm, son of Donald.
Illolb, son of Constantine.
Dubh, son of Malcolm.
Cullen, son of Illolb.
Kenneth, son of Malcolm.
Constantine, son of Cullen.
Kenneth, son of Dubh.
Malcolm, son of Kenneth. Finis.

CONTINUATION OF SYNCHRONISMS OF FLANN MAINISTREACH. MCXIX.

a MS. R. I. A. DUBL. BOOK OF LECAIN.
b MS. BODL. RAWLINSON. B. 512.

CEITHRI bliadhna 7 ced o cath Briain co bas Muircertaidh meic Toirdhelbaig.
Coic ri for Albain fris sin i.
Donnchad mac Crinain
Donnchad mac Mailcolaim.
Macbethad mac Findlaech
Lulach mac Micbethadh
Malcolaim mac Donnchada, ise do cear le Francu 7 Eduuard a mac.

TRANSLATION.

Four years and one hundred from the battle of Brian to the death of Murcertach, son of Toirdelbach. (1014-1119.)
Five kings over Alban during that time; viz.,—
Duncan son of Crinan,
Duncan son of Malcolm,
Macbeth son of Finlaech,
Lulach son of Macbeth,
Malcolm son of Duncan. He was slain by the Normans, with his son Edward.

[B]

IRISH AND PICTISH ADDITIONS TO THE "HISTORIA BRITONUM," MXL.-MLXXII.

A.

a MS. R. I. A. DUBL. BOOK OF BALLIMOTE.
b MS. R. I. A. DUBL. BOOK OF LECAIN.

* * * * * * * *

Finach ba flaith Erenn is in re sin ro gabh giallu Cruithneach.

Do codar umorro coigear do Cruithneachaibh a h-indsibh Orc .i. cuig brathar athar Cruithnec co Frang co go ro cundaighsead cathraigh and .i. Pictauis a h-ainm co tangadar doridhisi docum na h-indsi .i. go h-Erenn go ro badar re ciana ann co ros dicoirsead Gaedhil dar muir docum a m-brathar.

B.

a MS. R. I. A. DUB. BOOK OF BALLIMOTE.
b MS. R. I. A. DUB. BOOK OF LECAIN.
c MS. TRIN. COLL. DUB. H. 2. 17. PART OF BOOK OF LECAIN.

DE BUNADH CRUITHNEACH ANDSEO.

CRUITHNE mac Cinge mic Luchtai mic Parrthalan mic Agnoinn mic Buain mic Mais mic Fathecht mic Jafeth mic Noe.

Ise athair Cruithneach 7 cet bliadhna do irrighe.

Secht meic Cruithneach annso .i. Fib, Fidach, Fodla,

Finach was lord of Erin at that time, and took hostages of the Cruthneach.

Five of the Cruthneach of the islands of Orc, moreover, viz., five brothers of the father of the Cruthneach, went to France and founded a city there, viz., Pictavis its name, and came again to the island, that is, to Erin, where they were for a long time, till the Gael drove them across the sea to their brethren.

B.

TRANSLATION.

Of the Origin of the Cruthneach here :

Cruithne, son of Cinge, son of Luctai, son of Partalan, son of Agnoin, son of Buain, son of Mais, son of Fathecht, son of Jafeth, son of Noe.

He was the father of the Cruthneach, and reigned a hundred years.

These are the seven sons of Cruithne, viz., Fib, Fidach, Fodla,

[B]

Fortrend cathach, Cait, Ce, Cirigh. Et secht randaibh ro roindset in fearand, ut dixit Columcille.[1]

Moirsheiser do Cruithne clainn,
Raindset Albain i secht raind,
Cait, Ce, Cirig, cethach clann,
Fib, Fidach, Fotla, Fortrenn.

Ocus is e ainm gach fir dib fil for a fearand, ut est, Fib 7 Ce 7 Cait 7 reliqua.

XIII. ri dec do gabsad dib.[2]
Fib xxiiii. bliadhna irrige.
Fidhach xl. bliadhna.
Fortrenn lxx.
Cait da bliadhan ar xx.
Ce xii. bliadhan.
Cirig lxxx. bliadhan.
Aenbecan mac Cait xxx. bliadhan.
Finechta lx. bliadhan.
Guidid gadbre .i. geis i. bliadhan.

Fortrend, warlike, Cait, Ce, Cirig; and they divided the land into seven divisions, as Columcille says:—

Seven children of Cruthne
Divided Alban into seven divisions.
Cait, Ce, Cirig, a warlike clan,
Fib, Fidach, Fotla, Fortrenn.

And the name of each man is given to their territories, as, Fib, Ce, Cait, and the rest.

Thirteen kings of them took possession.
Fib reigned twenty-four years.
Fidhach, forty years.
Fortrenn, seventy.
Cait, twenty-two years.
Ce, twelve years.
Cirig, eight years.
Aenbecan, son of Cait, thirty years.
Finechta, sixty years.
Guidid gadbre, that is, geis, one year.

---

[1] *b* has, *amail adbert in t-eolach*, as the learned man said.
[2] This line in *b* only.

[B]

Uuradech uetla, ii. annis regnavit.

Gartnait diuperr, lx. annis regnavit.

Talorc mac Achiuir, lxxv.

Drust mac Erp c. annis regnavit *7 cet cath rogni.*[b] Nono decimo anno regni eius Patricius sanctus episcopus ad Hiberniam pervenit insolam.

Talorc mac Ainel iiii. annis regnavit.

Nectan morbrec mac Erip xxiiii. annis regnavit. Tertio anno regni eius Darlugdach abbatissa Cille Dara de Hibernia exulat pro Christo ad Britaniam, secundo autem anno aduentus sui immolavit Nectonius anno uno Apurnige Deo 7 sancte Brigte precente Darlugdach que cantavit allelluia super istam.

Drest Gurthimoth xxx. annis regnavit.

Galan arilith xv. annis regnavit.

Dadrest .i. Drest filius Giron 7 Drest fin Budros xv. annis regnaverunt.

Drest fin Giron solus v. annis regnavit.

Gartnait fin Giron vii. annis regnavit.

Cailtarni fin. Girom uno anno regnavit.

Talorg filius Murtholoic xi. annis regnavit.

Drest filius Munaith uno anno regnavit.

Galam cennaleph iiii. annis regnavit.

Cum Bridiuo i° anno regnavit.

Bruide mac Melcon xxx. annis regnavit. In octavo anno regni eius baptizatus est a Sancto Columba.

Gartnait f. Domech xi. annis regnavit.

Nectan nepos Uerb xx. annis regnavit.

Ciniath filius Lutrin xix. annis regnavit.

Gartnait mac Uuid v. annis regnavit.

Talorc frater eorum duodecim annis regnavit.

Talorcan filius Enfreth iiii. annis regnavit.

Gartnait filius Donuel vi. annis regnavit 7 dimidium anni.

Drust frater eius vii. annis regnavit.

Brude filius File xxi. annis regnavit.

---

[b] And fought a hundred battles.

[B]

Taran filius Enfidaig iiii. annis regnavit.
Brei filius Derelei xi. annis regnavit.
Nechtan filius Derilei x. annis regnavit.
Drest 7 Elpin conregnaverunt v. annis.
Onuis filius Urguist xxx. regnavit.
Brete filius Uurgut xv. annis regnavit.
Ciniod filius Uuredeg xii. annis regnavit.
Elpin filius Uuroid vi. annis 7 dimidio regnavit.
Drest filius Talorcen i° anno regnavit.
Talorcen filius Druisten iiii. vel. v. annis regnavit.
Talorcen filius Oinuist xii. 7 dimidio annis regnavit.
Canaul filius Tang v. annis regnavit.
Constantin filius Uurguist xxx.v. annis regnavit.
Uidnuist filius Uurguist xii. annis regnavit.
Drest filius Constantin 7 Talorc filius Uuthoil iii. annis conregnaverunt.
Unen filius Unuist iii. annis regnavit.
Uurad filius Bargoit iii. annis regnavit 7.
Bred i° anno regnavit.
Cinaed filius Alpin xvi. annis regnavit.
Domnall filius Alpin iiii. annis regnavit.
Custantin filius Cinaeda xx. annis regnavit.
Aed filius Cinaeda ii. annis regnavit.
Giric mac Dungaile xi. vel. iii. annis regnavit.
Domnull filius Constantin xi. annis regnavit.
Custantin filius Aeda xl. annis regnavit.
Maelcolaim filius Domnaill ix. annis regnavit.
Culen filius Ildoilb filii Constantin iii. annis regnavit.
Cinaed vel Dub filius Maelcolaim vii. annis regnavit.
Culen filius Ildoilb iiii. annis regnavit.
Cinaed filius Coluim xxiiii. annis regnavit.
Custantin filius Culean i° 7 dimidio.
Cinaed filius Duib viii. annis regnavit.
Maelcoluim filius Cinaeda xxx. annis regnavit.
Donnchad *hua* Maelcolaim vi. annis regnavit.[c]

---

[c] Duncan, grandson of Malcolm, reigned six years.

[B]

Macbethad *mac* Fin *mic* Laig xvi. annis regnavit.
Luluch *v. mis.*
Maelcolaim *mac* Donnchatha *iarssin.*[d]

D.

a MS. R. I. A. DUBL. BOOK OF BALLIMOTE.
b MS. TRIN. COLL. DUBL. H. 2. 17. PART OF BOOK OF LECAIN.

DO CRUITHNEACHAIB INCIPIT.

A tir Traicia tra tangadar Cruithnigh .i. clanda Gleoin mic Ercoil iad. Aganthirsi a n-anmanda. Seisiur brathar tangadar toiseach .i. Solen, Ulfa, Nechtan, Drostan, Aengus, Letend. Fatha a tiachtana .i. Policornus ri Traigia do rad gradh da siuir co ro triall a breth gan tocra. Lodar iar sin tar Romanchu co Frangcu et cumtaigit sit cathair ann .i. Pictavis a pictis .i. o n-armtaibh. Ocus do rat ri Frangc gradh dia shiur. Lodar for muir iar n-deg in t-sheiseadh brathar .i. Leitcind. I cind da laa iar n-dul for muir atbath a siur. Gabsat Cruithnigh inbher Slaine in Uibh Ceindselaigh. Atbert riu Cremhthand Sciathbhel ri

[d] Macbeth, son of Fin, son of Laig, reigned sixteen years.
Luluch five months.
Malcolm, son of Duncan, thereafter.

D.

TRANSLATION.

Of the Cruthneach incipit.

The Cruthneach came from the land of Thracia; that is, they are the children of Gleoin, son of Ercol. Agathirsi was their name. Six brothers of them came at first, viz., Solen, Ulfa, Nechtan, Drostan, Aengus, Leithenn. The cause of their coming: Policornus king of Thrace fell in love with their sister, and proposed to take her without a dower. They after this passed across the Roman territory into France, and built a city there, viz., Pictavis, *a pictis*, that is, from their arms, and the king of France fell in love with their sister. They put to sea after the death of the sixth brother, viz., Leithinn, and in two days after going on the sea, their sister died. The Cruthneach took possession of Inbherslaine in Ibh Cennselaigh. Crimthann Sgiathbhel, king of Leinster, said

[B]

Laighen do beradh failti doibh ar dichur Tuaithe Fidhbha. Adbert Drostan drui Cruithneach .i. bleagon vii. xx. bo find do dhortugh m-bailleis fearfaidh in cath. Do ronnadh indi sin 7 do ronnadh in cath doibh .i. cath Ardaleamnachta in Uibh Ceindselaigh. Gach aen no ghontis no laighedh is in leamnacht ni cumgadh a neimh ni do neoch dibh. Ro marbhtha dan iartain Tuatha Fidhbha. Marb ceathrar do Cruithneachaibh iar sin .i. Drostan, Solen, Neachtain, Ulfa. Gabais. Gub 7 a mac .i. Cathluan neart mor a n-Erenn gor indarbadar Erimhoin 7 go tarda mna na fear ro baitea immaile fri Dond doibh .i. mna Breisse 7 Buanaisse 7 rl.

Anais sheiser dibh os Breaghmaigh. Is uaidibh gach geiss 7 gach sen 7 gach sreodh 7 gotha en 7 gach mana. Cathluan ba h-airdri orro uili 7 is e cet ri ro gabh dibh a n-Albain. lxx. righ dibh for Albain o Chathluan gu Constantin 7 is e Cruithneach deidhenach ros gabh. Da mac Cathluain .i. Catinolodhor 7 Catinolachan. In da churaidh Im mac Pirn 7 Cind athair Cruithne. Crus mac Cirigh a

---

that he would give them welcome on the expulsion of the Tuatha Fidhbha. Drostan, the Druid of the Cruthneach, ordered that the milk of seven score white cows should be spilled when the battle should be fought. This was done, and the battle was fought by them, viz., Ardleamhnachta, in Ibh Ceinnselaigh. Every one when they were wounded used to lie down in the new milk, and the poison did not injure any of them. The Tuatha Fidhbha were then slain. Four of the Cruithneach afterwards died, viz., Drostan, Solen, Nechtan, Ulfa. Gub and his son, Cathluan, acquired great power in Erin, until Herimon drove them out, and gave them the wives of the men who had been drowned along with Donn, viz., the wife of Bress and Buanaisse, etc.

Six of them remained over Breaghmuigh. From them are every spell, and every charm, and every sreod, and voices of birds, and every omen. Cathluan was sovereign over them all, and he was the first king of them who acquired Alban. Seventy kings of them over Alban from Cathluan to Constantin, and he was the last Cruthneach that possessed. The two sons of Cathluan were Catinolodar and Catinolachan. The two champions, Im, son of Pern, and Cind, the father of Cruithne; Crus, son of Cirigh, their

[B]

milidh. Uaisnemh a filidh. Cruithne a ceard. Domnall mac Ailpin is e toisech go ro marb Britus imni Isicon. Clanna Neimidh ro gabsat iar m-Britus .i. Iarglun. Cruithneach ro gabsat iar sin iar techt doibh a h-Erenn. Gaedil imorro ro gabsat iar sin .i. meic Eirc mic Eachdhach.

Cruithnigh cid[1] dos farclam
I n-iath Alban n-amhra?
Go n-a m-brigh bil beldha[2]
Cia tir as nach tarlla?[3]

Cia foconn fos ro gluais
O cricaib in cogaidh?
Cia lin long as teagar.
Fri snim tond do lodar?[4]

Cia slondud fria tiachtain.
Do riachtain na righe?
As a n-airm fadhe.[5]
Is cia n-ainm a tire?

---

soldier; Uaisnemh, their poet; Cruithne, their artisan. Donald, son of Alpin, he was the first, till Britus, son of Isacon, slew him. The clan Neimhidh possessed after Britus, viz., Iarglun. The Cruithneach possessed after that, after they had come from Erin. The Gael possessed after that, viz., the sons of Erc, son of Eachdach.

The Cruthneach, who established them
In the land of noble Alban?
With glorious illustrious might
From what region did they come?

What cause also moved them
From the countries in war?
In what number of ships did they embark
And set out to traverse the waves?

How were they named before they came
To attain their sovereignty?
From their own weapons.
What was the name of their country?

---

[1] *Cid* in *b* only.

[2] *b* reads *belga.*

[3] *b* reads *targa.*

[4] *b* reads:—
Fri snim tond dar sreathar.
Cia lin long do lodar.

[5] *b* reads *bodene.*

[C]

THE DUAN ALBANACH, MLXX.

MS. R. I. A. DUBL. M'FIRBIS.

Maolduin mac Conaill na ccreach
A. xvii. do go dlightheach,
Fearchair foda, feagha leat,
Do chaith bliadhain ar .xx.

Da bliadhain Eachdach na-n-each,
Ro ba calma an ri rightheach,
Aoin bhliadhain ba flaith iarttain,
Aingeallach maith mac Fearchair.

Seacht m-bliadhna Dunghail dein,
Acus a ceathair do Ailpen,
Tri bliadhna Muireadhiogh mhaith,
.xxx. do Aodh na ardfhlaith.

A ceathair ficheat, nir fhann,
Do bhliadhnaibh do chaith Domhnall,
Da bhliadhain Conaill, cem n-gle,
Is a ceathair Chonall ele.

Maolduin son of Conall of forays,
Seventeen years legitimately,
Fearchar the long, behold thou,
Passed one year over twenty.

Two years, Eochaidh of steeds,
He was brave, the king of royal mansions,
One year was chief afterwards,
Aincheallach the good son of Fearchair.

Seven years, Dungal the impetuous,
And four to Alpin,
Three years, Muireadhach the good,
Thirty to Aodh the high chief.

Four-and-twenty, not imbecile,
Of years spent Domnall.
Two years, Conall, of glorious career,
And four, another Conall.

[C]

Naoi m-bliadhna Cusaintin chain,
A naoi Aongusa ar Albain,
Cethre bliadhna Aodha ain,
Is a tri deug Eoghanain.

Triocha bliadhain Cionaoith chruaidh
A ceathair Domhnall drechruaidh,
.xxx. bliadhain co na bhrigh,
Don churadh do Cusaintin.

Da bhliadhain, ba daor a dath,
Da brathair do Aodh fhionnscothach,
Domhnall mac Cusaintin chain,
Ro chaith bliadhain fa cheathair.

Cusaintin ba calma a ghleac,
Ro chaith a se is da fhicheat,
Maolcoluim cethre bliadhna,
Iondolbh a h-ocht airdriaghla.

Nine years, Cusantin the fair,
And nine, Aongus over Alban,
Four years, Aodh the noble,
And thirteen, Eoganan.

Thirty years, Cionaoith the hardy,
Four, Domnall of the ruddy countenance,
Thirty years, with his vigour,
To the hero, to Cusantin.

Two years, hard was his complexion,
To his brother, to Aodh of white flowers,
Domnall son of Cusantin the fair,
Reigned a year four times.

Cusantin, brave was his combat,
Reigned six and twice twenty.
Maolcoluim, four years,
Indolbh, eight of supreme sovereignty.

[C]

Seacht m-bliadhna Dubhoda den,
Acus a ceathair Cuilen,
A .xxvii. os gach cloinn,
Do Cionaoth mac Maolcholuim.

Seacht m-bliadhna Cusaintin cluin,
Acus a ceathair Macdhuibh,
Triochadh bliadhain, breacaid rainn,
Ba ri Monaidh Maolcolaim.[1]

Se bliadhna Donnchaid glain gaoith,
.xvii. bliadhna mac Fionnlaoich,
Tar es Mecbeathaidh go m-blaidh,
.vii. mis i fflaithios Lughlaigh.

Maolcholuim anosa as ri,
Mac Donnchaidh dhata dhrechbhi,

Seven years, Dubhoda the vehement,
And four, Cuilean,
And twenty seven, over every clann,
To Cionaoth son of Maolcoluim.

Seven years, Cusantin, listen !
And four, Macduibh,
Thirty years, verses mark,
Was king of Monaidh, Maolcoluim.

Six years, Donnchad the wise,
Seventeen years, the son of Fionnlaoch,
After Macbeathadh, the renowned,
Seven months in the lordship, Luglaigh.

Maolcoluim is now the king,
Son of Donnchad, the florid of lively visage,

---

[1] Monaidh is applied to great mountain ranges in Scotland, as the Monadh liath, the Monadh ruadh, and the Monadh mor or Mounth; but it may also mean Dunmonadh, the capital of Dalriada, and is therefore left untranslated.

[D]

FROM THE CHRONICLE OF MARIANUS SCOTUS, MLXXVIII.

MS. VATICAN NO. 830, AS PRINTED IN PERTZ. MON. GERM. HIST. SCRIPT. V. 5. PP. 556-558.

A.D.

1034. Moelcoluim Rex Scotiæ obiit 7 Kal. Decembr. Donchad, filius filiæ ejus, sibi successit annis 5, mensibus 9.

1040. Donnchad rex Scotiæ in autumno occiditur (19 Kal. Sept.) a duce suo Macbethad mac Finnloech, cui successit in regnum annis 17.

1050. Rex Scottiæ Macbethad Romæ argentum pauperibus seminando distribuit.

1057. (Macfinlaeg occiditur in Augusto. Lulag successit et occiditur in Martio; cui Moelcol. successit.) Moelcoluim filius Donchaed regit Scottiam. (Donchad regnavit annis 5 hoc est a missa sancti Andreæ ad eandem et insuper ad nativitatem sancte Mariæ. Inde Macfinlaeg regnavit annis 17 ad eandem missam Sancte Mariæ. Lulach a nativitate sanctæ Mariæ ad missam sancti Patricii in mensi Martio regnavit. Inde Moelcolum regnavit annis 20 usque ad missam sancti Patricii.)

[E]

THE PROPHECY OF ST. BERCHAN, MXCIV-MXCVII.

a MS. R. I. A. DUBL. NO. 6. 5.

b MS. R. I. A. DUBL. H. & S. NO. 221

* * * * * * * *

Iar sin nodas gheabhaidh in Rí,
Dia m-ba h-ainm in Tuilti,
Uch! mo chraoidh, siar is tsair,
Britt do bhreith for Ghaoidhelaibh.

Nos gheabhaidh an Britt a Cluaide,
Mac mna o Dhun Guaire,
Tri bliadna deag, diongnaibh gail,
In airdrighe[1] na h-Alban.

Conas ragha an Mac Ràth,
Shuaithfes for Albain d'aon-fhlaith,
Ba isel Breatain friaa linn,
Ba ard Albain chathair[2] bhinn.

Is ait leam chroidhe is leam chorp,[3]
Feibh ro shloinn damh mo spiorat,

Afterwards a king shall possess,
Whose name was the Tuiltigh[4]
Ah! my heart, west and east,
A Briton shall rule the Gael.

The Briton from Clyde shall possess,
Son of the woman from Dun Guaire,
Thirteen years of warding valour,
In the sovereignty of Alban.

Till the Mac Rath[5] shall come,
He shall sit over Alban as sole chief,
Low was Britain in his time,
High was Alban of melodious cities.

Pleasant is it to my heart and body,
My spirit relates good to me,

---

[1] In *a* is interlined *ruire*, lord.
[2] *a* reads *eathar*, ships.
[3] *a* reads *sport*.
[4] *The floods.* This was Eocha, son of Run, king of the Britons, and grandson of Kenneth Macalpin.
[5] *Son of Fortune.* This was Grig, son of Dungaile, who is said by the Pictish Chronicle to have reigned along with Eocha, and who died at Dundurn.

[E]

Righ an Mac Raith na thir soir,
Fo chiochra dochoir d' Albain

Seacht m-bliadna deag, diongna gal,
I n-airdrighe na h-Albain.
Biaidh daora leis in a thigh,
Saxain, Gaill is Brethnaigh.

Is lais fichtir in teach teann,
Uch! mo chraoidhe, ar bhrughadh Eirenn.
Biaidh dath dearg atteagh mo 'cheann,
Do faoth le Feraibh Forthrenn.

Ba olc bhias Albain de,
Tiufac dhoibh mo thairngaire,
Deis an Mheic Raith, rathaibh clann,
Do faoth la Feraibh Fortrenn.

Iar sin nos geabhaidh an Ri
Do lar Duine Duirn, drechbhuidhe,

As king the son of fortune in the eastern land
Under ravenous misfortune to Alban.

Seventeen years, of warding valour,
In the sovereignty of Alban.
There shall be slaves to him in his house,
Saxons, Galls, and Britons.

By him shall be attacked the powerful house,
Ah! my heart, on the banks of the Earn.
Red shall be the colour in the house before him,
He shall fall by the men of Fortrenn.

Bad shall it be in Alban then,
To them shall cóme my prophecy,
After the son of fortune, of a prosperous clan,
Shall fall by the men of Fortrenn.

Afterwards the king shall possess
From the middle of Dundurn, yellow faced,

[E]

In Bhaoth as Dun Duirn duanach,
Cidh adhmhar ni h-ilbhuadhach.

Tri bliadna do na Righ,
Sloinnfed dioibh ba sgel fire,
Is ann bhias a leacht an troch
Idir Leitir is Claonloch.

Iar sin nos geabhaidh in Garbh,
Lais ba beg brigh mionn is psalm,
Ba aistrech Albain lais,
Ni thiubhraidh fior for eislis.[1]

Bia imarcai creach fria re,
Fria righe an Ghairbh, cia be,
Mescfaidh Albain ima chenn,
Ba fuis fe bhenfas beimenn.

The Baoth[2] from Dundurn of songs,
Though fortunate yet not all conquering.

Three years to the king,
I shall relate to you, the tale was true,
The grave of the coward shall be
Between Letir and Claonloch.

Afterwards the Garbh[3] shall possess,
With him were shrines and psalms of little worth,
Alban was changed with him,
He will not deliver what is true to neglect.

There will be abundance of forays in his time,
During the reign of the Garbh whoe'er he be.
Alban will be disturbed on his account,
He was active when blows shall be struck.

---

[1] *a* reads *eis lais*.

[2] *The weak one.* Whom this represents is not clear. According to one Chronicle, Grig was succeeded by a brother, Constantine, who reigned two years.

[3] *The rough one.* The king meant is Donald, son of Constantine, who reigned nine years.

[E]

Fionn is Dubh ima leith,
Mairce dar geabhadh ccoimhrighe.

Naoi m-bliadhna doibh na righ,
Mairce dar geabha a ccoimhdhine,
Ba h-olc bhias Albain dhe,
Mairce bhias aga ni arnaidhe.

Rachaidh Ri dhiobh for fecht fann
Dar Muna i Maigh Forthrenn
Cia dig nocha ttig for cul
Dos faoth Dubh na ttri n-dubhrann

Nos geabhaidh an Fionn, da eis,
Albain, iar m-beith fo aindeis,
Go teacttain deinais aga
Albain ettroctt fhionn-foda

Lecht an Fhinn for bhru tuinne
Tinnfes rinn,

Fionn and Dubh[1] together,
Woe! who took them in joint reign.

Nine years for them in their reign,
Woe! who took them in joint sovereignty,
It will be bad for Alban then,
Woe! those who were in expectation.

One of the kings shall go upon a weak expedition
Over Munna to Magh Fortrenn,
Who goes will not turn back,
Dubh of the three black divisions fell.

The Fionn will possess, after him,
Alban, after being under affliction,
By right of violence he holds
Alban the splendid, fair, and long.

The grave of Fionn on the brink of the waves,
A spear shall sever,

---

[1] *The White, the Black.* Fionn seems to be intended for Cuilean, son of Indulph, Dubh is Dubh, son of Malcolm; they each reigned four years and a half.

[E]

Nos geabhaidh an Donn dhailfes graicc,
Scaoilfes catha a Saxanchaibh,
Iar lo chatha nos gheabha,
Meabhra leam a airdsgela.

Ba labar i righe shoir,
Fo gairde bhias for Albain,
Ba neartmhar fri a naimhde a mach,
In Donn as Dunchath cruadhach.

Ocht m-bliadna go leith, lathar n-gle,
Don[1] Donn i n-airdri
Fo gairde go ttisad fris
Mo nuar Gaidhil do rithes.

Condreaccaid Gaidhil imme,
An lo. no mairbhfid linne,
Na lighe cro eidir da ghlenn
Ni cian o bhruinnibh Eirenn

The Donn[2] will possess who will dispense steeds,
He will scatter hosts of the Saxons,
After the day of battle he will possess,
I remember the high tale.

Told is his reign in the east,
Short shall it be over Alban,
Great strength was against his enemies without,
The Donn from strong Duncath.

Eight years and half, bright the deeds,
To the Donn in the sovereignty,
'Twas short till they came against him,
Alas! the Gael again.

The Gael gathered around him,
The day in which he will be killed by us,
At his stone of blood between two glens
Not far from the banks of the Earn.

---

[1] *a* inserts *linne* before *Don.*

[2] *The brown one.* This was Grig, son of Kenneth, son of Dubh, who reigned eight years.

[E]

Iar sin nos geabhadh Albain ard,
Cathach, rathach, raidhid baird,
Craoidhe fergach fheras cath,
Dianid ainm an Forranach.

Ba dath lana fir dhomhain de,
Aingil ga ttu tairngire,
Tromchathach tuaithe tinne,
Daigh-ri dherccfas dercc rinne.

Mac mna Laighean leam tre cath,
An fordhercc, an Forranach,
Biodbha Bretan, badhudh Gall,
Loingseach Ile ocus Arann.

Macc bo bronn as brugh Liffe,
Ba dearg sliocht a luaith chreiche,
On chu is as Albain uile,
Lais teidsead Gaidhil glan uile.

Afterwards shall possess high Alban,
A warrior, fortunate, praised of bards,
A wrathful heart which fights the battle,
Whose name is the Forranach.[1]

The men of the world were full of good of him,
Angels are prophesying of him,
Heavy warrior of a strong people,
A good king who will redden red spears.

Son of the woman of Leinster, strong thro battle,
More excellent, the Forrannach,
Danger of Britons, extinction of Galls
Mariner of Ile and Arann

The son of the cowbreast from the banks of the Liffy,
He was of the red race of swift spoil,
A wolf-dog who shall eat up all Alban,
With him shall come all the pure Gael.

---

[1] *The oppressor or destroyer.* This was Malcolm, son of Kenneth, who reigned thirty years.

Iar sin nos geibh in Ri deircc
Righe Alban ard dreachleircc,
Iar n-ar Gaoidheal, iar n-ar Gall,
Nos geabhaidh fial-ri Foirthrenn.

In ruadh ba fionnbuidhe foda,
Ba aoibhinn damhsa occu,
Ba lomlan Albain shiar, shoir,
Fri righe an Deircc dasachtaigh.

Fiche bliadhna is deich m-bliadhna
For Albain in airdri riaghla,
For lar Scoine, sceithfidh fuile,
Fescur aidhche iar n-iomargain.

Iar sin nos geabha Tairbidh,
Mac laidh as aedhidh,
Ba lana fir domhain de,
'S co Loch Debhru a librine.

Afterwards the red king will possess
The kingdom of high slope faced Alban,
After slaughter of Gael, after slaughter of Galls,
The liberal king will possess Fortrenn.

The red one was fair yellow tall,
Pleasant was the youth to me,
Brimful was Alban east and west,
During the reign of Dearg the fierce.

Twenty years and ten years
Over Alban the sovereign reigned,
On the middle of Scone, it will vomit blood,
The evening of a night in much contention.[1]

Afterwards the Tairbith[2] will possess,
Son of death and slaughter,
The men of the world were full of him,
And at Loch Deabhra his habitation.

---

[1] Macbeth. *Fichedh*, twenty, seems here written for *seacht*, seven. Macbeth reigned seventeen years.

[2] *Misfortune*, under this name Lulach seems to be meant.

[F]

CHRONICLE OF THE SCOTS, MCLXV.

MS. COLB. BIB. IMP. PARIS. 4126.

CRONICA REGUM SCOTTORUM. CCC. ET IIIJ. ANNORUM.

Fol. 29. verso.

FERGUS filius Eric ipse fuit primus qui de semine Chonare suscepit regnum Alban, id est, a monte Drumalban usque ad mare Hibernie et ad Inchegal. Iste regnavit iii. annis.

Domangrat filius ejus v. annis.
Congel filius Domangrat. xxxiii.
Goueran frater Congel xxii. annis.
Conal filius Congel xiiij. annis.
Edan filius Goueran xxxiiij. annis.
Eochod flavus filius Edan xvi. annis.
Kinat sinister filius Conal iij. mensibus.
Fercar filius ejus xvi. annis.
Dovenald varius fillius Eochid xiiij.
Fergar longus xxi.
Eochal habens curvum nasum filius Donegarth filii Doneual varii iij.
Arinchellac filius Ferchar longi i. anno.
Ewen filius Ferchar longi xiii.
Murechat filius Arinchellac iij. annis.
Ewen filius Murcerdach iij.
Edalbus filius Eochal curvi nasi xxx.
Fergus filius Hedalbi iij.
Seluach filius Eogan xxiiii
Fochal venenosus filius Edalbi xxx.

[F]

Dunegal filius Seluach vii.
Alpin filius Eochal venenosi iij.
Kynedus filius Alpini primus rex Scottorum xvi.
Dolfnal filius Alpini iiij.
Constantinus filius Kinet xx.
Hed filius Kinet i. anno.
Grig filius Dunegal xii.
Duneval filius Constantini xi.
Constantinus filius Hed xxv.
Malcolin filius Duneuald ix.
Indolf filius Constantin ix.
Duf filius Malcolin iiij. annis et vi. mensibus.
Culen filius Indulf iiij. annis et sex mensibus.
Kinet filius Malcolin xxii. annis et ii. mensibus.
Custantin filius Culen. i. anno et iiij. mensibus.
Chinet filius Duf. i. anno et dimidium.

Malcolin filius Kinet xxx. Hic magnum bellum fecit apud Carrun. Ipse etiam multas oblationes tam ecclesiis quam clero ea die distribuit.

Macheth filius Findleg xvii.

Lulac nepos filii Boide iiij mensibus et dimidium.

Malcolin filius Dunecan xxxvii. et dimidium et iiij. mensibus. Hic fuit vir Margarite regine filie nobilissimi.[1] Matildis et Marie, sui generis celsitudinem conjugio, morum ingenuitate, scientie magnitudine, rerum temporalium larga in pauperes et in ecclesias dispensatione decenter ornaverunt. Matildis enim matrimonio juncta fuit Henrico Anglorum regi strenuosissimo, qui de Francorum excellenti regum prosapia duxit originem : quorum sublimitas predicti, scilicet, et regis et regine ab hoc usque perducta est, ut ipsorum soboles Romani imperii tenuerunt dignitatem. Eorum namque filia .N. prudencia forma diviciis digna imperio, imperatori nupsit Romano. Maria vero lege conjugii Eustachio comiti Boloniensi tradita, regina sorore non minor extitit probitate, licet regina caruerit potestate. Hujus itidem filia strenuum virum comitem Stephanum

[1] sic. Some words seem here omitted.

[G]

CHRONICLE OF THE SCOTS AND PICTS,

MCLXXXVII.

MS. BIB. FAC. JURID. EDIN. 34. 7. 3.

* * * * * * * *

Durst filius Ferant iij. regnavit annis. Iste occisus est apud Fertheviot, secundem quosdam Sconam a Scottis.

Kynat mac Alpin xvi. annis regnavit super Scottos, distructis Pictis et mortuus est et in Fethertauethn et sepultus in Yona insula, ubi tres filii sc. Erc, Fergus, Loaran, Tenagus, sepulti fuerunt. Hic mira caliditate duxit Scotos de Ergadia in terra Pictorum.

Douenald mac Alpin iiij. annis regnavit et mortuus est in Rathinueramon et sepultus in Iona insula.

Constantinus mac Kynat xv. annis regnavit et interemptus est a Noruagiensibus in bello de Merdo fatha et sepultus in Iona insula.

Edh mac Kynnath i. anno regnavit et interfectus in bello in Strathalun a Girg filio Dungal et sepultus in Iona insula.

Girg mac Dungal xii. annis regnavit et mortuus est in Dundurn et sepultus est in Iona insula. Hic subjugavit sibi totam Yberniam et fere totam Angliam et hic primus dedit libertatem ecclesie Scoticane que sub servitute erat usque ad illud tempus ex consuetudine et more Pictorum.

Donald mac Constantine xi. annis regnavit et mortuus est in Fores et sepultus in Iona insula.

Constantine mak Edha xl. annis regnavit et dimisso regno sponte Deo in habitu religionis abbas factus est in Keldeorum Sancte Andree, quinque annis servivit ibi et mortuus est ac sepultus.

Malcom mac Donald ix. annis regnavit et interfectus est a Morauiensibus per dolum et sepultus est in Yona insula.

Indolf mac Constantin ix. annis regnavit et interfectus est a Noruagiensibus in Innercolan et sepultus in Iona insula.

Duf mac Malcolm iiij. annis regnavit et mensibus sex et interfectus in Fores et absconditus est sub ponte de Kynloss et sol non apparuit quamdiu ibi latuit et inventus est et sepultus in Iona insula.

Culen mac Indolf iiij. annis regnavit et mensibus sex et interfectus est ab Amdarch filio Donvald propter filiam suam in Ybandonia.

[G]

Kynnath mac Malcolm xxiiij. annis regnavit ij. mensibus et interfectus es a suis hominibus in Fetherkern per perfidias Finuele filie filie Cunthar comitis de Anguss cujus Finuele unicum filium predictus Kynnet interfecit.

Constantin mac Culen i. anno vi. mensibus regnavit et interfectus est a Kynnet filio Malcolmi in Rathinueramon et sepultus in Yona insula.

Malcolm mac Kynnat Rex victoriossissimus xxx. annis regnavit et mortuus est in Glammes et sepultus in Yona.

Donchath mac Cran Abbatis de Dunkelden et Bethok filia Malcolm mac Kynnet vi. annis regnavit et interfectus est a Maketh mac Fyngel in Bothngouane et sepultus in Yona insula.

Maket mac Fyngel xvii. annis regnavit et interfectus est in Lufanan a Malcolm mac Dunkat et sepultus in Iona insula.

Lulach fatuus iiij. mensibus regnavit et interfectus est in Esseg in Strabolgin et sepultus in Yona insula.

In anno gracie primo natus est Jhesus Christus Dominus noster in Bethelem Judie. Anno septimo mortuus est Herodes. Eodem anno natus est beatus Johannes evangelista. Anno xxix predicavit beatus Johannes baptista. Anno xxx. baptizatus est Christus et apostoli Christum sequebantur. Anno xxxiiij crucifixus est Dominus et Stephanus lapidatus est. Anno xxxiii. conversus est sanctus Paulus. Anno xl. Matheus scripsit evangelium. Anno xliiij. Marcus scripsit evangelium. Anno xlvii. Lucas scripsit evangelium. Anno li. assumpta est Domina nostra Sancta Maria, anno etatis sue lxvi. Eodem anno obiit beata nostra magistra. Anno iiii^{c}xxxiij. Palladius fidem Scotis predicavit qui eam reciperunt et usque in hodiernam diem sine apostasia firmiter et ferventer servaverunt. Anno iiii^{c}xxxiiii. Patricius fidem predicavit Yberniis. Anno iiii^{c} xxxix. nata est sancta Brigida.

[H]

CHRONICLE OF THE PICTS AND SCOTS, MCCLI.

MS. BRIT. MUS. HARL. 4628. A REGISTRO PRIORATUS SANCTI ANDREÆ.

* * * * * * * *

SEQUNTUR NOMINA REGUM SCOTORUM.

1. Kinart mac Alpin 16 annis super Scotos regnavit, destructis Pictis. Mortuus in Forteviet, sepultus in Iona insula ubi tres filii, scilicet, Fergus, Loern, Tenegus sepulti fuerunt. Hic in ira caliditate duxit Scotos de Argadia in terram Pictorum.

2. Doneuall mac Alpin 4 annis. Mortuus in Raith Inverament sepultus in Iona insula.

3. Constantinus mac Kinet 16 annis. Interfectus fuit a Norvagensibus in bello Innerdofacta. Sepultus in Iona insula.

4. Edh mac Kinet 1 anno. Interfectus in bello in Strathallen a Girg filio Dungel. Sepultus in Iona.

5. Carus mack Dungall 12 annis. Mortuus in Dundurn et sepultus in Iona. Hic subjugavit sibi Hiberniam totam et fere Angliam et hic primus dedit libertatem Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, quæ sub servitute erat ad illud usque tempus ex constitutione et more Pictorum.

6. Dovenal mack Constantin xi. annis. Mortuus in Fores, et sepultus in Iona.

7. Constantin mack Ethu 40 annis. Hic dimisso regno sponte Deo in habitu religioso Abbas factus Keledeorum Sancte Andreæ 5 annis. Ibi mortuus est et sepultus.

8. Malcolm mack Dovenal 9 annis. Interfectus in Vlurn a Moraviensibus. Sepultus in Iona.

9. Indulf mack Constantin 9 annis. Interfectus a Norvagensibus in Inertolan. Sepultus in Iona.

10. Duff mac Colm 4 annis et sex mensibus. Interfectus in Fores et absconditus sub ponte de Kinlos et sol non apparuit quamdiu ibi latuit. Sepultus in Iona.

11. Culen mac Indulf 4 annis et 6 mensibus. Interfectus ab Andarch filio Dovenald propter filiam suam in Laodana.

12. Kinath mac Colm 24 annis et 2 mensibus. Inter-

[H]

fectus in Fotherkern a suis per perfidiam Findle Cunnuchar comitis de Anegus cujus Findle filium unicum predictus Kenath interfecit apud Dunismoen.

13. Constantin mac Culean 1 anno et sex mensibus. Interfectus a Kinath filio Malcolmi in Rathveramoen et sepultus in Iona.

14. Girus mac Kinath mac Duff 8 annis. Interfectus a filio Kinet in Moeghauard et sepultus in Iona.

15. Malcolm mac Kinat rex victoriosissimus 30 annis. Mortuus in Glemmis et sepultus in Iona.

16. Donchath mac Trim abbatis de Dunkelden et Bethoch filiæ Malcolmi mac Kinoth 6 annis. Interfectus a Mackbeth mac Fialeg in Bothgauenan et sepultus in Iona.

17. Macbeth mac Finlen 17 annis. Interfectus in Lunfanen a Malcolm mac Donechat et sepultus in Iona.

18. Lulach fatuus 4 mensibus. Interfectus est in Esseg in Strathbologia, sepultus in Iona.

19. Malcolm mac Donechat 37 annis et 8 mensibus. Interfectus in Inweraldan et sepultus in Iona. Hic fuit vir Sanctæ Margaritæ.

20. Donald mac Donchat prius regnavit sex mensibus et postea expulsus et Donechet mac Malcolm regnavit 6 mensibus. Hoc interfecto a Malpeder Mackcolm comite de Merns in Monacheden, rursus Donald mac Donehat regnavit 3 annis. Hic captus est ab Edgar mac Malcolm, coecatus est et mortuus Rosolpin. Sepultus in Dunkelden. Hinc translata ossa in Iona.

21. Edgar 9 annis. Mortuus in Dunedin et sepultus in Dumferline.

22. Alexander 17 annis et 3 mensibus et dimidio. Mortuus in Crasleth. Sepultus in Dunfermline.

23. David 29 annis et 3 mensibus. Mortuus in Carlelle. Sepultus in Dumfermline.

24. Malcolm filius Henrici filii David annis 12, sex mensibus et 20 diebus. Mortuus apud Jedwarth. Sepultus Dunfermline.

25. Willielmus 52 annis. Mortuus in Stirlin. Sepultus in Aberbrothock, cui successit mitissimus rex Alexander.

[I]

THE METRICAL CHRONICLE, COMMONLY CALLED THE CRONICON ELEGIACUM, MCCLXX.

a MS. BODL. C. IV. 3.
b MS. BRIT. MUS. COTT. FAUSTINA, B. IX.
c MS. BRIT. MUS. BIB. REG. 17. D. XX.[1]

PRIMUS in Albania fertur regnasse Kynetus
Filiųs Alpini, prelia multa gerens
Expulsis Pictis regnaverat octo bis annis
Apud[2] Ferthevioth mortuus ille fuit[3]
Rex Dovenaldus ei successit[4] quatuor annis
In bello miles strenuus ille fuit

[1] MS. *a* contains the only complete and separate copy of the Cronicon Elegiacum. MS. *b* is the Chronicle of Melrose, in which the verses applicable to each king are inserted in a different hand under the date of his death in connexion with a prose chronicle. MS. *c* is Wynton's Chronicle, in which the verses are inserted in a similar manner under the reign of each king. MS. *a* has been selected as the text. The prose Chronicle, which precedes the beginning of the Metrical Chronicle in *b*, is as follows:—

Anno DCCXLJ. obiit Ewain rex Scottorum, cui successit Murezaut filius ejus.

Anno DCCXLIV. obiit Murezaut rex Scottorum, cui successit Ewen filius ejus.

Anno DCCXLVIJ. obiit Ewen rex Scottorum, cui successit Hed Abbus filius ejus.

Anno DCCLXXVIJ. obiit Hed rex Scottorum, cui successit Fergus filius ejus.

Anno DCCLXXX. obiit Fergus rex Scottorum, cui successit Seluad filius ejus.

Anno DCCCIV. obiit Seluad rex Scottorum, cui successit Eokal venenosus.

Anno DCCCXXXIV. obiit Eokal rex Scottorum, cui successit Dungal filius ejus.

Anno DCCCXLJ. obiit Dungal rex Scottorum; Alpinus filius Eokal ei successit.

Anno DCCCXLIIJ. obiit Alpinus rex Scottorum, cui successit Kined filius ejus, de quo dicitur.

[2] *b* reads *Adque; c* reads *Et post.*

[3] *b* inserts here, Iste vocatus est rex primus, non quia fuit sed quia primus leges Scoticanas instituit, quas vocant leges Macalpin. Anno DCCCLIX. obiit Kinedus rex Scottorum, cui successit Dovenaldus de quo dicitur.

[4] *c* reads *erat in Scotia.*

[I]

Regis predicti frater fuit ille Kyneti
Qui Scone fertur subditus esse neci[1]
Fit Constantinus post hunc rex bis terni annis[2]
Regis Kyneti filius ille fuit
In bello pugnans Dacorum corruit armis
Nomine Nigra specus est ubi pugna fuit[3]
Ejusdem frater regnaverat Albipes Edhus
Qui Grig Dungalide[4] saucius ense perit.
Hic postquam primum regni compleverat annum,
In Stratalun vitam ulnere finierat.[5]
Girg sua jura gerens annis deca tetra et octo[6]
In Dunduren probus morte retentus erat.
Hic dedit ecclesie libertates[7] Scoticane,
Que sub Pictorum lege redacta fuit.
Hujus ad imperium fuit Anglia tota subacta,[8]
Quod non leva dedit sors sibi bella terens.[9]
Post hunc in Scocia regnavit rex Douenaldus;
Qui[10] Constantino filius ortus erat.
In villa fertur rex iste perisse Forensi,
Undecimo regni sole rotante sui.[11]
Constantinus item, cujus pater Edh fuit Albus,
Bis deca Rex annis vixerat atque decem.
Andree sancti fuit hic quinquennis in urbe;
Religionis ibi jure fruens obiit.[12]
Huic rex Malcolmus successit ter tribus annis,
Regis Donaldi filius iste[13] fuit.

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[1] *b* inserts here, Anno DCCCLXIIJ. obiit Douenaldus rex Scottorum.

[2] *b* reads *quinque ter annis.*
c reads—
Iam Constantinus fuerat rex quinque ter annis.

[3] *b* inserts here, Anno DCCCLXXVIIJ. occiditur Constantinus rex Scottorum. Rex Scotorum Hed frater ejus.

[4] *b* reads *Dofnalide.*
c reads *makDougal.*

[5] *b* inserts, Anno DCCCLXXIX. rex Scotorum Het [frater ejus] occiditur; post quem [rex Scottorum Grig filius Douenaldi.]

[6] *b* and *c* read *rex fit et octo.*

[7] *c* reads *libertatem.*

[8] *b* reads *peracta.*

[9] *b* inserts, Anno DCCCXCVIJ. obiit Grig Scottorum rex; rex Scottorum Douenaldus filius Constantini.

[10] *b* and *c* read *Hic.*

[11] *b* inserts here, Anno DCCCCVIIJ. eodem anno periit Dofnaldus rex Scottorum, post quem rex Scottorum Constantinus filius Hedi.

[12] *b* inserts here, Anno DCCCCXLIIJ. obiit Constantinus Rex Scottorum.

[13] *b* and *c* read *ille.*

[I]

Interfercerunt hunc Ulrum[1] Morauienses :
Gentes apostatice fraude doloque cadit.[2]
Post hunc Indulfus totidem regnaverat annis :
Ens Constantini filius Ethaide.
In bello pugnans ad fluminis hostia Colli[3]
Dacorum gladiis protinus occubuit.[4]
Quatuor et senis rex Duf regnavit arestis,
Malcolmo natus, regia vita[5] gerens.
Hunc interfecit gens perfida Morauiensis,
Cujus erat gladiis cesus in urbe Fores.
Sol abdit radios, ipso sub ponte latente,
Quo fuit absconsus, quoque repertus erat.[6]
Filius Indulfi totidem quoque rex fuit annis,
Nomine Culenus ; vir fuit insipiens.
Fertur apud Lennas[7] illum truncasse Radhardus,
Pro rapta nata quam sibi rex rapuit.[8]
Inclitus in Scocia[9] fertur regnasse Kynedus
Malcolmi natus, quatuor et deca bis.
Iste Forchirkern[10] telis et arte peremptus,
Nate Cunicari Finglene[11] fraude cadens.[12]
Rex Constantinus Culeni filius ortus,
Ad caput amnis Amon[13] ense peremptus erat,
In jus regale ;[14] regens uno rex et semis annis,
Ipsum Kinedus Malcolomida ferit.[15]
Annorum spacio rex Grym regnaverat octo,
Kyneti natus qui genitus[16] Duf erat.

[1] *b* reads *in Ulum*. *c in Wlru*.

[2] *b* inserts here, Anno DCCCCLIJ. rex Scottorum Malcolmus interficitur.

[3] *b* reads *Collin* ; *c Collyne*.

[4] *b* inserts here, Anno DCCCCLXJ. rex Scottorum Indulfus occiditur ; post quem.

[5] *b* and *c* read *jura*.

[6] *b* inserts here, Anno DCCCCLXV. rex Duf Scottorum interficitur ; post quem.

[7] *b* reads *Loinas* ; *c Lovias*.

[8] *b* inserts here, Anno DCCCCLXIX. rex Scottorum Culenus perimitur ; post quem.

[9] *c* reads—
Postquem rex fertur Scotis.

[10] *b* reads *Fotherkerne* ; *c Fethyrkerne*.

[11] *b* reads *Cuncari Fimberhele* ; *c Cuncari Fimbel*.

[12] *b* inserts here, Anno DCCCCXCIIIJ. rex Scottorum Kined occiditur ; post quem rex Scottorum Constantinus Calwus, filius Culini.

[13] *b* reads *Aven* ; *c Awyne*.

[14] *b* reads *Tegalere*.

[15] *b* inserts here, Anno DCCCCXCV. rex Scottorum Constantinus necatur ; post quem [rex Scottorum Grim, sive Kinedus, filius Duf.] Two last lines omitted in *c*.

[I]

Quo truncatus erat, Bardorum campus habetur,
A nato Kyneth nomine Malcolomi.[1]
Idem[2] Malcolmus deca ter regnavit aristis,
In pugnis miles bellicus atque probus;[3]
In vico Glammes rapuit mors improba[4] regem;[5]
Sub pede paratis.[6] hostibus ille ruit,[7]
Abbatis Crini, jam dicti, filia regis,
Uxor erat Bethoc, nomina digna sibi.[8]
Ex illa genuit Duncanum nomine natum,
Qui senis annis rex erat Albanie,
A Finlath[9] natus percussit eum Macabed
Funere[10] letali rex aput Elgyn obit.[11]
Rex Macabeda decem Scotie septemque fit annis:
In cujus regno fertile tempus erat.
Hunc in Lunphanan[12] truncavit morte cruente[13]
Duncani natus, nomine Malcolomus.[14]
Mensibus infelix Lulach tribus extiterat rex
Armis ejusdem Malcolomi cecidit.
Fata viri fuerant in Strathbolgyn aput Essy:[15]
Heu sic incaute Rex miser occubuit.[16]
Hos in pace viros tenet insula Iona sepulta
In tumulo regum, judicis usque diem.[17]
Ter deca quinque[18] valens annis et mensibus octo
Malcolmus dictus[19] rex erat in Scocia
Anglorum gladiis in bello sternitur heros:
Hic rex in Scotia primus humatus erat.[20]

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[1] *b* inserts here, Anno M.III. rex Scottorum Grim necatur; post quem.
[2] *c* reads *Rex quoque.*
[3] *b* and *c* read *victoriosus erat.*
[4] *b* reads *libera.*
[5] *c* reads *quandamque puellare.*
[6] *b* and *c* read *prostratis.*
[7] *b* and *c* read *perit.*
[8] *b* reads *sui*, and inserts here, Anno M.XXXIIIJ. iste Malcolmus non habuit filium, set filiam; que erat uxor abbatis Duncaneli Crini, et.
[9] *b* reads *Finleg*; *c Fynlake.*
[10] *b* and *c* read *vulnere.*
[11] *b* inserts here, Anno M.XXXIX. obiit Duncanus rex Scottorum, cujus regnum Macbet sibi usurpavit.
[12] *b* reads *Laufnaut.*
[13] *b* and *c* read *crudeli.*
[14] *b* inserts here, Anno M.LV. Lulach quatuor menses et dimidium regnavit.
[15] *b* and *c* read *Esseg.*
[16] *a* reads *opprimibur.*
[17] *b* inserts here, Anno M.LVI. The poem terminates here in *c.*
[18] *b* reads *vjque.*
[19] *b* reads *decus.*
[20] *b* inserts here, Anno M.XCIIJ. Douenaldus regnum Scotie invasit, de quo dicitur.

[J]

CHRONICLE OF THE PICTS AND SCOTS, MCCLXXX

MS. CORPUS. CHRIST. COLL. CANT. SCALACRONICA.

Fol. 193. b. ET fait asauoir qe solonc lez cronicles Descoce, nestoit vnqes tiel difficoulte qi enserroit lour roys de droit lingne, qe outriement estoit failly en le hour de troys roys succiement, chescun fitz dautre. Et pur ceo voet cest cronicle toucher la originaute dez roys, et la processe de caux qen Escoz ount regne. En la vie saint Brandane est troue qen le pays de Attenys, en Grece, estoit vn noble cheualer, qi out vn fitz, qy auoit a noun Gaidel, qauoit en espouse la feile Pharao le roy de Egypt, qe out a noune Scota, de qey il auoit bele engendrure. Gaidel estoit cheualerous; se purchasa lez juuinceaux de soun pays, se mist en mere en uesé od sa femme Scota, et sez

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TRANSLATION.

* And be it known that according to the Chronicles of Scotland, there never was such difficulty as that which would set down in writing their kings of the direct line, who entirely failed in the time of three kings successively, each the son of the other; and for that, this chronicle would touch upon the origin of the kings and the succession of those who have reigned in Scotland. In the life of Saint Brandane it is found that in the country of Athens in Greece there was a noble chevalier who had one son whose name was Gaidel, who had for his wife the daughter of Pharao, king of Egypt, whose name was Scota, by whom he had fair offspring. Gaidel was chivalrous; he gathered the youth of his country, put to sea in a vessel with

[J]

enfauntz, se quist mansioun al auenture en biaunce de le conquer, arryua en Espayne, ou, sure vn haut mountayn, au couster de la mere Hiberynie, fist edifier vn fort chastel, et le noma Brigans. Il viuoit od lez soens de rauyn sure lez paisens du pays. Sez pescheours furount chacez vn iour par tempest parfound en la mere, qi ly reuindrent renouncier qils auoit aparsceu, par voler dez flores, dez chardouns et autres enseignes, qe il y out terre pres de outre mere. Gaidel od sez fitz, qui a surnoun auoient Scoti apres lour mere Scota, se mist en mere en trois naueaux, seglerent aual la mere, trouerent vn Isle grant, mounterent a terre, trouerent le pays herbous et plesaunt de boys et reueres, mais noun pas bien poeple dez gentz. Et com est ymagine et suppose, procheignement deuaunt auoit Gurguyns le fitz Belin, roy de Bretaigne, assigne cel Ile as gentz extretiz Despayne, queux il troua en Orkany com venoit de Denemarc, com auaunt est especifie. Gaidel repaira a soun chastel de Brigauns, ymaginaunt de realer al Ile troue; mais ly surueint vn tresgref malady dount ly coueint murrir; si deuisoit a sez fitz qils alasent a cel Ile, et y demurasent com a vn pays

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his wife Scota and his children, sought a dwelling on chance, with desire to conquer it, arrived in Spain, where on a high mountain, on the coast of the Hibernian sea, he built a strong castle and called it Brigance. He lived with his people on rapine upon the peasants of the country. His fishermen were driven one day by a deep tempest on the sea, and on their return announced that they had seen, by the floating of flowers, thistles, and other signs, that there was land near, beyond the sea. Gaidel with his sons, who had the surname of Scoti, from their mother Scota, put to sea in three vessels, sailed over the sea, found a large isle, landed on it, found the land grassy and pleasant, with woods and rivers, but not well peopled; and as is imagined and supposed shortly before Gurguyns, the son of Belin, king of Britain, had assigned that island to some people come out of Spain, whom he found in Orkney as he came from Denmarc, as is before specified. Gaidel repaired to his castle of Brigance, proposing to return to the discovered island; but he was attacked by a grievous sickness, of which he must die; he desired his sons to go to that

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saunz grant defens, leger a conquere. Eberus, le eyne fitz Gaidel et de Scota la feile Pharao, se addressa od sez freirs al auaunt dit Ile, qi le seisy, et tuerent et soutzmistrent a lour obeisaunce ceaux qe ils y trouerent, et pius appellerent le Ile Iberniam, apres lour freir eyne Eberus, ou apres la mere Eberiaco, qe nomez estoit ensi dez Espaynolis; mais le surenoun Scoty demura od lez autres freirs, et od lour issu bon pece en cel Ile, qe entre nous est appelle Irrelande. En quel Ile apres arryua Symound Bret le fitz pusne du roy de Espayne, qi od ly aporta vn pere sur quoi lez roys Despayne soleient estre coronez, qi soun pier ly bailla en signifiaunce qil en fust roys, com cely qil plus amast de sez enfauntz. Cesty Symound deuient roy du pays de Ireland de par vn feile extreit de Scoty, qi enmyst le auaunt dit pere en le plus souerain bele lieu du pays, qe au iour de huy port le noune, li Lieu Real. Apres qoi veint vn dez fitz de vn dez roys de Ireland extreit de Scota, qy out a noun Fergous fitz Ferthairy, en le plus lointisme pays outre Bretaine deuers septentrioun, et, de cost lez Bretouns, occupia la terre

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island, and to inhabit it, as a country without great defence and easy to conquer. Eberus, the eldest son of Gaidel and Scota, the daughter of Pharao, departed with his brothers for the said Isle, which he seized, and they slew, or subjected to their obedience, those whom they found there, and then called the Isle Hibernia, from the eldest brother, Eberus, or from the sea Eberiaco, thus named by the Spanyards; but the surname Scoti remained with the other brothers, and their issue a long time in that Isle which among us is called Irrelande. In which Isle afterwards arrived Symond Bret, the youngest son of the king of Spain, who brought with him a stone, on which the kings of Spain were wont to be crowned, which his father gave him as a token that he was made king of it, as the one whom he most loved of his children. This Symond became king of the country of Ireland, by a daughter, descended of the Scoty, who placed the foresaid stone in the most sovereign beautiful place of the country, called to this day the Royal Place. After which came one of the sons of one of the kings of Ireland, descended of Scota, who was called Fergus, son of Ferthair, to the most remote country beyond Britain, towards the

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deuer Cateneys outre la laund Porry, et y endemurerent, et tout estoit il du nacioun de Ireland. Et lez soens touz vnqor lez firent nomer Scoty, et la terre Scocia apres Scota, la feile Pharao roy de Egypt, de qei enuindrent lez Scotois; mais lour propre pays est Ireland, lour coustom et patoys acordaunt, qi puis furount mellez od Pices, com apres serra recordez. Icesti Fergus aporta hors de Ireland la pere real auaunt nomez, et la fist mettre ou ore est labbai de Scone, sure quoy furount faitez assise et establis les roys Descoce, touz puscedy, tanque Edward le primer roy Dengleter apres la conquest, len fist aporter a Loundres a Westmoustre, ou ore le sege du prestre a le haute auter.[a]

Et fait asauoir qe Fergus fitz Ferthair de Ireland, extrait de Scota, estoit le primer qi se disoit roy Descoce. Si regna iij. aunz outre Dunbretaine en Ynchgalle.[b]

Dungal fitz Fergus regna v. aunz.
Congal fitz Dungal xxij. aunz.
Constan fitz Doengard xxij. aunz.
Edhan fitz Godfray xxxiiij. aunz.

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north, and beside the Britons, occupied the land towards Cateneys, beyond the heath Porry, and there dwelt, and he was entirely of the nation of Ireland, and his followers all again had themselves called Scoty, and the country Scocia, from Scota, daughter of Pharao, king of Egypt, from whence came the Scots; but their proper country is Ireland, their customs and language according, who afterwards were mixed with the Picts, as shall be afterwards recorded. This Fergus brought out of Ireland the royal stone before named, and placed it where is now the Abbey of Scone, upon which were made, seated, and established the kings of Scotland all since that day in order till Edward the First king of England after the Conquest, had caused it to be brought from hence to London, to Westminster, where now is the seat of the priest at the high altar.

[b] And be it known that Fergus, son of Ferthair of Ireland, descended from Scota, was the first who called himself king of Scotland, and reigned three years beyond Dunbretain in Inchgalle.

[J]

Conel fitz Congelle xiiij. aunz.
Eokebrid xvj. aunz.
Kynather fitz Conel iij. moys.
Ferthaire fitz Ewyne xvj. aunz.
Fercarfod xxj. aunz.
Dopnaldebreck [fitz] Eokebrid xiiij. aunz.
Maldun fitz Dopnaldebrech xvj. aunz.
Eorhetinen Danel fitz Donengard fitz Donald Brec iij. aunz.
Armelech fitz Findan j. ane.
Congan fitz Findan xvj. ans.
Moredath fitz Arnikelec iij. ans. En le temps de qy estoit le primer batail entre lez Bretouns et lez Pices, qi eiderent les Escoces.[c]
Seluach fitz Cogan xxiiij. aunz.
Ergheche fitz Achfin xxx. aunz.
Donald fitz Sealuech vij. aunz.
Alpyn fitz Beghach iij. aunz. Cesty fust tue en Golo-way, com il le auoit destruyt, de vn soul hom qi ly gayta en vn espesse boys en pendaunt al entree dun ge de vn ryuere, com cheuaucheoit entre sez gentz. Cely estoit le darain de Escotoys qi al hour regna procheynement deuaunt lez Pices.
La sum dez aunz du regne dez Escotois auaunt lez Pices ccc. et v. aunz et iij. moys.[d]

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[c] In whose time was the first battle between the Britons and the Picts, who assisted the Scots.

[d] He was killed in Galloway, after he had destroyed it, by a single man who lay in wait for him in a thick wood overhanging the entrance of the ford of a river, as he rode among his people. He was the last of the Scots, who at that time reigned immediately before the Picts.

The sum of the years of the reign of the Scots before the Picts was 305 years and three months.

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Lez cronicles tesmoignent qe lez Pices vindrent de Syke, et entrerent Albanye, qor est Escoce, procheinement apres le mort cesti Alpin. Et entrerent Bretaigne, qor est Engleter, en le temps Vaspasian le Romayn, et en le temps Maurius fitz Aruiragoun, roy de Bretaigne. Si estoint lez Pices vn nacioun bataillour norriz et charniz toutditz en gere, qi sez acompaignerent oue Roderik al auenture pur terre conquere. Qi Rodrik fust tue de Maurius, le roy de Bretain, en batail pres de Cardoille. Plusours de sez Pices fuerent au boys, reenuoyerent au roy Maurius requerant sa merci, qi lour graunta sa peise, lez assigna pur lour homage vn pays outre Albany, qe de gentz Irroys estoit en parti comense a habiter, qi Escocez sez appellerent. Lez queux Pices, qi cọunbatauntz estoient, suremounterent lez Ecoces Irroys, lez tindrent en subieccioun. Lez queux Pices ne auoint my moillers, et par cause qe lez Bretouns ne voloint my marier od eaux, sez qistrent femmes hors de Ireland, sure condicioun qe lour issu parlascent Irrays, quel patois demurt a iour de huy hu haute pays entre lez vns, qest dit Escotoys.[e]

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[e] The chronicles testify that the Picts came from Scythia, and entered Albany, which is now Scotland, immediately after the death of this Alpin, and entered Britain, which is now England, in the time of Vespasian the Roman, and in the time of Maurius, son of Arviragon, king of Britain. The Picts were a warlike nation, bred and always armed to battle. They associated themselves with Roderic, on chance to conquer land. This Roderic was slain by Maurius, the king of Britain, in battle near Carlisle. Many of those Picts fled to the woods, and sent to king Maurius, begging his mercy, who granted to them his peace, and assigned them for their homage a country beyond Albany, which some Irish people had in part commenced to inhabit, who called themselves Scots. The which Picts, who were combatants, overcame the Irish Scots, and held them in subjection. The which Picts had no wives, and because the Britons would not be married to them, they sought women out of Ireland, on condition that their issue should speak Irish, which language remains to this day in the Highlands among some who are called Scotch.

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Kynet fitz Alpin regna xvi. aunz, et morust a Fertcuyoth, et fust enterrez en le isle de Yona, pres de Hert, Loern, et Fergus, trois frers qy amenerent lez Escotz en Archady sure les Picys.[q]

Donald fitz Alpin regna iiij. aunz.

Costantin fitz Kynache xvj. aunz. Qestoit tue dez Norways en batail.

Athe mak Kinath i. ane. Qi fust tue de Tirg fitz Dungald.

Tirg Mac Dungald xij. auns. Lez cronicilis Descoce tesmonent qe cesti Tirg soutzmist a sa seignoury tout Ireland et grant party Dengleter. Cesti dona primerment franchiz as eglis Descoce, qauaunt le hour estoint en seruitude dez lays as vsages de Picys.

Donald Mac Dunstan ij. aunz. Edmound, freir Athelstan, duna a cesti Donald, roy Descoce, tout Combirland, pur quoi lez Escoces ount fait clayme, tanque al Reir croiz de Staynmore; mais cel doune ad este souent conquys puscedy et relesse en maint peise fesaunt.

Kynet son of Alpin reigned sixteen years, and died at Forteviot, and was buried in the isle of Yona near Hert, Lorn, and Fergus, three brothers who brought the Scots into Archady upon the Picts.

Donald son of Alpin reigned three years.

Constantine son of Kynache sixteen years; he was slain by the Norwegians in battle.

Athe mac Kinath one year, who was slain by Girg, son of Dungal.

Girg mac Dungal twelve years. The chronicles of Scotland testify that this Girg subjected to his government all Ireland and a great part of England. He first gave freedom to the churches of Scotland, which before this had been in the servitude of the laity to the usages of the Picts.

Donald mac Dunstan two years. Edmond, brother of Athelstan, gave to this Donald, king of Scotland, all Cumberland, upon which the Scots laid claim as far as the Rere Cross of Staynmore; but this donation was often conquered since then and released in making ofttimes peace.

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Constantin mac Edha xl. aunz regna. Qi guerpy soun realme, se rendy en religioun, et fust abbe de saint Andrew v. aunz, et illoeque fust enterrez.

Malcolme mac Donald xxi. ane regna. Qi fust tue par treisoun dez Norways, et ceo fust en le temps le primer Edward pier Athelstan.

Indel mac Costantin regna x. aunz, et fust tue des Norwais.

Duf mac Maucloun iiij. aunz et vi. moys. Qi fust mourdri a Forays et musse desoutz le pount de Kinlos, et tancom il ieust la le solail ne se aparust. Si fust troue et aporte al Ile de Yona, ou touz sez auncestres de Kinek mac Alpin furount enterrez, fors cely qi abbe estoit de Saint Andrew.

Culen mac Indolf iiij. aunz regna et vij. moys. Il fust tue de Amthar fitz Donald, pur sa feile, qe fust tue en Lownes.

Kinec fitz Malcol. xxiiij. aunz et ij. moys, et fust tue de

Constantin mac Edha reigned forty years. He abandoned his realm, gave himself to a religious order, and became Abbot of Saint Andrews five years, and was buried there.

Malcolm mac Donald reigned twenty-one years. He was slain by treason by the Norwegians, and this was in the time of the first Edward, father of Athelstan.

Indel mac Costantin reigned ten years, and was slain by the Norwegians.

Duf mac Maucloun four years and six months. He was murdered at Forays and concealed below the bridge of Kinlos, and as long as he lay there the sun did not appear. He was found and taken to the isle of Yona, where all his ancestors from Kinek mac Alpin were buried except that one, who was Abbot of Saint Andrews.

Culen mac Indolf reigned four years and seven months. He was slain by Amthar, son of Donald, for his daughter, who was killed in Lownes.

Kinec son of Malcolm twenty-four years and two months, and was slain by his men by the treason of Fumel, the daughter of

[J]

sos homs par treisoun de Fumel la feile Cunithar, zayn de Angus, fitz de qi Kinak auoit deuaunt fait tuer.

Costantin mac Culen i. ane et vi. moys, et fust tue de Kynnech fitz Malcolm.

Grige mac Kyneth mac Douf viiij. aunz, et fust tue de Malcolme fitz Kynech.

Cesti Malcolme regna xxx. aunz noblement et fust uicturous.

Dunkan mac Kryn de Dunkeldy et de Betowe, fitz Malcolme mac Kynech, vi. aunz, et fust tue de

Macbeth mac Sinley, qui regna xvi. aunz, et fust tuez de Chalcolme mac Duncan.

Lulach le fole regna i. mois, et fust tue en Strabolgy.

Toutz ceaux roys furount enterrez en Lile de Yona.

Malcolm Kenmour mac Duncan regna xxxvij. aunz et vi. moys, et fust tue a Alnewyk et enterrez a Tynmoth. Cesti estoit le marry Saint Margaret de Dunfermelin.

Donald soun freir mac Dunkan regna primerment vi. moys, qi fust enchacez de Dunkan fitz Maucloun, qi regna vi. moys, qi fust tue de Malpedre mac Loern, count del

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Cunithar the thane of Angus, whose son Kinak had previously caused to be killed.

Costantin mac Culen one year and six months, and was slain by Kynnech son of Malcolm.

Grige mac Kyneth mac Douf nine years, and was slain by Malcolm son of Kynech.

This Malcolme reigned thirty years nobly and was victorious.

Duncan mac Kryn of Dunkeld and of Betowe, son [daughter] of Malcolme mac Kynech six years, and was slain by Macbeth mac Sinley, who reigned sixteen years, and was slain by Chalcolme [Malcolm] mac Duncan.

Lulach the mad reigned one month, and was slain in Strabolgy.

All these kings were interred in the isle of Yona.

Malcolm Kenmour mac Duncan reigned thirty-seven years and six months, and was slain at Alnewyk and buried at Tynmouth. He was the husband of Saint Margaret of Dunfermelin.

Donald, his brother, mac Duncan, reigned first six months, and was driven out by Duncan son of Malcolm, who reigned six months. He was slain by Malpeder mac Loern, Count of the

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CHRONICLE OF HUNTINGDON, BEFORE MCCXC.

MS. IN PUB. ARCHIV. LONDON.

CRONICA CANONICORUM BEATE MARIE HUNTINGDONIE.

ANNO ab incarnacione Domini octingintesimo tricesimo quarto congressi sunt Scotti cum Pictis in sollempnitate Paschali. Et plures de nobilioribus Pictorum ceciderunt. Sicque Alpinus Rex Scottorum victor extitit, unde in superbiam elatus ab [eis altero conserto] bello tercio decimo Kl. Augusti ejusdem anni a Pictis vincitur atque truncatur. Cujus filius Kynadius [successit in regno patris] qui vii° regni sui anno, cum pirate Danorum, occupatis litoribus, Pictos sua defendentes, strage maxima pertrivissent, in reliquos Pictorum terminos transiens, arma vertit, et multis occisis fugere compulit, sicque Monarchiam tocius Albanie, que nunc Scocia dicitur, p[rimus] Scottorum Re[x conquisivit] et in ea primo super Scottos regnavit. Qui anno xii° regni sui septies in una die cum Pictis congreditur multisque pertritis regnum sibi confirmat et regnavit xxviii. annis.

Sicut in Cronicis nostris reperimus Scotti quadringentis lvi. annis Scociam, que primo Albania vocabatur, [possiderunt ab] Alpino primo tocius insule Monarcha, de quo recta successionis linea, sicut infra habetur jus hereditarium usque Malcolmum tercium [regem Scocie] qui Margaretam Sanctam in matrimonium sumpsit, rite descendit.

Cui successit Dovenaldus frater ejus qui regnavit xiii. annis.

Cui successit Constantinus filius Kynat qui regnavit xxiii. annis.

Cui Æthus .i. Adam qui regnavit .ii. annis.

Cui successit Girge filius Dovenald qui regnavit xiii. annis.

Cui successit Dovenal filius Constantini qui regnavit ix. annis.

Cui successit Constantinus filius Heth qui regnavit xlv. annis.

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Cui successit Malcolmus filius Dovenald qui regnavit xx. annis.

Cui successit Indolf filius Constantini qui regnavit ix. annis.

Cui successit Duf filius Malcolmi .iiii. annis et vi. mensibus.

Cui successit Kynet filius Duf qui regnavit uno anno et iii. mensibus.

Cui successit Culen filius Indolf qui regnavit v. annis et tribus mensibus.

Cui successit Malcolmus filius Kynet qui regnavit xxx. annis.

Cui successit Duncan nepos ejus v. annis et ix. mensibus.

Anno milesimo septimo decimo. Occisus est Rex Anglie Edmundus Ferreum latus insidiis perfidi Ducis Edrici Et [Knut] . . . . . Regnum ejus invadens filios Edmundi, scilicet, Edmundum et Edwardum ad Regem Suevorum occidendos misit. Qui nolens innocentes perimere . . . Regem Hungarie Salomonem nutriendos misit.

Iste Edwardus genuit Margaretam Reginam Scottorum et Edgarum. Edgarus. . . . . [genu]it Margaretam. De qua natus est Henricus dictus Lupellus. Predictus Knut regnavit super Anglos xviii. annis: Cui successit Harraldus filius et regnavit v. annis. Cui successit Hardeknutus filius Knuti et Emme Regine et regnavit ii. annis.

Milesimo quadragesimo.

Anno Domini milesimo . . . . . Comes Northumbrie Sywardus Scociam ingressus, Maket Regem nepotem dicti Malcolmi cum xv. annis regnaret, a regno fugavit. Et Malcolmo filio Duncani regnum suum restituit.

Milesimo quadragesimo .iio. Edwardus filius Ed . . . . . regnavit xxiiii. annis.

Milesimo septuagesimo. Malcolmus filius Duncani . . . . Margaretam filiam dicti Edwardi in . . . . . ex ea sex filios, scilicet, Edwardum qui obiit sine herede, Edmundum qui obiit sine herede, Edeldredum qui obiit sine herede, Edgarus qui regnavit, et obiit sine herede, Alexander qui regnavit [et] sine herede obiit.

Milesimo . . . . Rex Malcolmus interfectus est. Milesimo xlviii. Edgarus filius Malcolmi in Regem elevatur.

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FROM TRACTS RELATING TO THE ENGLISH CLAIMS, MCCCI.

A.

MS. IN PUB. ARCHIV. LONDON.

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predicti Scotis omnino suberant, et sic in solucione census hujusmodi omnino liberi remanserunt. Ad quorum comitatuum populos, utpote tunc Scotis subjectos, non nisi per Scotos primos doctores fidei in illis partibus, Columbam, scilicet, Aidanum, Finanum, et Colmanum, et alios, diu antequam ad Anglicos, peruenisse conuincitur noticia fidei et nomen Christi. Nec reuocatur in dubium, quin Gregorius, Dungalli filius, rex Scotorum, totam sibi aliquando subjugauerit Angliam. Et de subjectione Scotorum Saxonibus, que negatur, omnino non sit fides, nisi per assercionem solam regis Anglie, et per suspecta domestica et conficta scripta sua, de quibus non est idonea probacio pro seipso. Sed nec tactis per ipsum miraculis uel reuelationibus Sancti illius credendum esse autoritate conuincitur. Eciam si martirum essent ipse, quamvis probentur reuelaciones ipse a Deo processisse, quarum probacio ex regis epistola non est certa, sed nec in nostri temporis judiciis consueta, eo quod in angelum lucis angelus Sathane se transformat, et Sauli in Samuelis specie respondisse legitur Phitonissa. Inauditum est quod nunquam fuerit fama ulla uel sermo in Scocia, de reuelatione ulla facta

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Aidanum, et Finanum, et Colmannum, et alios, diu antequam ad Angliam, pervenisse convincitur noticia fidei et nomen Christi. Nec revocatur in dubium, quin Gregorius, Dungalli filius, rex Scotorum totam sibi aliquando subjugaverat Angliam, et de subjectione Scotorum Saxonibus, quæ negatur, omnino nescit fides, nec per assercionem solam regis Angliæ, et per suspecta domestica scripta sua, de quibus non est ydonea probacio pro seipso. Sed nec tactis per ipsum miraculis vel revelacionibus Sancti nullius credendum esse aut convincitur, eciam si martir esset ipse, per quem probentur revelaciones ipsæ processisse a Deo, quarum probacio exempla regia non est certa, sed nec in nostri temporis judiciis consueta, eo quod in angelum lucis angelus Sathanæ sæpe se transformat, et Sauli Samuelis specie respondisse legitur Phitonissa. Inauditum est, quod nuncquam fuerat fama ulla vel sermo in Scocia, de revelacione facta illi Johanni, quam pro se rex ille domestice allegat. Verumtamen licet, allegata per ipsum regem, miracula, gestave singula ipsius temporis probari possent,

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prefuerunt per sex annos et ultra, quousque in dicto regno suboriri cepit dissencionis materia inter partes, super jure petitorio pociori succedendi in ipsum regnum, Margarita, filia regis Norwegie, ipsius regni herede, jam defuncta.

Post cujus mortem, audita sic suscitata discordia inter Scotos, idem rex Anglie, fingens se ea velle tractare que pacis essent inter Scotos, sub agnino vellere, se ingerens, non vocatus, quicquid scribat, allecta sibi callide ejusdem regni procerum Scocie una parte, parti jus in regno Scocie non habenti tunc temporis adherencium, et sic reliqua sibi resistere non valente, de facto regni ejusdem sibi usurpauit custodiam primo, et postea superius dominium, per oppressionem tam notoriam, per vim et metum, qui cadere poterant in constantes. Et licet Romana ecclesia tunc pro parte dicti regni fuisset nominata domina regni ejusdem coram ipso, ipse tamen rex Anglie allegacionem hujusmodi non admisit; ymmo se dixisse dicitur coram multis, ut a verbis suis non recedatur. "Quod si ille presbyter "Romanus vellet pro libertate Scocie, quoad eum, dicere ali- "qua, oportebat ipsum venire Londonias, et illa ibi propo- "nere coram ipso." Mundus autem nouit, quod quamdiu Scocia rege non caruit, et in ipsa non fuit exorta dissencio intestina, rex Anglie in regno Scocie nullum sibi jus penitus vendicauit, sed tamen ex eo tempore cepit dictum regnum, sine causa, molestare, ex quo orta est dissencio inter Scotos, et inde processit solummodo suus titulus, inutilis ad ipsum regnum, si quem habet.

Item, Gregorius primus, Dungalli filius, rex Scotorum, totam sibi Angliam subjugauit, nec de subjectione quacunque Scotorum Saxonibus, Normannis uel Anglicis, que negatur, omnino sit fides ullatenus, nisi per assercionem solam regiam et domestica scripta sua, de quibus non est idonea probacio pro seipso. Predictis accedit et illud notorium, quod si aliquociens hec sacra sedes regno Anglie, uel eciam Anglie et Scocie scribat conjunctim, hujusmodi mandatum regnum vel incolas Scocie in aliquo non astringit, sed pocius expectatur mandatum separatum, ut omnimodo ipsorum regnorum separacio, et quod nichil commune

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CHRONICLE OF THE PICTS AND SCOTS,

MCCCXVII.

MS. SIR T. PHILLIPPS, NO. 3119.

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Fergus filius Edhfin iij. annis.

Sealuach filius Heochgain xxiiij. annis.

Heochet anuine filius Edhfin xxx. annis.

Dunghal filius Sealuach vij. annis.

Alpin filius Heochet anuine iij. annis et hic occisus fuit in Galwya postquam eam penitus destruxit et deuastauit.

Et tunc translatum est regnum Scotorum ad terram Pictorum.

SUMMA ANNORUM A TEMPORE FERGUS FILIUS HERC AD TEMPUS ALPIN CCC. ET VII. ANNI ET TRES MENSES.

Kineth filius Alpin xvj. annis Scotos regnauit, destructis Pictis, et mortuus est in Ferteuioth et sepultus est in Iona insula, ubi tres filii Herc, Fergus, Lorin, Engus, sepulti fuerunt. Hic mira calliditate duxit Scotos de Ergadia in terram Pictorum.

Douenald filius Alpin iiij. annis et mortuus est in Rait inueramon et sepultus in Iona insula.

Constantinus filius Kineth xvj. annis et interfectus est a Norwagiensibus in bello in Inverdufatha et sepultus in Iona insula.

Edh filius Kineth i. anno et interfectus est in bello in Strathalun a Girg filio Dongal et sepultus in Iona insula.

Girg filius Dungal xij. annis et mortuus est in Dundurn et sepultus in Iona insula. Hic subiugavit sibi totam Berniciam et fere Angliam et hic primus dedit libertatem Scoticane ecclesie, que sub seruitute ad tunc tempus erat ex constitucione et more Pictorum.

Dounald filius Custantin xj. annis et mortuus in Fores et sepultus in Iona insula.

Custantin filius Edha xl. annis et dimisso regno sponte Deo in abbatem religionis sancte Keledeorum Sancti Andree v. annis seruiuit et ibi mortuus et sepultus.

Malcolin filius Dounald ix. annis et interfectus est in Ulnem a Morauiensibus per dolum et sepultus in Iona insula.

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Indolf filius Custantin ix. annis et interfectus a Norwagiensibus in Invertolan et sepultus in Iona insula.

Duf filius Malcolin iiij. annis et vj. mensibus et interfectus in Fores et absconditus sub ponte de Kinlois et sol non aperuit quamdiu ibi latuit et interfectus est et sepultus in Iona insula.

Culen filius Indulf iiij. annis et vj. mensibus et interfectus a Radharc filio Dounald propter filiam suam in Laddonia.

Kinet filius Malcolin xxiiij. annis et ij. mensibus et interfectus ab hominibus suis in Forthkerne per perfidiam Finuele filie Cunchar comitis de Engus cujus Finuele unicum filium predictus Kineth interfecit apud Dunsion.

Custantin filius Culen i. anno et vj. mensibus et interfectus a Kineth filio Malcolin in Rathinueramon et sepultus in Iona insula.

Grig filius Kinet filii Duf viij. annis et interfectus a filio Kineth in Morgoauerd et sepultus in Iona insula.

Malcolin filius Kinet rex uictoriosus xxx. annis et mortuus in Slines et sepultus in Iona insula.

Donchat filius Crini abbatis de Dunkeldin et Betoc filia Malcolin filii Kinet vj. annis et interfectus a Macbeth filio Finled in Bothgouanan et sepultus in Iona insula.

Macbet filius Finled xvij. annis et interfectus in Lunfanin a Malcolin filio Donchat et sepultus in Iona insula.

Lulach fatuus iiij. mensibus et interfectus est in Esseth in Strathbolgin et sepultus.

Malcolin filius Doncath xxxvij. annis et viij. mensibus et interfectus in Inveralden et sepultus in Dunfermelin.

Douuenald filius Doncath vj. mensibus et postea expulsus a regno; et tunc Doncath filius Malcolin vj. mensibus et interfectus est a Malpedir filio Lorin comite de Mar; et rursus Douuenald filius Doncath iij. annis et postea captus ab Edgar filio Malcolin et secatus est et mortuus in Roscolbin et sepultus in Dunfermlin, cujus ossa translata sunt in Iona insula.

Edgar filius Malcolin ix. annis et tribus mensibus et mortuus in Dunde et sepultus in Dunfermlin.

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CHRONICLE OF THE SCOTS, MCCCXXXIII.-IV.

MS. BRIT. MUS. COTT. CLAUDIUS, D. VII.

NOMINA REGUM SCOCIE QUI REGNAUERUNT POST PICTOS.

PRIMUS rex fuit Kynetus, vel Kynet, filius Alpini, qui regnauit xvj. annis.

Kyneto successit Douenaldus filius Alpyn, frater eiusdem Kyneti, qui regnauit iiij. annis.

Douenaldo successit Constantinus filius Kyneti, qui regnauit xx. annis, et in alio libro vj.

Constantino successit Ath filius Kyneti, frater eiusdem Constantini, qui regnauit i° anno.

Ath successit Grig filius Douenaldi qui regnauit x. annis, in alio 18.

Gryg filio Douenaldi, successit frater eius Constantinus, qui regnauit ij. annis; alibi dicitur quod post Grig regnauit Douenaldus xj. annis, et post eum Constantinus filius Ath vel Edh xxx. annis.

Constantino successit Constantinus filius Ath, qui reg nauit xlv. annis.

Constantino successit Malcolmus filius Douenaldi, qui regnauit xx. annis; in alio 9.

Malcolmo successit Indolf, siue Indulfus, filius Constantini, qui regnauit ix. annis.

Indulpho successit Duf filius Malcolmi, qui regnauit iiij. annis et vj. mensibus; et in alio 10.

Duf successit Kynetus, filius eius, qui regnauit vno anno et iij. mensibus; alibi dicitur quod Duf successit Culen filius Induf, x. annis; et post eum Kynnetus filius Mal-

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colmi, 24 annis; et post eum Constantinus filius Culen vno anno et dimidio; et post eum Grim filius Kyneti, 8 annis; et post eum Malcolmus, filius Kyneti, 30 annis; et post eum Duncanus 6 annis; et post eum Macbeth, et ceteri.

Kyneto successit Culen filius Indulfi, qui regnauit iiij. annis et vj. mensibus.

Culen successit Malcolmus filius Kyneti, qui regnauit xxx. annis.

Malcolmo successit Duncanus nepos eius, qui regnauit v. annis et ix. mensibus.

Duncano successit Macbeth, fynleth, qui regnauit xvij. annis.

Machbeth successit Luthlath, qui regnauit iij. mensibus et dimidio.

Luchlach successit Malcolmus filius Duncani, qui regnauit xxxvij. annis et iiij. mensibus, et iste Malcolmus fuit vir Sancte Margarete regine, qui genuit ex ea iiij. filios Duncanum, Edgarum, Alexandrum, et Dauid.

Malcolmo successit Douenaldus, frater eius, qui regnauit iij. annis et vj. mensibus; in alio libro vj. mensibus tantum.

Douenaldo successit Duncanus filius Malcolmi primogenitus, qui regnauit dimidio anno.

Duncano successit Edgarus, frater eius, qui regnauit ix. annis; alibi dicitur quod inter Duncanum et Edgarum iterum regnauit Douenaldus iij. annis.

Edgaro successit Alexander tertius frater, qui regnauit xvj. annis et iij. mensibus; in alio libro 71[1] annis.

Alexandro successit David, frater eius, qui regnauit xxxix. annis; in alio 29.

Dauid successit Malcolmus filius Henrici Comitis Northumbrie, filii Dauid regis, qui regnauit xij. annis et dimidio et iij. diebus.

Malcolmo successit Willelmus frater eius, qui regnauit lix. annis preter xvj. dies.

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[1] *Sic*, written for 17.

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CHRONICLES OF THE SCOTS, MCCCXLVIII.

MS. BRIT. MUS. COTT. VITELLIUS. A. 20.

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Sicque de duobus populis gens bellicosior totaliter est deleta. Altera uero longe modis omnibus impar ex prodicione quodammodo emolumentum consecuta totum a mare usque ad mare terram illam quam suo nomine Scociam dixerunt usque hodie possedunt quibus eo tempore Kynnadius filius Alpini perfidens Pictauiam inuasit Pectos deleuit et Saxones sexcies expugnauit et terram dudum Anglicis subactam, que est a mari Scocie usque ad Mailros, que est in ripa Twede fluminis suo dominio subiugauit. Sunt autem Scotti, secundum Erodotum, animo leves, barbari satis et silvestres seui, in hostes servitutem detestantes, in lecto mori signiciem deputant, in Campo mori gloriam arbitrantur parci victu diucius famem sustinent, raro ante solis ortum comedunt. Carnibus lacticiniis piscibus et fructibus magis quam pane vescuntur. Nota de Scocia.

Quorum reges nec coronari soliti erant nec inungi.

Igitur quia nostra intencio in presentibus est declarare jus regis Anglie in superius dominium Scocie, antequam de processu Scocie vlterius protractemus, reges peccatores qui in Scocia post Pictos deletos per prodicionem Scottorum regnauerunt iuxta quod in cronicis Scottorum inuenimus nominemus.

Nam primus Kynnetus filius Alpini qui regnauit 16 annis. Nomina regum nobilium qui post Pictos Scociam regnauerunt.

Kynneto successit Douenaldus filius Alpini et frater eiusdem Kyneti qui regnauit quatuor annis.

Douenaldo autem successit Constantinus filius Kynneti qui regnauit 16 annis.

Constantino successit Aethus filius Kyneti frater eiusdem Constantini qui regnauit vno anno.

Aetho successit Grig filius Douenaldi qui regnavit decem uel decem et octo annis.

Grig filio Douenaldi successit Douenaldus vndecim annis.

Et post eum Constantius filius Aeth qui regnauit xlv. que annis.

Constantino successit Malcolmus filius Douenaldi qui regnauit viginti annis.

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Malcolmo successit Indolfus filius Constantini qui regnauit ix. annis.

Indolfo successit Duf filius Malcolmi qui regnauit iiij. annis et sex mensibus.

Duf successit Kynetus filius eius qui regnauit uno anno et tribus mensibus.

Kyneto successit Culen filius Indolfi qui regnauit iiij. or annis et sex mensibus.

Culen successit Malcolmus filius Kyneti qui regnauit xxx. a annis.

Malcolmo successit Duncanus nepos eius qui regnauit v. annis et ix. mensibus.

Duncano successit Machbeht fynleth qui regnauit xvij. annis.

Machbeth successit Luthlach qui regnauit tribus mensibus et dimidio.

Luthlach successit Malcolmus filius Dunkanni qui regnavit xxxvj. annis et iiij. or mensibus. Et iste Malcolmus fuit maritus Sancte Margarete Regine qui genuit ex ea iiij. or filios, scilicet, Dunkanum, Edgarum, Allexandrum et Dauid et vnam filiam nomine Matildam que fuit vxor regis Anglie Henrici primi post conquestum.

Malcolmo successit Douenaldus frater eius qui regnauit tribus annis, et sex mensibus secundum aliquos tantum. Douenaldo successit Dunkanus filius Malcolmi primogenitus qui regnauit dimidio anno. Dunkano successit Edgarus frater eius qui regnauit nouem annis.

Aliqui tamen dicunt quod inter Dunkanum et Edgarum iterum regnauit Douenaldus frater Malcolmi tribus annis.

Edgaro uero filio Malcolmi successit Alexander tercius filius Malcolmi qui regnauit xvj. annis et tribus mensibus.

Alexandro successit David frater eius qui fuit quartus filius Malcolmi et regnauit xxxix. annis.

David successit Malcolmus filius Henrici comitis Northumbrie, qui Henricus fuit filius David regis Scocie. Et iste Malcolmus regnauit xij. annis et dimidio et tribus diebus.

Malcolmo successit Willelmus frater eius qui regnauit

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xlix. annis et iste rex Willelmus fuit captus apud Alnewik per proceres comitatus Eboracenses et ductus usque Richemundiam et deinde usque ad regem Anglie perductus sue perfidie penas soluit.

Willelmo regi Scottorum successit Alexander filius eius qui regnauit xxx. a sex annis et ix. mensibus. Iste Alexander duxit filiam regis Anglie Henrici tercii post conquestum, qui ex ea genuit vnum filium qui ante patrem mortuus est, et vnam filiam que fuit data regi Norwagie ex qua genuit vnam filiam Margaretam nomine que debuit fuisse desponsata Edwardo de Karnaruan qui fuit filius et heres Edwardi primi post conquestum.

Kynach mac Alpyn 16 annis regnauit super Scottos, destructis Pictis, et mortuus est in Fethirthant vel Fertebeith et sepultus est in Hyona insula, vbi tres filii Erc, scilicet, Fergus, Loaran, Tenogus sepulti fuerunt. Hic mira caliditate duxit Scottos de Ergadia in terram Pictorum. Et nota hic quod aliter inveni in alio libro.

Douenald mac Alpyn 4 or annis regnauit et mortuus in Raich, in ueramon et sepultus est in Hyona insula.

Constantin mac Kynach 16 annis regnavit. Interfectus est a Norwagiensibus in bello in Werdo fata et sepultus est in Hyona insula.

Edh mac Kynach i° anno regnauit et interfectus est in bello in Strathalin a Girgh filio Dungal et sepultus in Hyona insula.

Girgh mac Dungal 12 annis regnauit et mortuus in Dundurn et sepultus est in Hyona insula. Hic subiugauit sibi totam Hyberniam et fere Angliam. Et hic primus dedit libertatem ecclesie Scoticane, que sub seruitute erat usque ad illud tempus ex consuetudine et more Pictorum.

Douenald mac Constantini ij. annis regnauit et mortuus est in Fores et sepultus in Hyona insula.

Constantin mac Edha 40 annis regnauit et dimisso regno Deo sponte in habitu religionis Abbas factus Keldeorum Sancti Andree 5 annis seruiuit, ibi mortuus est et sepultus.

Malcolim mac Douenald 9 annis regnauit et interfectus

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est in Vlurn a Morauiensibus per dolum et sepultus est in Hyona insula.

Indolp mac Constantini 9 annis regnauit et interfectus est a Norwagiensibus in Innircolam et sepultus est in Hyona insula.

Duf mac Malcolmi 4 annis regnauit et 6 mensibus et interfectus est in Foreis et absconditus est sub [ponte] de kynlos et sol non aperuit quamdiu ibi latuit et inuentus est et sepulta in Hyona insula.

Culen mac Induf 4 annis regnauit et sex mensibus et interfectus est ab Amdrach filio Douenald propter filiam suam in Laodonia.

Kynach mac Malcolini 24 annis regnauit et duobus mensibus et interfectus est a suis hominibus in Fetherkern per perfidiam Finuele filie Cunthar comitis de Anegus cuius Finiele unicum filium predictum Kyneth interfecit apud

Constantini mac Culeon vno anno et 6 mensibus regnauit et interfectus est a Kynach filio Malcolmi

Rath in ueramon et sepultus est in Hyona insula.

Grig mac Kynach madulf 8 annis regnauit et interfectus est a filio Kynech in Moegohanard et sepultus est in Hyona insula.

Malcolim mac Kynach rex victoriosissimus 30 annis regnauit et mortuus in Glaities et sepultus in Hyona insula.

Dunchach mac Trini de Dunkelden et Bethoc filie Malcom mac Kyneth 6 annis regnauit et interfectus est a Macheth mac Fyngel in Bothergouenan et sepultus est in Hyona insula.

Macheth mac Fingel 17 annis regnauit et interfectus est in Limfanan a Malcolim mac Dunchat et sepultus est in Hyona insula.

Dulach fatuus 4 mensibus regnauit et interfectus est in Esseg in Strathbolgin et sepultus est in Hyona insula.

Malcolim mac Duncath 37 annis regnauit et 8 mensibus et interfectus est iuxta Alnewik, et sepultus apud Tynemutham. Hic fuit uir Sancte Margarete regine.

[P]

CHRONICLE OF THE SCOTS, XIV. CENT.

MS. BRIT. MUS. HARL. 1808.

DE ORIGINE SCOTORUM ET PICTORUM.

* * * * * * * *

Domangal dominabatur quinque annis et interfectus est.
Conerham xx. annis et interfectus est.
Congel xxx. annis et interfectus est.
Conal xiiij. annis et interfectus.
Edom xxxiij. annis et interfectus est.
Edith vj. annis et interfectus est.
Kynad iij. mensibus et interfectus.
Ferkare xvj. annis et interfectus.
Douenhal xiij. annis et interfectus est.
Malclom xvj. annis et interfectus.
Fercar xx. annis et interfectus.
Etal iij. annis et interfectus.
Ormekellet vno anno et interfectus est.
Ewain tribus annis et interfectus.
Hedaldus xxx. annis et interfectus est.
Fergus iij. annis.
Seluak xx. annis.
Conegal vij. annis et interfectus.
Alpin iij. annis et mortuus est.

Isti omnes fere interfecti sunt, sed nec fuerunt Reges quia non dominabantur per electionem neque per sanguinem, sed per prodicionem.

Primus itaque Rex Scotorum fuit Kynad mak Alpin qui, destructis Pictis, regnauit xvj. annis et sepultus est in Hiona insula.

Donewaldus mak Alpin iiij. annis et sepelitur in Hiona insula.

Constantinus mak Kynald xx. annis et interfectus est a Norwagensibus.

Grig mak Dungal xv. annis. Hic subiugauit sibi Hiberniam et Northumbriam et dedit libertatem ecclesie Scoticane, sepultusque est in Hiona insula.

Douenhald mak Constantin xj. annis et interfectus est propter filiam suam.

Constantinus regnavit xl. annis. Hic religionis habitu indutus Keledeorum Sancti Andree quinque annis Deo seruiuit. Ibidemque sepelitur.

[P]

Indolf ix. annis qui interfectus est a Norwagensibus.

Duf iiij. annis qui interficitur a suis et absconditus, solque non aperuit donec inventus est.

Malclum ix. annis et sepultus in Iona insula.

Culen iiij. annis et interfectus est propter filiam suam.

Kynaldus xxiiij. annis et interfectus, sepelitur in Hiona insula.

Constantinus ij. annis et interfectus, sepelitur in Hiona insula.

Malclum Rex gloriosus xxx. annis et sepultus est in Hiona insula.

Dunkan v. annis et interfectus, sepelitur in Hiona insula.

MakFingel xvij. annis et interfectus, sepelitur in Hiona insula.

Gulak iiij. annis et interfectus, sepelitur in Hiona insula.

Mauclum regnauit xxx. annis. Hic fuit uir Sancte Margarete Regine.

Donewaldus iiij. annis et expulsus est a regno.

Edgar x. annis et sepultus est Dunfermelyn.

Malcolm xij. annis et sepultus Dunfermelin.

Dauid frater eius xx. annis et sepultus est Dunfermelyn. Hic genuit Henricum et tres filias, videlicet, Margaretam, Ysabellam et Adam.

Henricus regnauit xx. annis et sepultus est Dunfermelyn.

Willelmus filius Henrici regnauit l. annis et sepultus est apud Aberbrothok.

Summa annorum a Kynald mak Alpin primo Rege Scotorum vsque Willelmum V^{c} vj. annis.

Alexander filius Willelmi regnauit xxxv. annis et sepultus est in Melros.

Alexander filius Alexandri regnauit xxxvij. annis. Hic cecidit de equo suo in Kinkhorne et sepultus est in Dunfermelyn. Tunc cadebat regnum inter filios trium sororum, scilicet, Margarete, Ysabelle et Adam. Ex Margareta genita fuit Deuorgoil. De qua exiit Johannes Bailloll

[Q]

TRACT ON THE PICTS, BEFORE MCCCCXVIII.

MS. R. I. A. DUBL. BOOK OF LECAIN.

a FOL. 13. *b* FOL. 286.[1]

Isin bliadin cetna sin tancatar Cruithnigh a tir Tracia, .i. clanna Geleoin mac Ercail iat (Icathirsi ananmanda) .i. Cruithne mac Cinge[2] mic Luchtai mic Partholain mic Agnoin mic Buain mic Mais mic Fathecht mic Jafed mic Noe. Ise athair Cruithnech 7 ced bliadhain do irrigi.

Secht meic Cruithnec andso .i. Fib, Fidac, Fotla, Fortreann, Cait, Cee, Cirig[3] 7 a vij. randaib ro randsat a forba[4] (amail adfed in file).

Morseisser meic Cruithne iarsin
A vii. ro randsat Albain[5]

TRANSLATION.

In the same year came the Cruithnigh from the land of Thrace, viz., the clan Geleoin, son of Ercal they, Icathirsi was their name, viz., Cruithne son of Cinge, son of Luchtai, son of Partolan, son of Agnoin, son of Buan, son of Mais, son of Fathecht, son of Jafet, son of Noe.

He was the father of the Cruithnech, and was a hundred years in the sovereignty.

These were the seven sons of Cruithne, viz., Fib, Fidac, Fotla, Fortrean, Cait, Cee, Cirig, and they divided the land into seven portions, as the poet relates.

Seven sons of Cruithne then
Into seven divided Alban,

---

[1] The words within parenthesis are in *b* only.
[2] *b* reads *Inge*.
[3] *b* reads *Airig*, and adds *cetach*.
[4] *b* reads *fearanna*.
[5] *b* reads *rændsad ar seacht a fearand*, divided into seven their territory.

[Q]

Cait, Cee, Ciri[g], cetach clann.
Fib, Fidach, Fotla, Fortrend.

Et ise ainm cach a fir dib fuil for a fearunn,—

Fibh xxiiij. bliadna[1] irrigi n-Alban.
Fidach xl. bliadhain.

Fortrend lxx.	Urpont.
Cait xxij.	B. Urleo.
Ce xij.	B. Uileo.
Cirice lxxx.	B. Grant.
Aenbecan v.	B. Urgrant.
Cait xxx.	B. Gnith.
Finnechta lx.	B. Uirgnith.
(Guidit Gadbre)	(B. Feth.)
Feth .i. Ges.[2]	B. Uirfeachtair.
Gest,[3] (Guirid) xl.	B. Cal.
Urgeist xxx.	B. Urcal.

Bruide pont xxx. b.[3] irrigi n-Uladh. Is de asberta Bruige fer a gach fer dib edrenda na fer

---

Cait, Cee, Cirig, a warlike clan,
Fib, Fidac Fotla, Fortren.

And this was the name of each man of them and their territory.

Fibh twenty-four years in the sovereignty of Alban,—
Fidach forty years.

Fortren seventy [years]	Urpont.
Cait twenty-two [years].	Brude Urleo.
Ce twelve [years].	Brude Uileo.
Cirice eighty [years].	Brude Grant.
Aenbecan five [years].	Brude Urgrant.
Cait thirty [years].	Brude Gnith.
Finnechta sixty [years].	Brude Urgnith.
Guidid Gadbre.	Brude Feth
Feth, id est, Ges.	Brude Uirfeachtair.
Gest Guirid forty [years].	Brude Cal.
Urgeist thirty [years].	Brude Urcal.

Brude pont thirty years in the sovereignty of Uladh. They were called Bruige each man of them, and the divisions of the men.

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[1] *b* has *bliadain ar fhichit*, twenty-one years.
[2] *b* omits *Feth*, and has *Ges* only.
[3] b. may be the contraction for *bruide* or for *bliadhain*, that is, thirty Brudes or thirty years; *b* reads *bliadain*.

[Q]

Bruige Cint (B. Urchind), B. Fet, B. Urfet, B. Ru. aile. Ro gabastair .l. ar da. c. bliadhain *utest* a leabharach na Cruithnech.

Brude Ero, Brudè Gart, Brudè Urgart, Brude Cind, Brude Urcind, Brude Uip, Brude Uruip, Brude Grith, Brude Urgrith, Brude Muin, Brude Urmuin, Brude.[1]

Do rigaibh Cruithneach andsin.

Seissir tosech tancatar co h-Erind .i. vj. braitre, Solen, Ulpa, Nechtan, Trostan, Oengus, Letenn. Fath a tiachtna (a n-Erinn) .i. Policornus righ Tracia do rat gradh dia siair cor tinall a breith cen tochra. Lotar iarsin (co ro triallsad) tar Romhanchu co Francco 7 cumdaigsit caitir andsin, .i. Pictairus a Pictus (a h-ainm) .i. o na rannaibh 7 do rat righ Frangc gradh dia siair. Lotar for muir iar nec in tseisidh[2] brathair, .i. Lethenn. I cind da la iar n-dul ar muir adbath a siur.

Gabhsat Cruithnigh an Inberslaine ann Ib Cendsealaigh.

Bruige Cint, Brude Urcind, Bruide Fet, Brude Urfet, Brude Ru. other. They possessed two hundred and fifty years, as it is in the books of the Cruithnech.[3]

Brude Ero, Brude Gart, B. Argart, B. Cind, Bruide Urcind, B. uip, B. Uruip, B. Grith, B. Urgrith, B. Muin, B. Urmuin, B. Of the kings of the Cruithneach there.

Six tosechs came to Erin, viz., six brothers, Solen, Ulpa, Nectan, Trostan, Angus, Letenn. The reason of their coming to Erin, viz., Policornis, king of Tracia, fell in love with their sister, and he attempted to get her without a dowry. They then set out and passed through the Romans into France, where they built a city, viz., Pictairis, a Pictis, was its name, viz., from the points, and the king of France fell in love with their sister. They set out upon the sea after the death of the sixth brother, viz., Letenn. In two days after they had gone to sea died their sister.

The Cruithneach landed at Inverslaine in the Cennselaigh.

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[1] *Bruide* not in *b*.

[2] *b* reads *chuiced* the fifth.

[3] This part of the tract appears to have been transcribed from an older copy written in double columns, and copied without adverting to that, so as to interperse the thirty Brudes through the text. It is here printed so as to show how the confusion arose; these two lines should follow the sentence which precedes "Bruige "Cint," and all the Brudes should come after this sentence.

[Q]

Atbert friu Crimthand Sgiathbel righ Laigen do berad failte doib ar dicur Tuaithe Figdha doibh. Atbert Drostan drai Cruithneach riu co foirfedh iat ar log dfagbail 7 ise med[1] .i. bleghan vij. xx. bo find mail do dortad h-i fail ferfaighe in cath doibh. *Unde* Cath Ardlemnachta an Ib Cendselaig re Tuathaibh Figda .i. tuath do Bretnaib ro bai hi Fothardaib 7 (nem) ar an armaib. Marb cach oen ar an dergtais (7 ni gebdis acht iarnaidi nemi umpu. Cach aen do gobtha) do Laigen isin cath ni dentais acht loighi isin lemnacht 7 in cuimgitis neim ni doibh. Ro marbtha iarsin Tuatha Figda. Marb cethrar iarsin do Chruthentuath .i. Drostan, Solen, Nechtan, Ulpa (iar n-dichar in chatha), 7 is bert isin duain.[2]

Ardlemnachta as tirsi thess
Finnat cach aen bus eces[3]
Cret dar len in-tainm sin sloinn
Ro gab o aimser Crimthaind.

Cremthand Sciathbel, the king of Leinster, told them that they should have welcome from him on condition that they should destroy the Tuath Figda. Now Trostan, the druid of the Cruithneach, said to them that he would help them if he were rewarded. And this was the cure, viz., to spill the milk of seven score hornless white-cows near the place where the battle was to be fought, viz., the battle of Ardleamnachta in Ui Cennselaigh, against the Tuatha Figda, viz., a tribe of Britons, who were in the Fotherts with poison on their weapons. Any man wounded by them died, and they carried nothing about them but poisoned iron. Every one of the Leinster men who was pierced in the battle had nothing more to do than lie in the new milk, and then the poison affected him not. The Tuath Figda were all killed afterwards. Four of the Cruithneach died after that, viz., Trostan, Solen, Nectan, Ulpa, and this poem was sung.

Ardleamnacta in this southern country
Each learned one may ask,
Why it is called by this distinctive name
Which it bears since the time of Crimthand ?.

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[1] *b* reads *leiges.*

[2] *b* reads *conad doibsin rochan in senchaid so*, it was for them the poet sang this.

[3] *b* reads *cach an cach egis.*

[Q]

Crimthaind Sciathbel e ro gabh
Dar saerad ar chath cruadh[1]
Da n-din ar neimib na n-arm
Na n-athach n-uathmhar n-agarbh.

Seisiur Cruithneach ro cind Dia
Tancatar a tir Tracia
Solen, Ulpa, Nechtan nar
Aengus, Ledend is Drostan.

Ro thindlaic Dia doib tre tlus
Dia n-dil dia n-utrus
Dia n-din ar nemib an arm
Na n-athach n-uathmar na garb.

Is e eolus do uair doib
Drai na Cruithneach nir b-esgoir
Tri .l. bo mail don mhuigh
Do blegon do n-aen chuithidh.

Ro cuireadh an cath co cacht
Mon chuithigh imbi leamnacht

Crimthan Sciathbel it was that engaged
To free him of the hard battle,
When defenceless against poisoned arms
Of the hateful horrid giants

Six of the Cruithneach—so God ordained—
Came out of the land of Tracia,
Solen, Ulpa, Nectan the heroic,
Angus, Ledend, and Trostan.

God willed unto them in munificence
For their faithfulness, for their reward,
To protect them from the poisoned arms
Of the hateful horrid giants.

The knowledge made for them
By the Druid of the Cruithnech, who was no enemy,
Thrice fifty cows of the plains
To be milked by him into one pit.

The battle was closely fought
Near the pit in which was the milk ;

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[1] *b* reads *curad*, of heroes.

[Q]

Ro maigh in cath co cálma
For aitheachaib ard banba.
Ard.

Et issin n-aimsir h-Erimon gabais Gub acus a mac .i. Cathluan macGuib .i. Ri Cruithnech nert mor for Erind. No co rus indarba h-Erimon a h-Erind 7 co n-dernsat sidh iarsin[1] 7 co tard h-Erimoin doib mna na fear ro baigedh maille Donn[2] .i. mna Bress mna Buass 7 Buaigne[3] 7 ratha n-gren 7 escu conabugh lugu do gebthai do rigi 7 du doman o mnaib inas o feraib a Cruithentuaith co brath 7 anais sesiur dib os Bregmaigh 7 is uaithibh cach gess 7 cach sen 7 cach sregh 7 gotha en 7 gach mana 7 gach upaidh (do gnithear).

Cathluain imorro ba h-ardri forro uile 7 ise ced righ rogab Alban dib. Lxx. righ dibh for Alban o Chathluan co Constantin 7 ise Cruithnech deigenach rogab dib. Da mac Cathluain .i. Cathanolodar 7 Catanalachan. A da curaidh Imm mac Pirn 7 Cing athair Cruithne. A da

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The battle was bravely won
Against the giants of high Banba.

And in the time of Erimon, Gub and his son, viz., Cathluan, son of Gub, acquired great power in Erin, until Erimon banished them out of Erin, and they made peace after that, and Erimon gave them the wives of the men who were drowned along with Donn, viz., the wife of Bress, the wife of Buass and Buaigne, and they declared by the sun and moon that they alone should take of the sovereignty and of the land from women rather than from men in Cruthentuath for ever; and six of them remained in possession of Breaghmagh, and from them are derived every spell and every charm and every sneezing, and the voices of birds and all omens and all talismans that are made.

Cathluan, moreover, was sovereign over them all, and he was the first king of them that possessed Alban. There were seventy kings of them over Alban from Cathluan to Constantin, and he was the last Cruthnech that took of them. The two sons of Cathluan, viz., Cathanolodar and Cathanalacan. His two

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[1] *b* inserts here the last paragraph, containing the account of Cruithnechan.

[2] This sentence not in *b*.

[3] *b* adds 7 *na taisech ro baitea uile*, and of the other tosechs who were drowned, and omits the two lines which follow.

[Q]

sruith .i. Crus 7 Ciric. A da milidh Uasnem a fili, Cruithne a cerd. Domnall mac Alpin ise a taisech 7 isadh asbertait araile comadh h-e Cruithne mac Loichit mac Cinge tisadh do chuindgidh ban for Erimon 7 comadh do do beradh Erimon mna na fear do baithedh maill fri Donn. . . .

An t-ochtmud bliadain iarsain . . . No comad isin bliadain sin[1] do dechaid Cruithneacban mac Cinge meic Loichit la Bretno Fortrend do cath[2] fri Saxancho 7 ro selaig (a clann 7 a claideam) tir doib .i. Cruithentuaith acus tarastair tir acco[3] acht ni batar mna leo ar beabais bandtracht Alban (do gallroib). Do luid imorro Cruithneachan for culo co macaib Miledh 7 ro gabad neamh 7 talamh grian 7 escca muir 7 tir drucht 7 daithe[4] comad o mnaib[5] flacht forro co brath (7 adbert) di mnai dec forcraid batar ic maccaib Miledh ro baitca a fir issin fairgi thiar ar aen ri Dond conad do feraib Ereand flacht for Cruithentuaith o sin do gres.

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heroes, Imm son of Pirnn, and Cing, the father of Cruithne. His two wise men, Crus and Ciric. His two soldiers, Uasnem the poet, Cruithne the artificer. Domnall son of Alpin was his tosech.

And others say that it was Cruthne, son of Lochit, son of Cinge, himself that came to ask women from Erimon, and that it was to him Erimon gave the wives of the men who were drowned with Donn.

In the eighth year after that went Cruthnechan, son of Cinge, son of Loichit, to the Britons of Fortren to battle against the Saxons, and they yielded the children and the sword-land to them, viz., Cruthentuath, and they took possession of the land, but they had no wives, because all the women of Alban died of diseases. Cruthnechan therefore went back to the sons of Miledh, and he swore by the heaven and the earth, the sun and the moon, the sea and the land, the dew and the elements, that of women should be the royal succession among them for ever. He obtained twelve women that remained with the sons of Miledh, whose husbands had been drowned in the western sea along with Donn, so that of the men of Erin has been the chiefship over Cruthentuath from that time ever since.

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[1] *b* inserts here *o macaib Mileadh*, from the sons of Miled.

[2] *b* reads *cathugad*, to war against.

[3] *tarastair tir acco*, not in *b*.

[4] *drucht 7 daithe* not in *b*.

[5] *b* reads *beith do maith sin*, to be propitious to them.

[R]

METRICAL CHRONICLE, COMMONLY CALLED THE CHRONICON RHYTHMICUM.

a MS. BIB. CATH. EDIN.
b MS. BIB. COLL. EDIN.

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DE CONTINUACIONE REGUM USQUE AD KENEDUM.

Primus in Ergadia Fergus rexit tribus annis,
Post Donegard quinis, Congal quater octo bis,
Endeca bis Gouren, sed quatuor et deca Conal,
Quatuor et deca bis Edhan, x. sex Eogledbod,
Kynath Ker per tres rexit tantummodo menses,
Sed Ferquharth annos per quatuor et duodenos.
Bis septem Douenald, octo bis Maldoin annis,
Ter septem Ferard, tredecim sed rexit Eoged,
Armkelloch uno, sed tredecim regnauit Eogain,
Rex Murdahw trinis, Noegaw uno quoque binis,
Hetfin per deca ter, Fergus tres sed Sealvanach
Quatuor et deca bis : sed Eogadaninque tricenis,
Dungal septenis, Alpinus sed tribus annis.
Annis septenis Kenedus filius Alpyn.
Hii cum predictis regnauerunt tempore Pictis,
Quod trecentenos quatuor octoque continet annos ;
Hiis annis et tres debetis jungere menses.

* * * * * * * *

DE CONTINUACIONE REGUM SCOTORUM.

Et postquam Kenedus Pictos omnino fugauit,
Annos octo bis regnando continuauit.
Douenald Machalpyn post rexit quatuor annis,
Sed[ecim] Constantinus, Ed vno, Greg duodenis,
Donald vndenis, Constantin bisque vicenis.
Malcolmus primus, sic Macduf, quisque nouenis ;
Sed Duf per senos menses et quatuor annos.
Per tantum Culen, sed Kened sex quater annis,
Mensibus et binis : Constantinusque per annum,
Et menses senos tantum, Greg octo per annos,
Malcolm per deca ter, Duncan sex, sed deca septem
Macbeth, sed Lahoulan per menses quatuor, atque
Malcolm Kenremor annos per ter deca septem,
Et menses octo : cujus frater Douenaldus
Annos compleuit trinos regnando vicissim.
Dum Duncan medio sex menses tempore vixit.

[S]

FROM THE ANNALS OF SENAIT MAC MANUS, COMMONLY CALLED THE ANNALS OF ULSTER, MCCCCXCVIII.

a MS. BODL. RAWLINSON, 489.
b MS. TRIN. COLL. DUBL. H. I. 8.[1]

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729 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dccxxviij.
·Bellum Monitcarno juxta stagnum Loogdae inter hostem Nechtain et exercitum Aengusa et exactatores Nechtain ceciderunt, hoc est, Biceot mac Moneit 7 filius ejus 7 Finguine mac Drostain, Ferot mac Finguine et alii multi. Familia Aengusia triumphavit. Bellum Dromaderggblathmig in regionibus Pictorum inter Oengus et Drust regem Pictorum et cecidit Drust.

730 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dccxxix.
Reversio reliquarum Adomnani de Hibernia in mense Octobris. Bran filius Engain, Selbach mac Fercair, mortui sunt. Interfectio filii Cinadon. Commixtio *Dunaidh for Domhnaill meic Murcado iculaib*, id est, *adaigh noide Nephain* vel *imlecho Senaich.*[y]

731 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dccxxx.
Clericatus Echdach filii Cudini rex Saxonum 7 constringitur. Combustio Tairpirt Boittir apud Dungal. Bellum inter Cruitne et Dalriati in Muirbuilgg ubi Cruitne devicti fuerunt. Bellum inter filium Oengusa 7 filium Congusa sed Brudeus vicit Talorcan fugientem.

732 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dccxxxj.
Teimnen Cillegarad religiosus clericus quievit.

733 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dccxxxij.
Dungal mac Selbaich dehonoravit Toraic cum traxit Brudeum ex ea 7 eadem vice insolam Culrenrigi invasit. Muredac mac Ainfcellach regnum generis Loairnd assumit.

734 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dccxxxiij.
Caintigern ingen Ceallach cuallann[z] moritur. Talorgg mac Congusso a fratre suo victus est, traditur in

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[y] The commotion of Dunad against Domhall, son of Murchad, in the Culs, id est, on the night of the death of Nephan, or at Imleach Senaich.

[z] Kentigerna, daughter of Ceallach cualan, dies.

[S]

manus Pictorum et cum illis in aqua demersus est. Talorggan filius Drostain comprehensus alligatur juxta arcem Ollaigh. Dunleithfinn destruitur post vulnerationem Dungaile 7 in Hiberniam a potestate Oengusio fugatus est.

736 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dccxxxv.
Oengus mac Fergusa rex Pictorum vastavit regiones Dailriatai et obtinuit Dunat et combussit Creic et duos filios Selbhaic (.i. Donngall 7 Ferdach) catenis alligavit 7 paulo post Brudeus mac Oengusa filii Ferguso obiit. Bellum *Cnuicc Coirpri i Calathros uc etar Linndu*[a] inter Dalriatai et Fortrenn et Talorggan mac Ferguso filium Ainfceallach fugientem cum exercitu persequitur in qua congressione multi nobiles ceciderunt.

737 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dccxxxvj.
Mors Ronain Abbatis Cinngaraid. Faelbe filius Guaire Maelrubi (.i.) heres Crosain in profundo pelagi dimersus est cum suis nautis numero xxij.

739 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dccxxxviij.
Talorggan mac Drostain rex Atfoithle dimersus est .i. *la Oengus.*[b] Mors Aeda mac Garbain.

740 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dccxxxix.
Terre motus in Ili ij. Id Aprilis. Cubretan mac Conguso moritur.

741 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dccxl.
Mors Fuirechtaig principis Insio Coil. Jugulatio Ernain nepotis Eciulb. Bellum Dromacathmail inter Cruitniu et Dalriati *for* Innrechtac. Percussio Dalriatai *la* Oengus mac Ferguso.

747 Kal. Jan. .i. f. e. x. Anno Domini Dccxlvj.
Mors Tuatalain abbatis Cinnrighmonai.

749 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dccxlviij.
Jugulatio Catusaigh filii Aillello *irraith beithech*[c]

---

[a] Knock Cariber at Etar Linndu.
[b] By Angus.
[c] In Rathbethech.

[S]

998 Kal. Jan. Anno Domini Dcccxcviij.
Dubdalethe Comhorbâ Patraicc 7 Coluimcille[i] lxxxiij. anno etatis sue vitam finivit.

1005 Kal. Jan. ij. f. l. vj. Anno Domini Miiij.
Raghnall mac Gofraigh ri na n-insi, Maelbrigda hua Rimeda Abbas Ja in Christo. *Cath etir firu Alban imonetir itorcair ri Alban .i. Cinaed mac Duib.*[k]

1006 Kal. Jan. iij. f. xxvij. Anno Domini Mv.
Bellum *itir firu Albain 7 Saxanu coromaid for Albanchu co fargabsat ar an degh doine.*[l]

1007 Kal. Jan. iiij. f. l. ix. Anno Domini Mvj.
Muredach mac Cricain do deirgiu comarbus Columcille ar Dia. Ferdomnach i comorbus Columcille con a comairle fer n-Erenn isin oenach sin.[m]

1011 Kal. Jan. ij. f. l. xxiij. Anno Domini Mx.
Muredach hua Crican comorba Columcille 7 fer leighinn Ardmacha in Christo dormivit.[n]

1014 Kal. Jan. vj. f. l. xxvj. Anno Domini Mxiiij.
Slogedh la Brian mac Ceinitig mic Lorcain la rig Erenn 7 la Maelsechlan mac Donall la righ Temrach co h-Atacliath. Laigin uile do leir itinol ar a cinn 7 Gall Athacliath 7 a coimlin do Gallaibh Lochlain leo

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[i] Dubdalethe Corbe of Patrick and Columcille.

[k] Ranald, son of Gofraigh, king of the Isles; Maelbrigd of Rimeda, abbot of Ja, in Christ. Battle between the men of Alban among themselves, in which the king of Alban fell, viz., Cinaed, son of Dub.

[l] Battle between the men of Alban and Saxony; the Albanich were overcome, and great slaughter made of their nobles.

[m] Muredac, son of Crecan, resigns the Corbeship of Columcille for the service of God. Ferdomnach elected to the Corbeship of Columcille by the advice of the men of Erin at that fair [of Tailten].

[n] Muredach O'Crican Corbe of Columcille and Ferlegin of Armagh died in Christ.

[o] Hosting by Brian, son of Cennetig, son of Lorcan, king of Erin, and by Malsechlan, son of Domnall, king of Tara, to Atacliath. All Leinster was assembled to oppose them, and the Galls of Atacliath and a company of the Galls of Lochlan, viz., ten

[S]

Maelruanaigh hua Eidin rig Aidne 7 Geibinac hua Duibagain ri Fernmaige 7 Macbeatad mac Muredaigh Cloin ri Ciaraidhe Luachre 7 Domnall mac Diarmada ri Corcobaiscind 7 Scannlain mac Cathail ri Eoganachta Locha Lein 7 Domnall mac Eimin mic Cainig Mormaer Mair in Albain et alii multi nobiles.

1020 Kal. Jan. vj. f. ij. Anno Domini Mxx.

Finnloech mac Ruadri ri Alban a suis occisus est.

1025 Kal. Jan. vj. f. l. xxvij. Anno Domini Mxxv.

Flannobra Comhorba Ia in Christo quievit.

1027 Kal. Jan. ij. f. l. xx. Anno Domini Mxxvij.

Duncaillenn in Alban do uile loscadh.[p]

1029 Kal. Jan. iiij. f. l. xij. Anno Domini Mxxix.

Maelcoluim mac Maolbrigde meic Ruaidhre mortuus est.

1032 Kal. Jan. vij. f. l. xj. Anno Domini Mxxxij.

Gillacomgan mac Maelbrigde Mormaer Murebe do loscadh co coecait do dhuinibh imme.[q]

1033 Kal. Jan. ij. f. l. xxvj. Anno Domini Mxxxiij.

Mac meic Boete meic Cinaedha do marbhadh la Maelcolaim meic Cinaeda.[r]

1034 Kl. Jan. iij. f. l. vij. Anno Domini Mxxxiiij.

Maelcolaim mac Cinaeda ri Albain obiit. *Mac Nia hua Uchtan fer leighinn Cennannsa do bathadh ac tiachtain a h-Albain 7 culebadh Coluimcille 7 tri*

---

kings of O'Many, O'Kelly, and Maelruanag O'Eiden, king of Aidne, and Geibinac O'Dubagan, king of Fermoy, and Macbeatad, son of Muredag Cloin, king of Kerryluachra, and Domnall, son of Diarmad, king of Corcobaiscin, and Scanlan, son of Cathal, king of the Eoganachts of Locha Lein, and Domnall, son of Eimin, son of Cainig, Mormaer of Marr, in Alban, and many other nobles.

[p] Dunkeld in Alban entirely burnt.

[q] Gillacomgan, son of Maelbrigde, Mormaer of Moray, burnt with fifty of his men along with him.

[r] The son of the son of Boete, son of Cinaed, slain by Malcolm, son of Cinaed.

[S]

minna do mhinnaib Patraic 7 tricha fer impu. Suibhne mac Cinaeda ri Gallgaidhel mortuus est.[s]

1040 Kl. Jan. iij. f. l. xiij. Anno Domini Mxl. *Maelmuire hua Uchtan Coluimcille* in Christo dormivit. *Donnchach mac Crinán ri Albain* a suis occisus est.[t]

1045 Kl. Jan. iij. f. l. ix. Anno Domini Mxlv. *Cath iter Albancu etarra fein itorcair Cronan Abb. Duinecaillend.*[u]

1054 Kl. Jan. vij. f. l. xviij. Anno Domini Mliiij. *Cath etir fhiru Albain 7 Saxanu itorcradar tri mile do feraib Albain 7 mile coleth di Saxanu im Dolfinn mac Finntuir.*[v]

1057 Kal. Jan. iiij. f. l. xxj. Anno Domini Mlvij. Robartach mac Ferdomnach Comorba Coluimcille in domino dormivit.

1058 Kl. Jan. v. f. l. ij. Anno Domini Mlviij. *Lulach mac Gillcomgain Ardri Albain domarbhadh la Maelcolaim meic Donchadh i Cath. Macbeathadh mac Finnlaich Airdri Albain domarbhadh la Maelcoluim meic Donnchadh i cath.*[w]

1062 Kal. Jan. iij. f. l. xvj. Anno Domini Mlxij. *Gilchrist hua Maeldoradh comorba Coluimcille etir Erin 7 Albain* in Christo quievit.[x]

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[s] Malcolm, son of Cinaed king of Alban, died. Macnia O'Uchtan Ferlegin of Kells, drowned when coming from Alban, and the Culebad of Columcille, and three of the reliquaries of Patrick, and thirty men with him.

Suibhne, son of Cinaed, king of Galloway dies.

[t] Malmure O'Uchtan [Corbe of] Columcille slept in Christ. Duncan, son of Crinan, king of Alban slain by his own people.

[u] Battle between the Albanich among themselves, in which fell Cronan, abbot of Dunkeld.

[v] Battle between the men of Alban and Saxony, in which fell three thousand of the men of Alban, and one thousand and a half of the Saxons, with Dolfin, son of Finntur.

[w] Lulach, son of Gillacomgan, sovereign of Alban, slain by Malcolm, son of Duncan, in battle. Macbethad, son of Finlaech, sovereign of Alban, slain by Malcolm, son of Duncan, in battle.

[x] Gillchrist O'Maeldorad, Corbe of Columcille, in Erin and Alban, rested in Christ.

[T]

FROM THE ANNALS OF TIGHERNAC, MLXXXVIII.

MS. BODL. RAWLINSON. B. 488.

* * * * * * * *

Cath truadh itir Picardachaibh ac Caislen Credhi 7 ro mebaigh ar in Alpin cetna, 7 ro bearadh a cricha 7 a daine de uile 7 ro gab Nechtain mac Derili Righi na Picardach.[c]

729 Kl. *Tri .l. long Piccardach do brisidh irrois Cuissine sa bliadhna cetna. Cath Droma Derg Blathmig etir Piccardaibh .i. Druist 7 Aengus Rí na Piccardach 7 ro marbhadh Drust andsin in dara la deg do mi Aughuist.*[d]

731 Kl. *Cath itir* Cruithniu 7 Dalriada in Murbulg ubi Cruithne devicti. *Cath etir* mac Aengusa 7 mac Congusa sunt, Brudheus vicit Talorcum fugientem.

732 Kl. Nechtan mc Derile mortuus.

733 Kl. *Dungal mac Selbaig dorindi toisc a Toraigh 7 toisc aile an inis Cumennraighe corairg.*[e] Mureadbach me Ainbhcellaig regnum generis Loairn assumit. Flaithbertach classem Dalriada in Iberniam duxit 7 cedes magna facta est deis in insola Honie, ubi hi trucidantur viri Concobar mc Lochein 7 Branchu mc Brain 7 multi in flumine dimersi sunt deis in Banna. Eochach mac Echach *Ri Dailriada* 7 Conall mac Concobair mortui sunt.

734 Kl. *Tolarg mac Congusa a brathair fen dia gabail 7 tuc illaimh na Piccardach 7 ro baighed leosiden h-e.*[f]

736 Kl. Aengus mac Fergusa, Rex Pictorum vastavit regiones Dailriata 7 obtinuit Dunad 7 compussit Creic 7

---

[c] An unfortunate battle between the Piccardach at the Castle of Credi, and the victory was against the same Alpin, and his territories and all his men were taken, and Nechtan the son of Derili obtained the kingdom of the Piccardach.

[d] Three times fifty ships of the Piccardach were wrecked this year on Irois Cuissine. The battle of Drumderg Blathmig between the Piccardach, that is, Drust and Angus king of the Piccardach, and Drust was slain there, on the twelfth day of the month of August.

[e] Dungal, the son of Selbaigh made an expedition to Toraighe, and another expedition to the island of Cumennraighe for plunder.

[f] Tolarg, the son of Congus, was seized by his own brother, and delivered into the hands of the Piccardach, and drowned by them.

[T]

duos filios Selbaiche catenis alligavit .i. Dondgal 7 Feradach 7 paulo post Brudeus mac Aengusa mic Fergusa obit.

737 Kl. *Bass* Ronain Abbatis Cindgaradh. *Failbe mac Guaire. Mael eire bai eiris .i. Apuorcrosain*[1] in profundo Pelagi dimersus est cum suis nautis numero xxii.[g]

739 Kl. *Tolarcan mac Drostan Rex Athfhotla a bathadh la h-Aengus.*[h]

747 Kl. Mors Tuathalain Abbas Cind Righ Monaigh.

749 Kl. Jugulatio Cathasaig mac Aillella Ri Cruithne in Raith Betheach. Ventus magnus. Demersi familie Iea.

750 Kl. *Cath etir* Pictones 7 Britones id est a Tolargan mac Fergusa *7 a brathair 7 ar Piccardach imaille friss.*[i]

752 Kl. Mors Cilline Droictigh Ancorite Iea. *Taudar mac Bile Ri Alochlaṇdaib*[2] mortuus est. *Cath a sreith* in terra Circin inter Pictones invicem in quo cecidit Bruidhi mac Maelchon. *Bass* Cilline mac Congaile in Hi.

754 Kl. Sleibine Abbas Iea in Hiberniam venit.

756 Kl. Combustio Benchair moir i feria Patricii.

757 Kl. Lex Colum cille *la* Slebine.

758 Kl. Elpine Glaisinaidin. Reversio Slebine in Hiberniam.

759 Kl. Aengus *Ri Alban* mortuus.

761 Kl. Aengus mac Fergusa Rex Pictorum mortuus.

763 K. Bruidhi *Ri* Fortchernn mortuus est.

[*A leaf wanting from* 756 *to* 973.]

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[g] The death of Ronan, abbot of Kingarth. Failbe, the son of Guare, the successor of Malruba in Apurcrossan, was drowned in the open sea with all his sailors, to the number of twenty-two.

[h] Tolarcan, the son of Drostan, king of Atholl, drowned by Angus.

[i] A battle between the Pictones and the Britons, viz., Tolargan, the son of Fergus, and his brother, and the slaughter of the Piccardach along with them.

[j] Taudar mac Bile, king of Alochluaithe died. The battle of Strath in the land of Circin, between the Pictones, in which Bruidhi mac Malcon was slain. Death of Cilline mac Congaile in Hi.

[1] This passage is corrupt, it should read,—*Failbe mac Guairi eiris Mailrubai .i. Apuorcrossan.*

[2] *Alochaṇdaib* is here written for *Alochluaith*, or Alclyde.

[T]

1040 Kl. Donncadh mac Crinan *Airdri* Alban immatura etate a suis ocissus est.

1045 Kl. iii. f. luan ix. [kl. i. l. 18] *Cath etir Albancho araenrian cur marbadh andsin Crinan Ab. Duincalland 7 sochaighe maille fris .i. nae xx laech.*[q]

1054 Kl. iii. f. l. xvii. [kl. v. l. 27] *Cat etir Albancho 7 Saxancho in artoitset moran do miledaib.*[r]

1055 Kl. i. f. l. xxix. [kl. vi. l. 28] *Maelduin mac Gillaodran espcop Alban 7 ordan Gaedel o cleircib* in Christo quievit.[s]

1057 Kl. .ii. f. l. ii. m. .I. viii. *Lulach Rig Alban domarbadh Colum mic Donnchada* per dolum. *Longes la mac Ri Lochland con gallaib indsi Orcc 7 indsi Gall 7 Atacliath do gabail rigi Saxan acht no cor de onaig dia sin. Mac Bethadh mic Findlaich Airdri Alban domarbad do Maelcolaim mic Dondcadha.*[t]

1062 Kl. iii. f. l. xii [kl. i. l. 7] *Hua Maildoraig comarba Colaimcilli* quievit.[u]

1072 Kl. *Diarmuit mac Mailnambo Ri Breatan 7 indsi Gall 7 Athacliat 7 Leithi moghanuadhad domarbadh la Concobur hua Maelsechnaill a Cath Odba 7 ardiarimthe do Gall 7 do Laing uime.*[v]

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[q] Battle between the Albanich on both sides, in which Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, was slain there, and many with him, viz., nine times twenty heroes.

[r] Battle between the Albanich and the Saxons, in which many of the soldiers were slain.

[s] Mallduin, son of Gillaodran, Bishop of Alban, the giver of orders to the clergy, died in Christ.

[t] Lulac, king of Alban, slain by Malcolm, son of Duncan, by stratagem. Maritime expedition by the son of the king of Lochlan with the Galls of Orkney and Innse Gall and Dublin, to subject the kingdom of the Saxons, but God was against them in that affair. Macbeth, son of Finlay, supreme king of Alban, slain by Malcolm, son of Duncan.

[u] O Maildoraig Corbe of Colaimcille dies.

[v] Diarmed, son of Malnambo, king of the Britons, and Innse-Gall, and Dublin, slain by Concobur O Malsechlan in the battle of Odba, and great slaughter made of the Galls and men of Leinster with him.

Skene's Explanatory Notes on Chronicles [A—T].[1]

(With Author's comments on the line of Kings from Selbach to Lulach.)

[A]

SYNCHRONISMS OF FLANN MAINISTREACH. A.D. 1014–1022

Among the ancient pieces in the Irish MSS. which throw light on the history of Scotland . . . are the "Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach" or "of Bute," who died in the year 1056, in which he synchronizes the provincial kings of Ireland with the monarchs of the whole island, and includes among the former the kings of Dalriada in Scotland, and the subsequent kings of Scotland down to Malcolm the Second. These Synchronisms were continued by another hand to the death of Muircheartach O'Brien in 1119, sixty-five years after Flann's death. The Synchronisms with their continuation are preserved in the "Book of Lecain," a MS. of 1418, and the Editor has found another copy in the older "Book of Glendaloch," in the Bodleian (Rawlinson, B. 512). There is, however, a MS. in the Kilbride Collection, in the Advocates' Library, which gives the synchronisms, without the continuation, . . . there seems little reason to doubt that it contains the work of Flann in its original shape. (Pp. xxx–xxxi.)

Note. The *Synchronisms* record: Selbach mac Ferchair.
Dungal mac Selbaig.
Girg mac Dungaile.
Cinaet mac Duib.

The *Continuation* records: Macbethad mac Findlaech.
Lulach mac Micbethadh.

[B]

IRISH AND PICTISH ADDITIONS TO THE HISTORIA BRITONUM A.D. 1040–1072

The passage marked A, taken from the text, seems to contain the original form of a passage which is much corrupted in the Latin text, and presents probably the oldest form of the legend of the settlement of the Picts. (P. xxxiii.)

The passage under letter B, which is the first of the additions made to the text, contains what may be called the Pictish legend of their settlement, and is, in point of fact, an amplification of the previous passage. (P. xxxiii.)

[1] See *Ante*, pp. 118–187.

The additions under letter D, appear to contain the Irish form of the legend of the settlement of the Picts, in connexion with the Milesian fable, in which they are brought direct to Ireland, and from Ireland to Scotland. This addition consists, first, of a prose statement; and secondly, of a poem, which bears within it evidence of having been compiled not later than the end of the reign of Macbeth, in 1058. (P. xxxiv.)

Note. In this Chronicle is found the earliest form of the name—*Ciric*, *Cirig*. In the translation an error gives him a reign of *eight* years instead of *eighty*. (*Cf. supra*, p. 122)

[C]

THE DUAN ALBANACH

A.D. 1070

. . . The poem itself bears to have been written in the reign of Malcolm the Third, and contains within itself abundant marks of its authenticity. It has usually been dealt with as if, because it treats of the history of Scotland, it must necessarily have been written by a Scotchman, and afford an early specimen of the Scottish dialect of the Irish language. But there is nothing whatever in the poem itself to show this: on the contrary, the presumption is that it is an Irish document . . . the opinion of the Editor is, that it is the work of Gillacaemhin, the Irish translator of Nennius. (P. xxxvii.)

Note. King Gregory's name is said by Dr. Todd to have been omitted "perhaps designedly," while Skene explains its omission in the following way:

> "That the omission of his name by the Albanic Duan was intentional appears from this, that fourteen years have been added to the reign of Constantine, making the whole period of his reign thirty years, so as to extend his reign, and that of his successor, over the period of that of Grig."[1]

[D]

THE CHRONICLE OF MARIANUS SCOTUS

A.D. 1078

The MSS. of Marianus Scotus in this country, and the usual printed copies, do not contain the passages here printed, with the exception of the well-known passage regarding Macbeth in 1040. They are, however, con-

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. cxxxviii.

tained in the version of his chronicle, edited by Waiz, in Pertz's magnificent collection of historians, from the Vatican MS., which he considers the autograph.

This MS. is not accessible to the Editor, but he has printed these passages from that MS., because they are of great importance for the history of Scotland; first, as containing the earliest notice of the name of Scotia applied to this country; and secondly, because Marianus having been born in the reign of Malcolm Second, in the year 1028, and having died in that of Malcolm the Third, in the year 1081, is narrating events which occurred in his own lifetime. (P. xxxviii.)

Note. This Chronicle records the reigns of Macbeth and Lulach, and, naturally, does not record the reign of King Gregory, since it covers only the years 1034 to 1057, while King Greg reigned from 875 to 893.

[E]

PROPHECY OF ST. BERCHAN

A.D. 1094–1097

About this period a fashion, which seems to have commenced in Wales and spread to Ireland, came in, of writing history in the form of prophecy, supposed to have been uttered by some one who lived long before the time of the actual writer. . . . There are several specimens of this kind of prophetical history in the Irish MSS., but the most remarkable are the prophecies of St. Berchan. . . . The whole is attributed as a prophecy to St. Berchan, who lived towards the end of the seventh century. The latter part of the poem, relating to Scotland, is here printed. The names of the kings are concealed under epithets, but there is little difficulty in identifying them, and it is full of curious allusions to the character and events of their reign, which are not to be found elsewhere. It is now printed for the first time from two MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy. (Pp. xxxix–xli.)

Note. In this document one of the most important points to be considered is the transliteration of the words *Duine Duirn* into *Dundurn*. Skene associates the name with Dundurn on Loch Earn, an inaccuracy which is discussed elsewhere.[1]

The particular lines in this *Prophecy of St. Berchan* which refer to King Gregory are as follows:

Till the *Mac Rath* shall come,
He shall sit over Alban as sole chief,
Low was Britain in his time,
High was Alban of melodious cities.

[1] Chapter xi.

According to Skene, this *Mac Rath* was the "son of fortune," and meant Grig, son of Dungaile. The "son of fortune" is further referred to in the following lines:

Pleasant is it to my heart and body,
My spirit relates good to me,
As king the son of fortune in the eastern land
Under ravenous misfortune to Alban.

Seventeen years of warding valour,
In the sovereignty of Alban,
There shall be slaves to him in his house,
Saxons, Galls and Britons.

By him shall be attacked the powerful house,
Ah! my heart on the banks of the Earn.
Red shall be the colour in the house before him,
He shall fall by the men of Fortrenn.

Bad shall it be in Alban then,
To them shall come my prophecy,
After the son of fortune, of a prosperous clan,
Shall fall by the men of Fortrenn.

Would it appear to the average reader that the reign of King Gregory was an *unimportant* one, since so great a Chronicle as the *Prophecy of St. Berchan* devotes twenty lines to a description of his reign?

According to this Chronicle the reign of *Grig, Kenneth IV.*, was of no less importance.

The *Donn* will possess who will dispense steeds,
He will scatter hosts of the Saxons,
After the day of battle he will possess,
I remember the high tale.

Skene says *Donn*, "*the brown one*, was Grig, son of Kenneth, who reigned eight years."

No less important is the stanza in which Gregory's career in England is confirmed by the words: "Low was Britain in his time."

Equally important as a confirmation of the successful reign of this King are the lines:

There shall be slaves to him in his house,
Saxons, Galls and Britons.

When the above quotations are considered, together with

the mention of MacBeth and Lulach, clearly set forth in the notes to Skene's translations, it does not seem possible that any one could deny the importance of the reigns of Kings Gregory, Kenneth IV., MacBeth or Lulach; yet it will be seen in the review of the *Pictish Chronicle*, together with the chapter dealing with Dunadeer Castle, that such an effort has been very vigorously made during the last century.

[F]

CHRONICLE OF THE SCOTS
A.D. 1165

This Chronicle is one of the six pieces printed by Innes in his appendix. It is now reprinted from the Colbertine MS., and is the earliest in date of the series of Latin lists of the Scottish kings which have come down to us. (Pp. xlvii.–xlviii.)

Note. The line of Kings to which Gregory belonged is most clearly outlined in the *Cronica Regum Scottorum*, as shown—his grandfather *Seluach* filius Eogan; his father, *Dunegal* filius Seluach; and Greg himself, *Grig* filius Dunegal. It likewise records Kenneth IV., elsewhere called Grimus and Greg, as *Chinet* filius Duf; *Macheth* filius Findleg, and *Lulac* nepos filii Boide.

[G]

CHRONICLE OF THE SCOTS AND PICTS
A.D. 1187

This Chronicle has not hitherto been printed. It is contained in a MS. in the Advocates' Library, (34.7.3.) written by James Gray, priest of the diocese of Dinblane in the reign of James the Fifth. The Chronicle itself, however, is an older composition. . . . Taking the year 850 as the era from which these calculations were made, this places the compilation of this chronicle in the year 1187. The transcript by James Gray, however, is a very bad one, and the proper names are most inaccurately given. (Pp. lii.–liii.)

Note. The reign of Gregory is one of the most important of that period; according to this chronicle, he subdued all of Ireland and a part of England, and liberated the church of Scotland from the servitude to

which it had been subject. The line of kings to which he belonged is clearly recorded.

[H]

CHRONICLE OF THE PICTS AND SCOTS
A.D. 1251

This chronicle is [printed] from the Register of the priory of St. Andrews. The principal register . . . has been missing, ever since 1660. . . . A list of the contents of the register, and some extracts from it, had been previously taken, and passed into the library of Sir Robert Sibbald, who communicated them to Innes. Sibbald's MS. seems also to be now missing; but a copy, taken from it, is preserved in the Harleian MS. 4628. This copy must have been written in or after the year 1708. (P. lv)

Note. The line of Kings is here unbroken:

5. Carus Mack Dungall.
14. Girus Mac Kinath.
17. Macbeth Mac Finlen.
18. Lulach.

[I]

THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OR CRONICON ELEGIACUM
A.D. 1270

The only complete copy of this chronicle is to be found in a MS. in the Bodleian, of the middle of the fourteenth century (C.IV.3), and this copy bears to have been composed in the reign of Alexander the Third, from the expression in the last line, "qui modo sceptra tenet." It is inserted in a fragmentary manner in the "Chronicle of Melrose." . . . The "Chronicle of Melrose" appears to have been written in the reign of Alexander the Third, and terminates with the year 1270, which was probably about the time when the "Cronicon Elegiacum" was completed. There is reason, however, to think that part of the Cronicon is much older, and was composed by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaux, as John, Abbot of Peterborough, refers, under the year 975, to a chronicle, "in libro sancti Aldredi abbatis qui intitulatur Epitaphium regum Scotorum." . . . The Editor has collated the copy in the Bodleian MS. with that in the "Chronicle of Melrose," and in "Wyntoun's Chronicle." (Pp. lvi.–lvii.)

Note. Girg sua jura gerens annis deca tetra et octo
In Dunduren probus morte retentus erat.

***

Annorum spacio rex Grym regnaverat octo,
Kyneti natus qui genitus Duf erat.

***

Rex Macabeda decem Scotie septemque fit annis:
In cujus regno fertile tempus erat.

***

Mensibus infelix Lulach tribus extiterat rex
Armis ejusdem Malcolomi cecidit.

[J]

CHRONICLE OF THE PICTS AND SCOTS
A.D. 1280

This Chronicle is quoted at length in the "Scalacronica," and has been carefully collated with the original MS. at Cambridge. It has obviously been translated into Norman French from a Latin original. It is stated at the end of the chronicle that the sum of the years between Kenneth Macalpin and King Alexander was 430 years, one month and seven days, which, added to the year 850, as the era of Kenneth, fixes the date of the chronicle at the year 1280. (Pp. lviii.–lix.)

Note. Attention is called to the passages regarding the line of kings:

Seluach fitz Cogan—Selbach son of Eogan.
Donald fitz Seluach—Dungal son of Selbach.
Kynet fitz Alpin—Kenneth son of Alpin.
Tirg mac Dungald—Greg son of Dungal.
Grige mac Kyneth mac Douf—Greg son of Kenneth son of Duf (Kenneth IV.).
Macbeth mac Sinley—Macbeth son of Finley.
Lulach le fole—Lulach (the fool).

[K]

CHRONICLE OF HUNTINGDON
A.D. 1290

In the year 1290, writs were addressed by Edward the First to the cathedrals and principal monasteries throughout England, commanding them to search their chronicles and archives for all matters relating to Scotland, and to transmit the same to the king under their common seals. The returns made to these writs, which are still extant, contain numerous extracts and fragments of chronicles, which are printed by Sir Francis Palgrave in his "Documents and Records Illustrative of the History of Scotland," published by the Record Commission; but among them is one chronicle so important for the history of Scotland that it is included in this collection. . . . The original MS. is preserved in the Record House in

London, but it has suffered so much from time, that many words cannot now be deciphered. (Pp. lix.–lx.)

Note. Only a brief analysis of this document is necessary to see that the same line of kings to which Greg belonged is clearly recorded.

[L]

TRACTS RELATING TO THE ENGLISH CLAIMS

A.D. 1301

In the years 1300 and 1301, a discussion arose between the Pope, the King of England, and the Scottish Government, with regard to the independence of Scotland. It commenced in the year 1300, by a bull directed by Pope Boniface the Eighth to Edward, king of England, which was replied to by the English Parliament, and afterwards by the king himself. (P. lxi.)

Note. Facsimiles are reproduced from the Instructions to the Scotch Commissioners, and from the argument of Baldred Bisset, one of the Commissioners.

[M]

CHRONICLE OF THE PICTS AND SCOTS

A.D. 1317

This chronicle is contained in a MS. of the fourteenth century, in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middlehill. It very closely resembles the chronicle which was contained in the register of the priory of St. Andrews . . . and the same mistake occurs in it of adding a century to the duration of the Scottish monarchy. (P. lxv.)

Note. *Sealuach* filius Heochgain.
Dunghal filius Sealuach.
Girg filius Dungal.
Grig filius Kinet filii Duf.
Macbet filius Finled.
Lulach fatuus.

[N]

CHRONICLE OF THE SCOTS

A.D. 1333–1334

This Chronicle is remarkable as containing a reference to variations in the list of kings contained in other chronicles. . . . The second is that

Grig was succeeded by his brother Constantine. It is very remarkable that the only document which supports these two variations is the "Prophecy of St. Berchan." Another variation in this chronicle is that Duf, the son of Malcolm, was succeeded by his son Kenneth, and he, by Culen the son of Indulf; and this variation is to be found alone in the "chronicle of Huntingdon." (P. lxvi.)

Note. The variations above referred to do not affect the recording, in proper sequence, of
Gryg filio Douenaldi—Greg son of Dungal.
Grim filius Kyneti—Grim son of Kenneth (Kenneth IV.).
Macbeth, fynleth—Macbeth son of Finley.
Luchlach, Luthlach, or Lulac.

[O]

CHRONICLE OF THE SCOTS

A.D. 1348

These chronicles are taken from a document in one of the Cottonian MSS., (Vitellius, A. xx.) bearing the title of "Historia Angliæ a Bruto ad annum Domini, 1348," and the MS. appears to be of the fourteenth century. They have not been hitherto printed. The second of the two chronicles is obviously a copy of part of the "Chronicle of St. Andrews," as it closely corresponds with it, and the *summa annorum* is the same, 501 years. The prologue is taken verbatim from Higden's "Polycronicon." (P. lxvii.)

Note. Both sections of this chronicle record the reigns of Gregory, Kenneth IV., Macbeth and Lulach, as an examination will disclose.

[P]

CHRONICLE OF THE SCOTS

XIV century

This chronicle has been printed from one of the Harleian MSS. (1808). The *summa annorum* from Kenneth MacAlpin to William the Lyon is stated to be 506 years, which is an obvious mistake, and the chronicle must have been compiled at a later date, and probably by an Englishman, as it shows great ignorance of the history during the latter part. . . . The Editor is of the opinion that the chronicle . . . belongs to the fourteenth century. (P. lxvii.)

Note. Seluak—Selbach.
Conegal—Dungaile.
Alpin—Alpin, father of Kenneth.
Grig mak Dungal.
Mak Fingel—Macbeth, son of Finley.
Gulak—Lulach.

[Q]

TRACT ON THE PICTS

Before MCCCCXVIII

This tract is taken from two separate versions of the "Leabhar Gabhala" or "Book of Conquests" contained in the "Book of Lecain." It consists, in point of fact, of a *résumé* of the Pictish legends which were attached to the Irish translations of Nennius, with some additions, which are not without value. The date attached to them is that of the "Book of Lecain." (P. lxix.)

Note. Here again we obtain the earliest form of the name *Greg*—one of the seven sons of Cruithne, *Ciricc* or *Cirig*.

[R]

METRICAL CHRONICLE OR CHRONICON RHYTHMICUM

He [Innes] considered that the poem consisted of two parts—the first of which was composed in the reign of Alexander the Third; and the second in the year 1447, the date given in the end of the poem itself, as that of its composition . . . the poem consisted partly of an older poem incorporated into one more recent. (Pp. lxx.–lxxi.)

[S]

THE ANNALS OF ULSTER

A.D. 1498

The text of the "Annals of Ulster" was first printed by Dr. O'Connor in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores veteres*, from the Bodleian MS. (Rawlinson, B. 489). It is by no means accurate, and there is an equally fine MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, which O'Connor appears not to have consulted. He printed the text down to the year 1131 only, though the Annals were compiled in the year 1498. The extracts here printed have been collated with both MSS., and those subsequent to the year 1131 have not been hitherto printed. (P. lxxii.)

Note. As to omission of King Greg's name, see p. 201.

[T]

THE ANNALS OF TIGHERNAC

A.D. 1088

These annals were written by Tighernac of Cloinmacnois, who died in the year 1088, and were continued by a subsequent hand to the year 1178. The text of these annals was first made public by Dr. O'Connor, who printed them, but somewhat incorrectly, from two MSS. in the Bodleian. Besides these MSS., there is a later MS. of these annals in Trinity College, Dublin, and an older fragment of a part of the annals which seems to present them in their earliest form. . . . The extracts from the annals here given have been carefully collated with the oldest MS., that in the Bodleian (Rawlinson, B. 488). (Pp. xxxviii.–xxxix.)

Note. As to omission of King Greg's name, see p. 200.

The following table, briefly summarising the Chronicles, will be of assistance in determining to what extent they mention the reign of King Gregory, and in how far they are consistent with the *Pictish Chronicle*, reviewed in the chapter following. It will be seen at a glance that not one, here reproduced in facsimile, mentions a *joint reign* of Gregory with *Eochodius:*

Flann Mainistreach	A	....Girg mac Dungaile
Irish and Pictish Additions to Historia Britonum.....	B	....Cirig
Duan Albanach	C	....Omitted[1]
Chronicle of Marianus Scotus....	D	....Omitted[2]
Prophecy of St. Berchan.....	E	....Footnote, Grig son of Dungaile
Chronicle of the Scots.....	F	....Grig filius Dunegal
Chronicle of the Scots and Picts..	G	....Girg mac Dungal
Chronicle of Picts and Scots.....	H	....Girg filio Dungel
" " " " "	"	....Carus mack Dungall
Cronicon Elegiacum.....	I	....Grig Dungalide
" "	"	....Grig mak Dongal
" "	"	....Grig filius Douenaldi
" "	"	....Grig Scottorum rex
Chronicle of Picts and Scots.....	J	....Girg mac Dunegal
Chronicle of Huntingdon.....	K	....Girge filius Dovenald
Tracts relating to English Claims	L	....Gregorious, Dungalli filius rex Scotorum
" " " " "	"	Gregorious primus, Dungalli ....filius, rex Scotorum

[1] According to Dr. Todd (*Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius*, p. 283) his name was omitted from the Duan Albanach "perhaps designedly."

[2] The dates covering his reign are not given in this Chronicle.

Chronicle of Picts and Scots.....	M	....Girg filius Dungal
Chronicle of the Scots	N	....Gryg filio Douenaldi
Chronicle of the Scots.....	O	....Grig filio Douenaldi
" " " ".....	"	....Girgh mac Dungal
Chronicle of the Scots.....P		....Grig mak Dungal
Tract on the Picts.....	Q	....Ciricc, Cirig (earliest form of the name)
Chronicon Rhythmicum.....	R	....Greg
Annals of Ulster.....	S	....Omitted [1]
Annals of Tighernac.....	T	....Omitted [2]

As the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of Tighernac* are two of the most important documents in which the name of Greg is omitted, they form the basis for much of the discussion of the modern school as to King Greg's reign. We have seen in the extracts from Skene's Preface[3] that the original *Annals of Tighernac* are supposed to have been compiled by Tighernac of Cloinmacnois, who died in the year 1088, and that they were continued by another hand to the year 1178. It is quite reasonable to suppose that with many MSS. of these Annals extant, they may either be copies of an original MS., now lost, or that any one of them may be the original, and the others more or less accurate copies. Skene himself says: "A new edition of the Annals of Tighernac from a collation of all the MSS. (of which Prof. Currie enumerates seven), and with a correct translation, is greatly to be desired."

The *Annals of Tighernac* and the *Annals of Ulster*, as can be seen at a glance, are very similar, being merely narratives of scattered events, not confined particularly to any one part of the country, but dealing chiefly with the affairs of Ireland and Scotland. They seem to be simply a chronological jumble of the reigns of kings, births, deaths and battles from year to year, each continuator adding those events of his age which seemed to him the most important. Skene himself admits that "the extracts from the Annals here given have been carefully collated with the oldest MS., that in the Bodleian. The dates added in the margin are those indicated by the *feriae* in the Annals of Ulster, which appear to correspond with the true date."

[1] The father and grandfather of Greg are prominently recorded. The omission of Greg's name is not explained by any writer treating the subject.

[2] A leaf is wanting in the manuscript from A.D. 756 to A.D. 973, covering the period of his reign from A.D. 875 to A.D. 893.

[3] *Supra*, p. 198.

These dates, according to the same authority, "given by Dr. O'Connor [for the *Annals of Tighernac*], were not taken from any MS. of Tighernac, but were affixed by himself from the dates of similar events in the Annals of Ulster." It does not require a close scrutiny of these two Annals to see that a great deal of "bolstering up" has been necessary in the past, in order that they may present any appearance of reliability. Since their first publication, they have been the source of discussion and criticism among writers of Scottish history, chiefly with regard to their inaccuracies. They have been used by those historians who wish to further certain suppositions of their own, as the foundation for their building; they have been the "last straw" for those writers who have been all but overwhelmed in a sea of historical guess and conjecture. Some modern writers in particular revel in these documents, for the simple reason that they may make themselves sole authority in accepting or rejecting portions of them, regardless of authentic documents already in existence; conforming them to their own hypotheses of the earlier history of Scotland.

These two Annals are exceptional in failing to record King Gregory's reign. This is the great argument advanced by Skene and a few others to throw discredit upon his reign and period. Had Skene weighed his evidence carefully, he could hardly have overlooked the point, here brought out in facsimile from his own work, that in the *Annals of Tighernac* the pages which should deal with this period are missing, as is proven by the last date recorded, 763, and the first date following, 975. It is hardly possible that there was a void in Scottish history during this period. Those pages are admittedly lost, but all other documents edited by this same authority, and accepted by all competent historians as authentic, uniformly record him as "sole king" and show no discrepancies in the dates of his reign.[1]

As a final argument, it may be mentioned that proper record is made of Macbeth, Lulach, and Malcolm, son of Duncan; the last of whom defeated the son of Lulach, Malsnechtan, as King of Scotland, after the deaths of Macbeth and Lulach. In all other documents those kings follow in regular order the reign

[1] *Cf. supra*, pp. 198, 199, list of documents mentioning King Greg.

of King Gregory, and their connection has been too frequently shown to need a repetition here.

As to the *Annals of Ulster*, such frequent mention is made of the father and grandfather of King Gregory, we should naturally conclude the omission of his name to be either intentional or a matter of carelessness in compilation. The agreement of the two manuscripts in many particulars is so noticeable as to suggest a close connection between the omission in the one manuscript and that in the other.

Since the above was written, the writer's views have been strengthened by the following passage in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Ed. of 1886, vol. xxi., p. 474):

> From these sources—especially from the Irish Annals, and in particular the Annals of Tighernac, who died in 1088, the Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach, who died in 1056, the Annals of Innisfallen, compiled in 1215, and of Ulster, compiled in 1498, but from older authorities—the dearth of proper Scottish material has been supplemented; *but this source of information has to be used with caution.*[1]

[1] Italics mine.

CHAPTER V

CHRONICA DE ORIGINE ANTIQUORUM PICTORUM, "THE PICTISH CHRONICLE, COLBERTINE"

History of the Document—Description by Innes—Translation of Important Footnote—Much Disputed Passage—Valuable to Greg Descendants—Skene's Version Contrasted with Innes—"Ku" and "Ru"—Kings of Strathclyde—Of the Scots—*Pictish Chronicle* at Variance with All Other Documents—Irish Version of *Pictish Chronicle*—Agreement with Other Chronicles.

I HAVE alluded to the fact that the controversy existing among the antiquarians of England, Scotland and Ireland has flooded the market with works on the subject, new ones being added yearly. In preceding chapters I have endeavoured to give an outline of the leading chronicles and histories of Scotland down to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including a few of later date, thus showing the generally accepted history of Scotland down to that period. At that time, however, the works of various anti-Celtic writers began to appear, with an apparent concerted movement among them to destroy the history of their country, written previous to the Scottish Reformation.

John Pinkerton, in *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, and George Chalmers, in *Caledonia*, may be called pioneers in this movement, their works appearing contemporaneously about 1814, though Chalmers wrote his first volume about 1797. They were followed by William F. Skene, 1837, with *Highlanders of Scotland;* in 1847, with *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis;* in 1872, with his version of *John of Fordun's Chronicle*, which forms Vol. I. of the *Historians of Scotland;* together with his *Coronation Stone*, 1869; *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 1867; and three volumes of *Celtic Scotland*, 1876, 1887 and 1890.

Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, compiled and edited by Skene, was published by the English Government at "H. M. Register House, Edinburgh."

These three authors, Pinkerton, Chalmers and Skene, may

thus be said to have commenced the modern crusade against the early history of Scotland which was written prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

With the exception of the "MS. of 1450,"[1] discovered by Skene in the Advocates' Library, and the document known as the "Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine," these writers have advanced no new facts nor have they produced any new documents upon which to base their theories. They have, however, taken the old chronicles, relied upon by previous writers,—the only authentic basis for a true history of the country,—and turned and twisted them in every possible way, drawing deductions and conclusions by means of their many "surmises" and "probabilities."

Some of the recent writers in the Encyclopedias have also apparently been misled by this modern anti-celtic school, as is evidenced by a comparison of the old and new editions. Others have elected to blindly follow, rather than investigate for themselves. These leaders have declined to credit such portions of the ancient documents as did not suit their purposes, using only those parts which were easily conformable to their own ambitions and personal views. They have been obliged to use the chronicles and histories of *Ninian*, *Adomnan*, *Bede*, *Nennius*, *John of Scotus*, *Marianus Scotus*, *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Huntingdon*, "*Four Masters*," *Fordun*, *Wyntown*, *Boece*, *Major*, *Hollinshead*, *Register of St. Andrews*, *Chronicle of Melrose*, *Breviary of Aberdeen*, *Lesly* and *Spottiswoode*, because they are still the leading authorities for the respective dates they treat. These modern writers have, in many cases, accused the above writers of prejudice, exaggeration, falsification and misrepresentation, regarding church history and the reigns of kings. They have repudiated as unsatisfactory those records emanating from the Bishopric of St. Andrews, and, while charging the writers of such documents with unduly magnifying and exalting the Church, have produced nothing in substitution.

"PICTISH CHRONICLE" AS PRINTED BY INNES

If the literature produced by the monks, priests, priors and abbots of ancient and medieval Scotland—the only writers

[1] Reviewed in Chapter ix.

and custodians of the archives of that early period—be rejected, we have no ancient or medieval history of Scotland; for after the withdrawal of the Roman armies in 410 A.D., the only records are those of the Church. Who has any right to reject parts of these and substitute for them their own surmises and arguments?

As the so-called "Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine," has been one of the weapons used by the modern writers to destroy a part of the previously accepted history of Scotland, I deem it important to give a history and analysis of this document, together with facsimiles from *The Critical Essay*, by Thomas Innes, who first brought this document into prominence in 1729. Innes himself says:

> This MS. belonged formerly to Secretary Cecil, Lord Burghley, afterwards Lord High Treasurer of England, and his name is upon it, written in his own hand. . . . Cecil's library being afterwards put to sale, this MS., with several others, was bought up by order of Mr. *Colbert*, Minister of State to the late King of France. . . . This MS. seems to be written about four hundred years ago; and contains some other pieces relating to *Scotland*, which will be found with this, in the appendix to this Essay. I am lately informed that the whole MS. library of Mr. *Colbert* is bought up by the King of *France* to be added to the Royal Library.[1]

Innes consulted the original, for he says:

> This *Chronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum* bears that title in great red letters in the MS. in which I found it. . . . Mr. *Colbert*, Minister of State to the late King of France, who employed, in making his rich collection of MSS., consisting of above eight thousand volumes, the famous *M. Baluze*, by whose means I came to the knowledge of this MS. and some other ancient pieces relating to Scotland.[2]

The *Pictish Chronicle* was divided by Innes into three well defined parts, two of which he believed authentic, by reason of their correspondence with other ancient documents he had examined; but the third part he pronounced incorrect, and, while he published it for the general information it contained, was very explicit in his condemnation as to its authenticity. As it will be well to read Innes's own statements, and to compare his views on the subject with those of Skene, facsimiles from each work follow. The views of Innes regarding "Part three" of the Chronicle are very clearly expressed in the facsimile from his work, on page 208. He further asserts:

[1] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., pp. 105–6.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 105–6.

Containing ſuch remains as we have of our ancient hiſtory, written before the year 1291.

IT is not to be wondered at, that the remains we have of our ancient hiſtory, written before the year 1291, are very few and lame; ſince, beſides the diſaſters which happened in king *Edward* I's time, our poſteriour writers, with a view to make up that loſs, having framed to themſelves, as will afterwards appear, new ſchemes of our hiſtory, very different from our more ancient writers, it could not be expected that great care would be taken of the remains of theſe ancient chronicles, that did not agree with theſe new draughts of our hiſtory: ſo at beſt, ſuch of our old chronicles, or other hiſtorical monuments, which had eſcaped the ſearches in king *Edward*'s time, lay in the obſcurity of ſome corner of the libraries of our churches and monaſteries, with many other valuable ancient monuments oft-times unknown to their poſſeſſors, till the zeal of our new reformers burnt down and deſtroyed the churches and abbeys, with their libraries, and all that they contained, which had been, till thoſe times, preſerved.

SOME of theſe, which I am here to account for, are remains of that kind; and though they are

are all very ſhort, yet being written before the year 1291, whilſt our old annals were as yet ſubſiſting, and ſo being extracted from, or conformable to them, they appear to be the ſureſt guides that we can follow in order to have a true account of the ancient part of our hiſtory. The few that I have met with of them will be printed in the appendix to this eſſay, with ſome other ſhort ancient pieces relating to *Scotland*; of all which I ſhall here give a ſhort account, beginning at theſe pieces which have been more than once already mentioned.

I. The firſt piece is a kind of deſcription of *Albany*, or of *Scotland*, on the north ſide of the *Friths* of *Cluyd* and *Forth*; it bears in the MS. this title: *De ſitu Albani quæ in ſe figuram hominis habet; quomodo fuit primitus in ſeptem regionibus diviſa; quibuſque nominibus antiquitus ſit vocata, & a quibus inhabitata.* This ſhort treatiſe was written about the twelfth age, as appears by the author's aſſuring us, that he had a part of his information from *Andrew*, biſhop of *Catneſs*, who, according to the chronicle of *Mailros*, died *A. D.* 1185.

I think that there is ground to believe, that the author of this deſcription was *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, for I remember to have obſerved ſomewhere in his works, that he promiſes to give a deſcription of *Albany*, or *Scotland*; and *Andrew* biſhop of *Catneſs* may have ſeen him in *England* in king *David* I's time, or in that of his grandchildren, king *Malcolm*,

Malcolm, or king *William*, for *Andrew* was already biſhop, *A. D.* 1150. (as appears by a writ of the church of *Glaſgo*) beſides this, ſeveral paſſages of this deſcription are to be found, word for word, in *Ralph Higden*'s *Polychronicon* (*a*), as being taken from a work of *Girald*'s, which it ſeems is now loſt; and the terms in which the author ſpeaks of biſhop (*b*) *Andrew*, and ſome other expreſſions in this piece prove, that the author of it was no *Scotſman*. *Camden*, in his laſt editions of the deſcription of *Scotland*, hath given an extract of this piece, having no doubt ſeen the MS. from whence I copied it, in the lord *Burghleigh*'s library. It is the ſame already (*c*) mentioned, which was bought up by order of M. *Colbert*, and is now, as I am informed, with the reſt of the *Colbertin* MSS. in the king's library at *Paris*. The three following pieces are in the ſame MS. which alſo contains ſome other pieces relating to the hiſtory of *Britain*.

II. The ſecond piece is intitled, in the MS. *Chronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum*. I have already (*d*) given an account of it; and have only to add, that there is prefixed to it a kind of preface, compoſed in part of paſſages of ſome *Britiſh* writers, and of *Iſidor* of *Seville*, which ſeems not to an-

(*a*) Polychron. edit. Reg. Gale, p. 185, 209.
(*b*) Andreas natione Scottus.
(*c*) Supra, p. 105.
(*d*) Ibid.

ſwer

ſwer the title of the piece in this preface, giving little or no true light into the origin of the *Picts*; and it is ſo incorrectly written, that it is hard enough to make ſenſe of ſome parts of it. What is truly valuable, is the body of the piece, being a chronicle, as it is called, or a catalogue of the ſeventy *Pictiſh* kings, from *Cruithne* to *Conſtantin*, with the reſt of them, down to the union of the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* kingdoms; and the laſt part of it, as it hath been already obſerved, is the exacteſt account of the ſucceſſion of the *Pictiſh* kings that is extant.

III. The third piece is an extract of an ancient hiſtory, or chronicle of eleven of the kings of *Scotland*, containing their ſucceſſion, and a ſhort account of their lives and chief actions from the ſubjection of the *Picts* by king *Keneth-Mac-Alpin*, till the reign of king *Keneth* III. ſon to *Malcolm* I. during the ſpace of about one hundred and thirty years. The only copy I have ſeen of this ſhort chronicle is taken from the ſame MS. as the former, whence alſo *Camden* hath quoted ſome paſſages. The hiſtory or chronicle, from whence it hath been extracted, appears evidently to have been originally written in the *Gælick* or *Iriſh* language; and the mention that it makes of the ſucceſſion and deaths of ſome kings of *Ireland*; as alſo ſome particulars that it contains, (ſuch as the confuſed manner in which it relates king *Gregory*'s reign) all this makes me doubt whether it be

be not rather an extract of *Scotiſh* matters, from ſome *Iriſh* chronicle, than from a *Scotiſh* one. The *Latin* verſion, ſuch as we have it in this only MS. is moſt barbarous, and every way imperfect, and written by an ignorant tranſcriber, that hath not known the *Latin* tongue; and by conſequence is ſo incorrect, that in ſome places no ſenſe can be made of it. However, the piece containing ſome particulars of the *Scotiſh* hiſtory, which are not to be met with in our common writers, and ſome remarkable paſſages, I ſhall give it, ſuch as it is, entire in the appendix (*a*).

It was from this abſtract that *Camden* had the famous paſſage, *In hujus* [Indulfi Regis] *tempore oppidum Eden evacuatum eſt, ac relictum eſt Scottis uſque in hodiernum diem.* This paſſage was quoted from *Camden* firſt by biſhop *Uſher*, and after them by ſome other *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* writers, to endeavour to prove, that the *Saxons* were in poſſeſſion of *Lothian* till king *Indulf*'s time, about the middle of the tenth age: but beſides that, we have an account from *Giraldus* (*b*) *Cambrenſis*, no friend to the *Scots*, and from other authors, (probably as ancient as this anonymous writer) of whom *Ranulfus Ceſtrenſis* gives us extracts in his *Polychronicon*, that king *Keneth Mac-Alpin*, about one hundred years before this, was maſter of all the territories from the *Friths* to the *Twede*; that he had

(*a*) Append. num. 3.
(*b*) Polychron. edit. Galas, p. 194, 209, 210.

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vanquiſhed the *Saxons* ſix times: this ſame anonymous piece informs us alſo, that king *Keneth* attacked the *Saxons* ſix times: that he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Maylros* and *Dunbar*; and relates other advantages that our kings, predeceſſors to *Indulf*, had over the *Saxons*: ſo the moſt that can be made of this paſſage is, that the town *Eden*, or *Edinburgh*, had been taken from the *Scots* after king *Keneth*'s time, and was rendered back to them in king *Indulf*'s time. And after all, we know nothing certain about the *Epoch*, nor of the authority of this extract.

I come now to give account of ſome other ancient pieces, which have immediate relation to the queſtion I am about to examine: they are written by *Scotiſh* authors, or rather extracted from our ancient *Scotiſh* annals before the year 1291, when, as our hiſtorians relate, moſt of theſe annals periſhed in king *Edward* I's time.

IV. The firſt, which is the fourth in the appendix, is intitled in the ſame MS. above-mentioned, *Cronica Regum Scottorum* cccxv. *annorum.* It contains the ſeries or names of our kings, with their lineal deſcent, and the years of their reigns, from king *Fergus* ſon of *Erc*, till king *William* in the twelfth age, in whoſe time it was written or extracted, as appears by its ending preciſely at the firſt year of his reign, and with his genealogy, which it carries up, as all the others of this kind do,

do, to *Noah*. This genealogical ſeries is entirely conformable to that which is contained in all our *Scotiſh* writers already (*a*) mentioned, before the new genealogy given by *Boece* appeared. From *Malcolm Keanmore*, down to king *William*, this gives ſome particulars of the lives of our kings, and of their children; and it gives ground to conjecture, that the author of it was a monk of *Maylroſs*, or had ſome relation to that abbey. The date of CCCXV. *annorum*, at the end of the title of this ſmall chronicle, ſeems to reſpect either the number of years, from the beginning of king *Fergus Mac Erch*, to the union of the *Pictiſh* and *Scotiſh* monarchy; or from this union to the firſt year of king *William*'s reign.

NUM. III.

Excerpta ex veteri Chronico de regibus Scotorum a Kenetho Mac-Alpin ad Mac-Malcolm.

Ex MS. Codice Colbertino. *V. supra, p.* 603.

1. KINADIUS igitur filius Alpin primus Scottorum rexit feliciter iſtam annis XVI Pictaviam. Pictavia autem a Pictis eſt nominata, quos, ut diximus Kinadius, delevit. Deus (*a*) enim eos, pro merito ſuæ malitiæ alienos ac otioſos hæreditate dignatus eſt facere: quia illi non ſolum Deum, miſſam ac præceptum ſpreverunt, ſed & in

(*a*) *Ad ea quæ hic habentur de declinante apud Pictos religionis zelo, tanquam præcipua excidii cauſa monarchiæ, ſpectare etiam videntur quæ de oppreſſa a Pictis libertate eccleſiaſtica, continet epitaphium Gregorii regis ad calcem chronici Maylroſſen & quæ de eodem rege habentur in Cod. MS. Bibl. Coton.* [Vitellius A. 24.] *& iiſdem verbis in extract. regiſtri S. Andreæ infra* n. 5. *Append. in* reg. 28. *his verbis. Hic* [Gregorius R.] *primus dedit libertatem eccleſiæ Scoticanæ, quæ ſub ſervitute erat uſque ad illud tempus ex conſuetudine Pictorum. Hi tamen abuſus videntur invaluiſſe apud Pictos ſub poſtremis duntaxat regibus, nam celebris erat pietas & devotio erga eccleſiam, regum Conſtantini & Hungi qui regnaverunt apud Pictos ineunte hoc ſæculo nono, vel labente octavo.*

jure

Translation of Note (a)

To those things which are set forth here with regard to the decline of religious zeal among the Picts, as the chief cause of the ruin of their monarchy, seem also to pertain to those things with regard to the crushing of the liberty of the church by the Picts, which are contained in the epitaph of King Gregory at the end of the chronicle of Maylrose, and those things are related with regard to the same king in the manuscript Codex of the Coton Library (Vitellius, A. 24), and in the same words in the extract from the register of St. Andrew below No. 5 of the Appendix, on the 28th king in these words: He [King Gregory] was the first to give liberty to the Scottish Church, which had been in servitude up to that time according to the custom of the Picts. Yet these abuses seem to have grown strong among the Picts only under the last kings; for the piety and devotion towards the Church of Kings Constantine and Hungus, who reigned among the Picts in the beginning of this ninth century or the close of the eighth, were celebrated.

3. CONSTANTINUS fil. Kinadi regnavit annis XVI. Primo ejus anno (*a*) Mael Sechnaill rex Hybernenſium obiit & Aed (*b*) fil. Niel tenuit regnum: & poſt duos annos vaſtavit (*c*) Amlaib cum gentibus ſuis Pictaviam & habitantes eam a kal. Januar. uſque ad feſtum S. Patricii. Tertio iterum anno Amlaib trahens cetum (*d*) (*ſic*) a Conſtantino occiſus eſt paulo poſt ab eo bello in XIV ejus facto in Dolair inter Danarios & Scottos: occiſi Scotti in Coach-cochlum (*ſic*): Normanni annum integrum degerunt in Pictavia.

4. EDUS tenuit idem uno anno. Ejus autem brevitas nil hiſtoriæ memoriæ commendavit: ſed in civitate nrurin (*e*) eſt occiſus.

5. (*f*) EOCHODIUS autem filius Ku (*ſic*) regis Britannorum nepos Kinadi ac fil. regn. an XI. Licet

(*a*) Mael-ſeacluin rex Hyberniæ, *Obiit A. D* 863. *ſucceſſit ei.*

(*b*) Aodh-finliath fil. Niel.

(*c*) *Hic eſt ille Anlaphus Danus de quo in ſcriptoribus Scotiæ, Angliæ & Hyberniæ.*

(*d*) F. cœtum, i.e. exercitum.

(*e*) F. Inruri.

(*f*) *Quæ hic habentur de ſucceſſore regis Edi ſive Æthi obſcura admodum ſunt & apud Scotos omnino inaudita: nuſquam enim mentio hujus Eochodii: & tam vetuſtorum excerpta annalium noſtrorum, quam catalogi veteres & omnes noſtri ſcriptores unanimi ſententia referunt Gregorum immediatè Æthо regi ſucceſſiſſe*

Licet *Giricium* (*a*) fil. alii dicunt hic regnaſſe eo quod alumpnus, ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat. Cujus ſecundo anno Aed fil. Niel moritur, ac in nono anno ipſo die cirici eclipſis ſolis facta eſt. Eochodius cum alumno ſuo expulſus eſt nunc de regno.

6. DONEVALDUS fil. Conſtantini tenuit regnum XI annis. Normanni tunc (*b*) vaſtaverun Pictaviam in hujus regno bellum fuit (*c*) *inuiſib collan* (*ſic*) inter Danarios & Scottos. Scotti habuerunt victoriam opidum (*d*) Fother occiſum eſt a gentibus (*ſic*).

7. CONSTANTINUS fil. Edii tenuit regnum XL annis: cujus tertio anno Normanni prædaverunt Duncalden omnemque Albaniam: in ſequenti utique anno Conſtantinus rex & (*e*) Kellachus epiſcopus leges, diſciplinaſque fidei, atque jura eccleſiarum, evangeliorumque pariter cum Scottis in

& celebrem fuiſſe ob victorias reportatas in Anglia, ſed præcipuè in Hybernia. An hanc ob cauſam ſcriptor hic rebus a Gregorio præclarè geſtis, obſcura hac & incondita narratione, detrahere voluerit, alii judicent. Videatur interea epitaphium ipſius ad calcem chronici Maylroſſenſis cum reliquis regum epitaphiis, editum, & quæ de eo narrantur in excerptis ex regiſtro S. Andreæ infra num. 5.

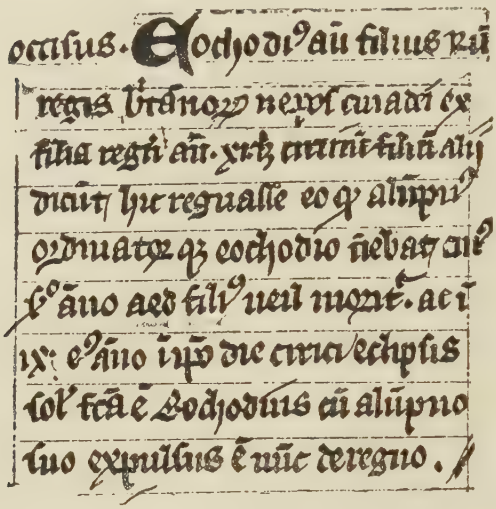
(*a*) F. Giric. Girgh. i. e. Grigor.

(*b*) t. MS.

(*c*) F. in urbe Cullen.

(*d*) L. Fones occiſus eſt.

(*e*) Kellach Epiſcopus S. Andreæ. *Vide quæ diximus ſupra, p.* 588, *de concilio Scotico ſub hoc rege Conſtantino & Kellacho epiſcopo.*



Transliteration

5. (f) Eochodius autem filius Ku (sic) regis Britannorum nepos Kinadi ac fil regn. an XI. Licet *Giricium* (a) fil. alii. dicunt hic regnasse eo quod alumpnus, ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat. Cujus secundo anno Aed fil. Niel moritur, ac in nono anno ipso die cirici eclipsis solis facta est. Eochodius cum alumno expulsus est nunc de regno. [(a) Giric. Girgh. *i.e.* Grigor.]

Translation

5. (f) But Eochodius, son of Ku (sic) king of the Britons, a grandson of Kenneth through his daughter, reigned eleven years. Though others say that Giric his son reigned at this time, because he was made a ward and administrator to Eochodius. And in his second year Aed the son of Niel died, and in the ninth year on the very day of Ciric an eclipse of the sun took place. Eochodius with his ward was now expelled from the kingdom.

One of the most important passages in the above translation by Innes is his footnote (f), which has never been mentioned or translated by authors dealing with the subject. This important footnote was even omitted in George Grub's "reprint" of Innes, and since it throws much valuable light on the subject, and clearly indicates Innes's opinion as to the above passage from the *Pictish Chronicle*, it is reproduced here, both in the original Latin and in a translation from Innes's original:

(f) *Quæ hic habentur de ſucceſſore regis Edi ſive Æthi obſcura admodum ſunt & apud Scotos omnino inaudita: nuſquam enim mentio hujus Eochodii: & tam vetuſtorum excerpta annalium noſtrorum, quam catalogi veteres & omnes noſtri ſcriptores unanimi ſententia referunt Gregorum immediatè Ætho regi ſucceſſiſſe & celebrem fuiſſe ob victorias reportatas in Anglia, ſed præcipuè in Hybernia. An hanc ob cauſam ſcriptor hic rebus a Gregorio præclarè geſtis, obſcura hac & incondita narratione, detrahere voluerit, alii judicent. Videatur interea epitaphium ipſius ad calcem chronici Maylroſſenſis cum reliquis regum epitaphiis, editum, & quæ de eo narrantur in excerptis ex regiſtro S. Andreæ infra num. 5.*

(a) F. Giric. Girgh. i. e. Grigor

Translation

Those things, which are stated here with regard to the successor of King Ed or Aeth, are very obscure and altogether unheard of among the Scots, for nowhere is there mention of this Eochodius; and as well the extracts from our old annals as the old catalogues and all our writers unanimously relate that Gregory immediately succeeded King Aeth and that he was celebrated on account of the victories which he had gained in England, and especially in Ireland. Whether for this reason this writer wished, by the obscure and confused narrative, to detract from the glorious deed of Gregory, let others judge. In the meantime, his epitaph may be seen at the end of the chronicle of Maylrose with the other epitaphs of kings, and those things which are related of him may be seen in the extracts from the Register of St. Andrews.[1]

Upon this one paragraph in the *Pictish Chronicle* rests the whole modern interpretation of the reign of King Gregory. Innes was uncertain about this passage, and did not know who *Ku* was, since he had found no account of him in any previous documents or chronicles extant. For this reason he indicated this uncertainty with the word *sic*, followed by his explanatory footnote. Skene, however, was undaunted in his determination to place a Briton on the throne of Scotland in the ninth century, and the uncertainty of this passage gave him his opportunity. It is somewhat strange that all subsequent writers have passed over this passage,[2] with no indication of the uncertainty of Innes, and with the result that the father of Eochodius has assumed many names. To the unbiased mind, however, nothing

[1] Cf. facsimiles on p. 146 of the *Cronicon Elegiacum* and on p. 279 of *Wyntowns' Chronicle*.

[2] I have never found a translation of this important footnote from Innes.

is certain except that in no other document known is there any record of Eochodius or his father.

SKENE'S VERSION OF THE PICTISH CHRONICLE CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF INNES

The first place, both in point of time and importance, is given by Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, to the *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine*. In fact, it is the only document which he considered of sufficient importance to reproduce in facsimile. If his prefatory description of the Chronicle is any evidence of the assurance Skene had as to its correctness, the present writer has misinterpreted his meaning. The frequency with which he used the words, "he *appears* to have transcribed it from another MS. and *not always correctly*," "these pieces *seem* to have been known to Ranulph Higden," "all three pieces are *evidently* compiled from different sources, but there *appears* to be something omitted," immediately convey to one the impression that Skene was compelled to do some guessing as to the real origin and authenticity of the document. The following facsimiles from Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* are self-explanatory:

X. century. The Pictish Chronicle.

1. THE PICTISH CHRONICLE.—The first piece, both in point of time and of importance, is that usually known by the name of the "Pictish Chronicle." It has already been printed, both by Innes and by Pinkerton; but a more correct text is now given, with a facsimile of the entire chronicle as it appears in the Colbertine MS., from which it has been printed. This MS. is of the fourteenth century, and has evidently been transcribed at York, by Robert de Populton, as there appears in folio 211, "Ora pro Popilton qui me compilavit "Eboraci," and again at folios 213 and 262, "Ora "pro fratre Roberto de Populton."[1] He appears to have transcribed it from another MS., and not always correctly.[2] It contains five pieces relating to the early history of Scotland, all of which are printed in this collection; and these pieces seem to have been known to Ranulph Higden, as he quotes from them in his "Polichronicon," while the preface, and a great part of his chronicle, down to the reign of Edward the Third, is contained in this MS., the last year mentioned being the year 1316.

[1] On 19th May 1334 the Archbishop of York mentions "William de Populton seneschal of "our hospice."

[2] At page 6, line 35, he has "Nectonius *in vita julie manens*," which has no meaning, and has probably been incorrectly copied. On referring to the facsimile, a line seems to be omitted, the one ending with *m*, and the next beginning with *nens*.

At page 9, line 5, he has "*Ciri-*"*cium filium*," omitting the name of the father, which, from the Irish editions, appears to have been *Dungal*.

The Pictish Chronicle, which is the most important piece in this MS., consists of three parts: first, a preface, containing passages extracted and adapted from the "Origines" of Isidore of Seville; secondly, a list of Pictish kings, from Cruithne, the *eponymus* of the race, to Bred, the last king; and, thirdly, a chronicle of the kings from Kenneth Macalpin to Kenneth, son of Malcolm, with the leading events under each reign. Innes, however, was mistaken in supposing that this latter appears in the Colbertine MS. as a separate chronicle. All three pieces are evidently transcribed as one chronicle, though possibly compiled from different sources; but there appears to be something omitted between the second and third division of the chronicle, as, in giving the events under the reign of Kenneth Macalpin, the expression occurs in the latter, "Pictavia autem a Pictis est "nominata quos *ut diximus* Cinadius delevit," while there is no mention of the destruction of the Picts in the previous part of the chronicle.

Quindecim filii erimge qui pic
torum hiberniam in hac insula.c.
annis regnauerunt. Vnus filius ha
buit hec sunt nomina eorum. fib.
fiuach. floclaid. foztrenn. Got
fearann. Curnu. xx. regn. fiuach
xl. foztrenn. lxx. floclaid. xxx.
Got xij. Le. xv. fibaid xxvij.
Gedelgudach. lxxx. denbecan. c.
olfinecta. lx Gudnogaed breccha
ch. l. Gelgurach. xl. Wurgest
xxx. Brudo mit aq xxx. bru
de regnauimus hibniam preallnam
per centum. l. annos quacum. xl. vina
nus regum. i. bzute print. b. urpurt
b. leab. leo. b. nleo. b. gant. b
urgant. b gnech. b urgnuch. b
fear. b urfear. b cal. b. urcal. b
dunt. b urtunt. b fech. b urfech. b
ru. Leru. b gart/urgart. b aiud
Bureud. Bnup. b urnup. b gnid
b urgnid. b nuid/b urnuid.

Gigidu. c. l. ann regni thamam
c. agoleo. xv. decalmuo
xl. annoid thus arois. vij. deo
oz. d. l. fneidbluach. v. decortic. fi
dui. xl vlconbuil. xxx carnorth
xl. deo arcuois. xx. vilt. l. xii. c
Garnauhioc a quo garnuant. nu
regnauerunt. i. a. reg. Brech fili
buchnit. vii virig uamet. xxx
ann reg. canutulachama. iij. ann.
reg. Wradechuedla. ii ann regni.
Garnuachdinbert. lx ann reg. Ga
loze fili achyuir. lxxv ann regni
druist fili erp. c. ann reg. &c. bella
per gig. ix decimo anno regni eius
pactus est scs adhibniam pueri
in hiam. Galoze fili anuel. iij. ann reg.
Electo mozbet filii erp xxiii.
reg. octauo anno regni eius dar
lisdach allanalla alle tanaste hi
ma exulat. p̄ ad brāniā scō
anno aduentus anno sinimolaii
Electonius aburnechuige deo
fē hyigde p̄leute dauhigtach
q̄ cānauit/ alla lup istā hoiua

Optulit q̄ nectonius mag
nus filius Wurp rex oim
pictorum apurnechuige
fē hyigde nis ad die indraig ci
ui suis similz q̄ pbite ih alapide
i apurfeurt nis ad lapidē nyr
cehtuill. i. lechtoll p̄ ite i altu
nis ad athan cauta aū olaois
hec est. Electris i nita uiue n
nens fē suo druisto expulsate
se nis ad hibniā bzigitā scam
petunt/ uir pstinallet deū p se
Gnās a p̄ illo dixit. sup nēes
ad patam tuā dne miserebit
tin regnū pictorū i pace possideb
rest Gurchinmo ch. xxx
tiū regū. Galauau/ eulach
xij. aū reg. Gadreist. i. dreist fili
gyrom. i. dreist fili Wdrost. v.
aū. g regū. dreit fili guroni fil
v. aū. reg. Garthuach fili guroni
vij. aū. reg Galtram fili guroni
vno anno reg. Galorg fili aynr
cholaich. xv. aū reg. dreit fili
aymart/ vno anno reg. Galam
cennaleph. vno anno reg. aū bn
duo. i. anno bridei fili aailoo
xxx am. reg. In octauo anno reg

eius baptizatus est/ acolūba
Cartmarn.f' Conuelch.xv. aū reg'
Hectu neqs nerd.xx.aū.reg'
Cuitech.filius Lutū.xix.aū.reg'
Canard.filius Vrid.iii.aū reg'
Breiu.filius Vrid.v.aū reg' Ca
loze fi' eoz.xij.aū reg'. Talorge
filius Entret.iij.aū reg'. Cartnait
fil' Conuel.vi.aū reg'. & Dūn
dū Dreist fi' e'.vij.aū reg'. Bre
de filius Vili.xxi.aū reg'. Ta
ē Entafidech.iij.aū reg'. Brete
fi' Derele.xi.aū reg'. Hecthō f'
Derele.xv.a' reg'. Dreist & Elpin
cōgaill.v.a'. Dunnat fi'
Virguist.xxx.reg'. Brete filius
Virguist.ii.aū.reg'. Dnuo.f'
Vrtech.xij.aū.reg'. Elpin fi'
Vrid.iij.aū.reg'. & Dnuadū
Dreist fi' Talorgen.iij. l'.v.aū
reg'. Talorgen fi' Onuist.ii.a'.
Dnuadū reg'. Canaul.filius Tarla
v.a'. reg'. Eastantin.fi' Virguist
xxx.v.a' reg'. Onuist.fi' Virguist
xij.a'.reg'. Dreist fi' Girgum & Ta
lorgen fi' Vrhoil.iii.aū a' Gorga
nūg.huen.f' v. nuist.iij.a'.
reg'. Vrad.f' Bargoit/ au & Bred
vno āno reg'.

Kinadius g' filius Alpin
primus Scottor' regnt
felicit' istā annis xvi. pictaniā
Pictania a' Apictis est nōia
ta qs utq' dicimus ei uadē dele
uit/ ds ei eos prius to sue ma
iuc alienos ac octulos ipedi
tate dignatus est/ fatē q' ille nō
solū dīn nullā ac' p'cep tī sp'uetic
ri/ sed nimie equitatis alijs eq' pat'
uoluerit/. Ita ū breuimo ātegē ne
uiret/ pictauiā talcriete regnū
suscepit/ septimo a' regni sui re
gnas tā colūbe trāsportanet/ ad
ecclām. q' struxit/ & inalijs sexes
saxoīaū & q'emadmodū/ dimicare
atq' uarios/ usurpata bellā a'
cōcremandis/ dubliau atq' cana
ri ualta ānis/ pictamā ad duanan
& dnucalden. cyoxni & rādē tumoge
aū. id' feb. fīē.iij. īpalatō fochnū
rabaicht/. Dunchaldus fi' o' remurt/
dē regnū.iij. āuis Julius rēpe
rima ac legis regni edi tūs ecclā
fecerit/ goedelū cū regē suo fochni
tha bach. Obiit īpalatō ainn bela
choir id' apl'. Costātin' filius ei
uadi regnauit ānos .xvi. primo
d' āno eiusdē lechnaill rex hibn
ensiū obiit/ & ned. fi' mel remurt/
regnū ac post duos annos nulla
nis/ amlaib cū gentibz suis pic
tauiam/ & hi tau' cā ap'l' januar'
ius ad festū sā patris/ cō regnū
āno amlaib trahēs cētū. a gustāno
oculus ē paulo p' alveo bello m
xiij. e' cō ī dolair īr' danaos &
scottos occisi filij scoti/ co achy cochlā
noznāui annī ī regnū regerūt/ ī
pictauia. Eodus remuit dem. i.
āno eu. eas b'itas. l'alnorie memo
q'uētaut/ q' īcalitate inuenū e'
oculus. Eochodi' aū filius rū

regis Britanor

regis Brannoy nepos cuadri ex
filia regis ann. xxb cenmir filia ally
diait hic regnalle eo q aliqui
ordinatoe qz eochodio uebas cui
p ano aed fili neil mort. ac i
ix. e ano ipo die cirra echplis
sol fca e eochodius cu aliquo
suo expulsus e nuc de regno.

Domnualdus fili ystachani regni
regni .xi anos. nomnauit e mal
tauit pictauia i hy regno bellu
et tm multifoli au rd cauaroc
alcottos scotta halnert uictoria
optu fodzer occisu e agetilz.

Ostacin filius eth regni
regni .xl. anos e tco ano nor
mau pzailit duncaldu om
ne qz allmua i lege a utqz ano
occisus i straith heau nomau
ac i.vi.a. ystachin rex a cellach
que leges disciplinaqz fidei atqz
mus eccaz euangeliorqz pie cu
scottis i colle credulitatis que
igalu cauraru sceau deuoiunt
custodiat tib hy die coll hy mart
nomne .i. coll domnatus ac filio
octauo ano ceadit excelallm
rex hibernensiu + authiest apd
laugnedoy .i. conmace fili ailel
nan + mortui sunt i regne hy domn
nualdo rege brannoz + dunenaldo
filio ede rege elig. + flann fili ma
elsech naill + naill fi ede q regn
nauit xiz anos p flann + e ivl

lii tunc mortc factu est i.xviii.
ano ir collatanii + regnall scotta
halnert victoria + bellu dun
bzunde .i. xxx.mi. et ano ii
ceadit filius ystachani + post
uiii auui mortui e. dubucan
+ mdzechtaig mozmaer oen
gusa adallta. + adnarug sapa
eochaid. + alpui mortui sunt
et senescante decimo baculi ac
p + dno hunii + regnii ma
nus mael sinu domnaill.

Maelcolaim + domnaill. xl.
ann. hy. qui exercitu sno mael
colam pexit nimqeb occid
celach i vi ano regni sui p ma
nus anglos ad annu thelis +
nullatudiem rapuit homa
nifica armata prop pratu
nocatur scotice pdi albidoroy
de nemmdsi alis a dicit q
stanum scalle hanc pdi spes
aregse .i. maelcolamu regnu
dari s ad tep debomadis ut
militarez anglos. uii tu no
maelcolam sceat pdi iz i sanga
nu eu ystachanu ut dixi. ayzau
+ a ystachanu i.x. eius ano sub
ayona prumtu i senescatie bo
to cadit nisi namoerne mal
colai i todzelach .i. i dalaedom
Idulfus tenuit reg. vii. anis
t hy tep opidu edeu uastatu e
ac rehedi e scottas usz i hodiernu die

dalli sonar lxxiiop occisi f
nibuchan. xlvg filio maelco
lai reg. v. annis fodiach cui in
fama ire igne camalli si oz
tis crip iquo mg habuit mc
ronan ubi ecclesiam duchad
albas dunecaldenn dubdousa
epus atho ch lach expulsus
nig de regno xtenuit cau
au bin tepe tounal f camill
mortu e. Eulen rig. v. a. ig
martan f. lxxo dalaig occisus
est i ecclia ci muchael. leoi x
clnagadach exiens ad roma
maelbrigd epc xanctam. cel
lach. f tertalaig regnau maa
el lxxgd. f dubtan obiit. cu
len xtis f eochodo occisi sunt
ab comlx. Cuadi filio mael
colanu reg aū. stati ptrau
ptauia exparte xpestines a
nadu occisi sunt in maxima cde
inuoru uacornai scotti pcta
runt sacoma ad stamon xad
duna xad stangna terrau. Li
nadu a uallauic usas natzo
fortiu p anni prexit anadu
xptauit saconiam xtra
duyn filiu regis sacoz h e
qui tbuit magna aultate
lxxchne dño Cronica regū
scottoz. ccc. xliij. annoz

Fergus filius ene rex fuit
primus q ecclesiastice cho
nare suscepit regnū albani

q. annos duallan usq admar
hlvnie xad medegral iste regnau
nis. annus. Domangart fr. v. a.
Loigel filius tomagrat. xxx. m.
Gouerā fr oggel. xxij. a
Loual fr oggel. xiij. a
Eadan fr Gouerau xxxiij. a
Eochid flau fr eadan. xvj. a.
runat smuit filius coual. nj. mesibz
ferdar filius cui xvi annis.
donenald natus filius eochid. xiij.
fergar longus. xxi.
Eochal hūis airnui nasū. f do
negarth filius conenal nanis. m.
drunchellac. f ferchar logu. i. a.
Eugen f ferchar logu. xvij.
murechat f arnuchellac. nj. a.
Eugen fr murcertach nj.
E. dallz f eochal airnī nasi. xxx
fergus f hetalbi. nj.
Seluach filius eogan. xxiij.
fochal uenenosus. f etalbi. xxx
dunegal. f Seluach vij.
alpin. f eochal uenenosi nj.
Kined f alpini pm rex scotoz. xvj.
Eoltual f alpini nj.
Eoltanu f kinet xx.
hed f kinet. i. an
Eng f dunegal. xij.
dunenal f gstat. xi.
Eoltanu f hed xxv.
malcolm f dunenald iv.
Judlf f gstat ix.
dunc f malcolm. nij a. xvj. milz
Eulen f dunc. nij. a. xl. milz.

Is not "Grig filius Dunegal" sufficiently recorded in the preceding line of kings to which Kenneth MacAlpin belonged? His grandfather, "Seluach filius Eogan," is given a reign of twenty-four years; his father, "Dunegal filius Seluach," is likewise clearly recorded as having a reign of seven years, while Grig, or Gregory, is said to have reigned twelve. These records are in agreement with the many others from which facsimiles have been made in the preceding pages of the present volume.

In addition to the preceding facsimiles from the original manuscript, included in the Colbertine collection in the King's Library, Paris, facsimiles are given below of the transliteration of the document as found in Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, beginning "Picti propria lingua nomen," being passages from British writers and from Isidore of Seville. Innes considered the list of Pictish kings, beginning with *Cruithne* to *Kinadius*, or Kenneth MacAlpin, the "exactest account of the succession of the Pictish kings that is extant."

A review of Innes's account, as contained in the facsimiles on pages 205–252, taken in connection with the facsimiles which are given in the following pages, taken from Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, will enable one to clearly understand the difference in the treatment of the same matter by the two authors:

THE PICTISH CHRONICLE, DCCCCLXXI.-DCCCCXCV.

MS. COLB. BIB. IMP. PARIS, 4126.

CRONICA DE ORIGINE ANTIQUORUM PICTORUM.

PICTI propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore; eo quod, aculeis ferreis cum atramento, variarum figurarum stingmate annotantur. Scotti qui nunc corrupte vocantur Hibernienses quasi Sciti, quia a Scithia regione venerunt, et inde originem duxerunt; siue a Scotta filia Pharaonis regis Egypti, que fuit ut fertur regina Scottorum. Sciendum vero est quod Britones in tertia mundi etate ad Britanniam venerunt. Scite autem, id est, Scotti, in quarta etate Scociam, siue Hiberniam obtinuerunt. Gentes Scitie albo crine nascuntur ab assiduis nivibus; et ipsius capilli color genti nomen dedit, et inde dicuntur Albani: de quibus originem duxerunt Scoti et Picti. Horum glauca oculis, id est, picta inest pupilla, adeo ut nocte plusquam die cernant. Albani autem vicini Amazonibus fuerunt. Gothi a Magog filio Japheth nominati putantur, de similitudine ultime sillabe; quos veteres Greci magis Gethas, quam Gothos, vocaverunt. Gens fortis et poten tissima, corporum mole ardua, armorum genere terribilis. De quibus Lucanus, Fol. 27. recto.

Hinc Dacus premat, inde Gethi incurrant Hiberis.

Daci autem Gottorum soboles fuerunt: et dictos putant Dacos quasi Dagos, quia de Gottorum stirpe creati sunt: de quibus ille,

Ibis arcos procul usque Dacos.

Scithe et Gothi a Magog originem traxerunt. Scithia, quoque et Gothia, ab eodem Magog filio Japhet fertur cong-

nominata: cujus terra olim ingens fuit; nam ab oriente Indie, a septentrione, per paludes Meotidas, inter Danubium et oceanum, usque ad Germanie fines porrigebatur. Postea minor effecta est a dextra orientis parte qui oceanus Siritus conditur, usque ad mare Caspium, quod est ad occasum. De hinc a meridie usque ad Caucasi jugum deducta est; cui subjacet Hircania ab occasu: habens pariter gentes multas, propter terrarum infecunditatem, late vagantes, ex quibus quedam agros incolunt; quedam portentuose ac truces, carnibus humanis, et eorum sanguine, vivunt. Scithie plures terre sunt locupletes, inhabitabiles tum plures. Namque in plerisque locis auro et gemmis affluant; griphorum immanitate accessus hominum rarus est. Smaragdis autem optimis hec patria est. Cianeus quoque lapis, et cristallus purissimus Scithie est. Habent et flumina magna, Oscorim, Fasidem, et Araxen. Prima Europe regio Scithia inferiorum, que e Meotidis paludibus incipiens inter Danubium et oceanum septentrionalem, usque ad Germaniam porrigitur: que terra generaliter propter barbaras gentes quibus inhabitata barbarica dicitur. Hujus pars prima Alania est, que ad Meotidas paludes pertingit. Post hanc Dacia, ubi et Gothia. Deinde Germania, ubi plurimam partem Suevi incoluerunt. In partes Asiatice Scithie sunt gentes que posteros se Jasonis credunt: albo crine nascuntur ab assiduis nivibus. De his ista sufficiunt.

Cruidne filius Cinge, pater Pictorum habitantium in hac insula, c. annis regnavit.

Vij. filios habuit. Hec sunt nomina eorum: Fib, Fidach, Floclaid, Fortrenn, Got, Ce, Circinn.

Circin lx. regnavit.

Fidaich xl.

Fortrenn lxx.

Floclaid xxx.

Got xij.

Ce xv.

Fibaid xxiiij.

Gede olgudach lxxx.
Denbecan c.
Olfinecta lx.
Guidid gaed brechach l.
Gest gurcich xl.
Wurgest xxx.

Brude bont, a quo xxx. Brude regnaverunt Hiberniam et Albaniam per centum l. annorum spacium, xlviij. annis regnavit. Id est
Brude pant.
Brude urpant.
Brude leo.
Brude uleo.
Brude gant.
Brude urgant.
Brude gnith.
Brude urgnith.
Brude fecir.
Brude urfecir.
Brude cal.
Brude urcal.
Brude cint.
Brude urcint.
Brude fet.
Brude urfet.
Brude ru.
Brude eru.
Brude gart et urgart.
Brude cinid.
Brude urcnid.
Brude uip.
Brude uruip.
Brude grid.
Brude urgrid.
Brude mund.
Brude urmund.

Gilgidi c. l. annis regnavit.

Tharain c.
Morleo xv.
Deocilunon xl.
Cimoiod filius Arcois vij.
Deoord l.
Bliesblituth v.
Dectotr'ic frater Diu xl.
Usconbuts xxx.
Carvorst xl.
Deo ardivois xx.
Vist l.
Ru c.

Gartnaith loc, a quo Garnart iiij. regnavere, ix. annis regnavit.

Breth filius Buthut vij.
Vipoig namet xxx. annis regnavit.
Canutulachama iiij. annis regnavit.
Wradech uecla ii. annis regnavit.
Gartnaich diuberr lx. annis regnavit.
Talore filius Achivir lxxv. annis regnavit.

Drust filius Erp c. annis regnavit et c. bella peregit; ix decimo anno regni ejus Patricius episcopus sanctus ad Hiberniam pervenit insulam.

Talore filius Aniel iiij. annis regnavit.

Necton morbet filius Erip xxiiij. regnavit. Tertio anno regni ejus Darlugdach abbatissa Cilledara de Hibernia exulat pro Christo ad Britanniam. Secundo anno adventus sui immolavit Nectonius Aburnethige Deo et Sancte Brigide presente Dairlugdach que cantavit alleluia super istam hostiam.

Optulit igitur Nectonius magnus filius Wirp, rex omnium provinciarum Pictorum, Apurnethige Sancte Brigide, usque ad diem judicii, cum suis finibus, que posite sunt a lapide in Apurfeirt usque ad lapidem juxta Ceirfuill, id est, Lethfoss, et inde in altum usque ad Athan. Causa autem oblationis hec est. Nectonius in vita julie manens fratre suo Drusto expulsante se usque ad Hiberniam Brigidam sanctam petivit

ut postulasset Deum pro se. Orans autem pro illo dixit: Si pervenies ad patriam tuam Dominus miserebitur tui; regnum Pictorum in pace possidebis.

Drest Gurthinmoch xxx. annis regnavit.
Galanan erilich xij. annis regnavit.
Da Drest, id est, Drest filius Gyrom, id est, Drest filius Wdrost v. annis conregnaverunt. Drest filius Girom solus v. annis regnavit.
Garthnach filius Girom vij. annis regnavit.
Cailtram filius Girom uno anno regnavit.
Talorg filius Muircholaich xi. annis regnavit.
Drest filius Munait uno anno regnavit.
Galam cennaleph uno anno regnavit.
Cum Briduo i. anno.
Bridei filius Mailcon xxx. annis regnavit. In octavo anno regni ejus baptizatus est sancto a Columba.
Gartnart filius Domelch xi. annis regnavit.
Nectu nepos Uerd xx. annis regnavit.
Cinioch filius Lutrin xix. annis regnavit.
Garnard filius Wid iiij. annis regnavit.
Breidei filius Wid v. annis regnavit.
Talore frater eorum xii. annis regnavit.
Tallorcen filius Enfret iiij. annis regnavit.
Gartnait filius Donnel vj. annis regnavit et dimidium.
Drest frater ejus vij. annis regnavit.
Bredei filius Bili xxi. annis regnavit.
Taran filius Entifidich iiij. annis regnavit.
Bredei filius Derelei xi. annis regnavit.
Necthon filius Derelei xv. annis regnavit.
Drest et Elpin congregaverunt v. annis.
Onnist filius Urguist xxx. regnavit.
Bredei filius Wirguist ij. annis regnavit.
Ciniod filius Wredech xij. annis regnavit.
Elpin filius Wroid iij. annis regnavit et dimidium.
Drest filius Talorgen iiij. vel v. annis regnavit.
Talorgen filius Onnist ij. annis et dimidium regnavit.
Canaul filius Tarl'a v. annis regnavit.

Castantin filius Wrguist xxxv. annis regnavit.
Unuist filius Wrguist xij. annis regnavit.
Drest filius Constantini, et Talorgen filius Wthoil iij annis conregnaverunt.
Uven filius Vnuist iij. annis regnavit.
Wrad filius Bargoit iii. et,
Bred uno anno regnaverunt.

Kinadius igitur filius Alpini, primus Scottorum, rexit feliciter istam annis xvi. Pictaviam. Pictavia autem a Pictis est nominata; quos, ut diximus, Cinadius delevit. Deus enim eos pro merito sue malitie alienos ac otiosos hereditate dignatus est facere: quia illi non solum Domini missam ac preceptum spreverunt; sed et in jure equitatis aliis equi parari noluerunt. Iste vero, biennio antequam veniret Pictaviam, Dalriete regnum suscepit. Septimo anno regni sui, reliquias Sancti Columbe transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit, et invasit sexies Saxoniam.; et concremavit Dunbarre atque Marlos usurpata. Britanni autem concremaverunt Dubblain, atque Danari vastaverunt Pictaviam, ad Cluanan et Duncalden. Mortuus est tandem tumore ani, idus Februarii feria tertia in palacio Fothuirtabaicht.

Dunevaldus, frater ejus, tenuit idem regnum iiii. annis. In hujus tempore, jura ac leges regni Edi filii Ecdach fecerunt Goedeli cum rege suo in Fothiurthabaicth. Obiit in palacio Cinn Belachoir idus Aprilis.

Constantinus filius Cinadi regnavit annis xvi. Primo ejus anno Maelsechnaill rex Hibernensium obiit; et Aed filius Niel tenuit regnum; ac post duos annos vastavit Amlaib, cum gentibus suis, Pictaviam, et habitauit eam, a kalendis Januarii usque ad festum Sancti Patricii. Tertio iterum anno Amlaib, trahens centum, a Constantino occisus est. Paulo post ab eo bello in xiiij. ejus facto in Dolair inter Danarios et Scottos, occisi sunt Scoti co Achcochlam. Normanni annum integrum degerunt in Pictavia.

Edus tenuit idem i. anno. Ejus etiam brevitas nil historie memorabile commendavit; sed in civitate Nrurim est occisus.

Eochodius autem filius Run regis Britannorum, nepos Cinadei ex filia, regnavit annis xi. Licet Ciricium filium alii dicunt hic regnasse; eo quod alumpnus ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat. Cujus secundo anno Aed filius Neil moritur; ac in ix. ejus anno, in ipso die Cirici, eclipsis solis facta est. Eochodius, cum alumpno suo, expulsus est nunc de regno.

Donivaldus filius Constantini tenuit regnum xi. annos. Normanni tunc vastaverunt Pictaviam. In hujus regno bellum est factum Innisibsolian, inter Danarios et Scottos: Scotti habuerunt victoriam. Opidum Fother occisum est a gentibus.

Constantinus filius Edii tenuit regnum xl. annos. Cujus tertio anno Normanni predaverunt Duncalden, omnemque Albaniam. In sequenti utique anno occisi sunt in Sraith-h'erni Normanni, ac in vi. anno Constantinus rex, et Cellachus episcopus, leges disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum ewangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis in colle credulitatis, prope regali civitati Scoan devoverunt custodiri. Ab hoc die collis hoc meruit nomen, id est, collis credulitatis. Et in suo octavo anno cecidit excelsissimus rex Hibernensium et archiepiscopus, apud Laignechos, id est, Cormace filius Culennan. Et mortui sunt in tempore hujus, Doneualdus rex Britannorum, et Duuenaldus filius Ede rex eligitur; et Flann filius Maelsethnaill, et Niall filius Ede, qui regnavit tribus annis post Flann, etc. Bellum Tinemore factum est in xviii. anno inter Constantinum et Regnall, et Scotti habuerunt victoriam. Et bellum Duinbrunde in xxxiiij. ejus anno ubi cecidit filius Constantini. Et post unum annum mortuus est Dubucan filius Indrechtaig, mormair Oengusa. Adalstan filius Advar rig Saxan, et Eochaid filius Alpini, mortui sunt. Et in senectute decrepitus baculum cepit, et Domino servivit: et regnum mandavit Mael filio Domnail.

Maelcolaim filius Domnaill xi. annis regnavit. Cum exercitu suo Maelcolaim perrexit in Moreb, et occidit Cellach. In vii° anno regni sui predavit Anglicos ad amnem Thesis, et multitudinem rapuit hominum, et multa armenta pecorum: quam predam vocaverunt Scotti predam Albidosorum idem Nainndisi. Alii autem dicunt Constantinum fecisse hanc predam querens a rege, id est, Maelcolaim, regnum dari sibi ad tempus hebdomadis, ut visitaret Anglicos. Verum tamen non Maelcolam fecit predam, sed instigavit eum Constantinus, ut dixi. Mortuus est autem Constantinus in x. ejus anno sub corona penitenti in senectute bona. Et occiderunt viri na Moerne Malcolaim in Fodresach id est in Claideom.

Indulfus tenuit regnum viii. annis. In hujus tempore oppidum Eden vacuatum est, ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem. Classi Somarlidiorum occisi sunt in Buchain.

Niger filius Maelcolaim regnavit v. annis. Fothach episcopus pausavit. [Bellum] inter Nigerum [et] Caniculum super Dorsum Crup, in quo Niger habuit victoriam: ubi cecidit Duchad. abbas Duncalden et Dubdon satrapas Athochlach. Expulsus [est] Niger de regno, et tenuit Caniculus brevi tempore. Domnal filius Cairill mortuus est.

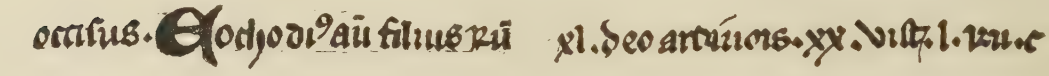
Culenring v. annis regnavit. Marcan filius Breodalaig occisus est in ecclesia Sancti Michaelis. Leot et Sluagadach exierunt ad Romam. Maelbrigde episcopus pausavit. Cellach filius Ferdalaig regnavit. Maelbrigde filius Dubican obiit. Culen et frater ejus Eochodius occisi sunt a Britonibus.

Cinadius filius Maelcolaim regnavit annis. Statim predavit Britanniam ex parte. Pedestres Cinadi occisi sunt maxima cede in Moin Vacornar. Scotti predaverunt Saxoniam ad Stanmoir, et ad Cluiam, et ad Stangna Dera'm. Cinadius autem vallavit ripas vadorum Forthin. Post annum perrexit Cinadius, et predavit Saxoniam, et traduxit filium regis Saxonum. Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino.

Referring to Innes's No. 5 (p. 214) it will be seen that Skene, in the preceding paragraph, "*Eochodius autem filius Run*," has not interpreted the reading of this according to Innes, but has rendered Innes's "*Ku (sic)*" into "Run," with the following explanation:

> In the copies of the Pictish Chronicle published by Innes and Pinkerton, this name has been printed *Ku*, but the letters *K* and *R* in the original can hardly be distinguished. If compared with the name *Ru*, the twenty-eighth in the list of Pictish kings, it will be seen that the letters are the same, and the letter *u* has a ⌣ over it, which has been omitted in their copies. The name is *Run*, a common British name.[1]

A comparison of these two names will not only show a dissimilarity if *contrasted* in the *following facsimiles*, but it will be observed that there is a greater similarity of the letter in the much disputed *Ku* (A) with the capital *K* in *Kinadius* (p. 222), than with the capital *R* in the second facsimile herewith, which is interpreted by Skene as *Ru* (B).



(A) (B)

The much-disputed *Ku* contrasted with the twenty-eighth king *Ru*.

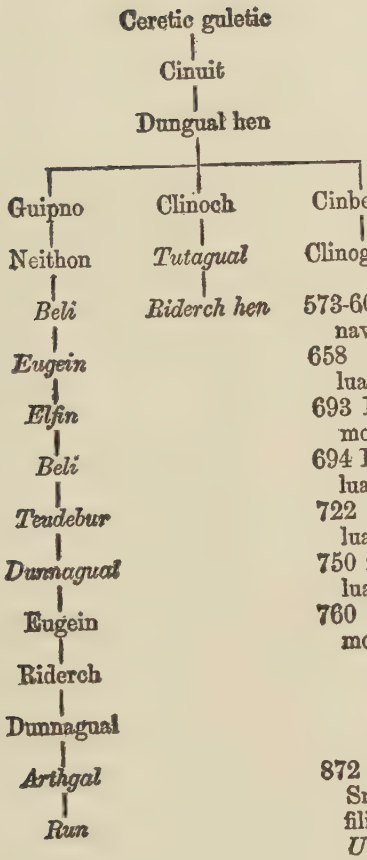
If this similarity between the letters in *Ku* and *Ru* is the only basis upon which Skene has built his theory that "*Eochodius* filius *Run*" reigned instead of King Gregory, it is certainly a very slim foundation. Before accepting it, further proof than that contained in the condemned Part III. of the *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine*, would have to be deduced.

As a further effort to clinch the point made by this comparison between the letters in *Ku* and *Ru*, it became necessary to establish *Run* firmly in the line of British kings of Strathclyde. In explanation of the following table, Skene says in part:

> The Welsh genealogies attached to this MS. of Nennius have not hitherto been published, and their main value for the history of Scotland consists in the fact that they contain a pedigree of the British Kings of Strathclyde, terminating with Run, the father of Eocha, king of Alban, by the daughter of Kenneth MacAlpin, in which most of the recorded kings of Strathclyde will be found.[2]

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* (footnote), p. xxix.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

Table of the kings of Strathclyde.



573-601 *Rodercus* filius *Totail* regnavit in Petra Cloithe.—*Adom.*

658 Mors Gureit regis Alochluaithe.—*An. Ult.*

693 Brude mac *Bile* rig Fortren moritur.—*Tigh.*

694 Domnall mac *Auin* rex Alochluaithe moritur.—*Tigh.*

722 *Beli* filius *Elfin* rex Alochluaithe moritur.—*Tigh.*

750 *Teudubr* filius *Beli* rex Alochluaithe moritur.—*Tigh.*

760 *Dunnagual* filius *Teudubr* moritur.—*An. Cam.*

872 *Artgha* rex Britannorum Srathcluade consilio Constantini filii Cinadon occisus est.—*An. Ult.*

878 Echodius filius *Run* regis Britonum.—*P. C.*

In the compilation of the above table of the kings of Strathclyde, there is no other authority given for *Eochodius* or *Run* than the *Pictish Chronicle*. In the work containing this table, Skene has published various other documents,[1] which not only fail to support his assertion, but uniformly record the fact that Gregory reigned alone. *No other known document even mentions the existence of an Eochodius*. In explanation of the table, he says:

> A genealogy of these British kings of Strath Clyde is fortunately preserved in the additions to the *Historia Britonum* and serves to connect the scattered notices of them which occur in the chronicles.

The genealogy to which he refers is contained in the "Welsh and Saxon Additions to the Historia Britonum" in the following item: "*Run map Arthgal* map Dunnagual," but there is no mention whatever of an *Eochodius*. Although Skene's table of the Kings of Strathclyde may be correct generally, he has found no better authority than the *Pictish Chronicle*, for *Eochodius*, whom he has "tacked on."

The original facsimile of the *Pictish Chronicle* would appear to be a continuous Chronicle, but Skene does not treat it as such. On the contrary he ends it with his transliteration "*Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino*," and gives the *Cronica Regum Scottorum* as a separate chronicle. (See p. 224.) Innes also treated it as a separate chronicle (see facsimile, p. 210), stating:

> It contains the series or names of our kings, with their lineal descent, and the years of their reigns, from King Fergus son of Erc, till King William in the twelfth age, in whose time it was written or extracted, as appears by its ending precisely at the first year of his reign, and with his genealogy, which it carries up, as all the others of this kind do, to *Noah*. This genealogical series is entirely conformable to that which is contained in all our Scottish writers . . . before the new genealogy given by Boece appeared.

With reference to the same genealogy he again says:

> In the thirteenth age, the Highland *Seanachy*, or *Antiquary* mentioned by all Fordun's continuators, and by Major, pronounced this genealogy in the same series of names, from *Fergus* son of *Erch* to *Fergus* son of *Ferchar*, and upwards, at the coronation of King *Alexander III.*, A.D., 1249, and this being on so solemn an occasion, in presence of the three estates of the

[1] Given in facsimile in Chapter IV., pp. 118–187.

kingdom, assembled for the coronation, carries with it the sense of the whole kingdom. . . .[1]

According, therefore, to Innes, this list of kings may be considered authentic. This list records *Seluach*, *Dungal* and *Grig* filius *Dungal*, in accordance with the various other documents contained in Chapter IV. of this present work. If this series of kings was pronounced correct in 1249, nearer to the time of King Greg's reign than the periods of many of the documents heretofore given, one might reasonably assume that it is more correct than those of later origin, especially "being on so solemn an occasion, and in the presence of the three estates of the kingdom assembled for the coronation."

In the genealogy of King William, which Innes stated was carried up to Noah, it may be remarked in passing that one of the chronicles contained in Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* has not scrupled to carry his genealogy up to "filii Adam, filii Dei vivi." It would be exceedingly difficult, to say the least, to carry it further than that. If the *Cronica Regum Scottorum* is, therefore, correct in its lists of Kings of Scotland, it entirely invalidates the statement made by Skene and others that "Eochodius" reigned as King of Scotland, while Greg was merely his *tutor* or *governor*.

At this point I consider it very important to reproduce in facsimile two lists of kings from Innes's *Critical Essay*, by reason of the weight he attached to each. The *Cronica Regum Scottorum* is included in the series under the letter *b*. Innes stated:

> I conceived it would be an useful curiosity to give here . . . a catalogue of these first forty-two kings, according to the order of their succession, as I find it uniformly set down in all the more ancient chronicles or catalogues of them, taken from our genuine annals, together with all the various forms in which I have observed these names written in ancient and modern authors.[2]

[1] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., p. 237.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 763.

Catalogue or Series of the names of the first forty-two kings of the Scots, *according to the true order of their succession with the various forms of their names, as they are found in ancient and modern writers.*

1 FEARGUS fil. Erc, Erch [d], Eric [b], Erth [f].

2 Domangard, Domhangard [b], Dovenghart [d], Donegart [e], Dongard [g], *or* Dongardus [k].

3 Comgall, Congal, Congel [b], Congallus [k].

4 Gabran [c], Gabhran, Gauran [d], Gouren [e], Goveran [b], Gonranus [k], Conranus [i].

5 Conall, Convallus [g].

6 Aodan, Aidan, Edan [b], Edain [h], Edhan [d], Aidanus [g].

7 Eochoid-buidhe, Eochod-flavus [b], Heoghed-bude [d], Eoghed-bod [e], Hecged-bud [f], Echac-buidhe, Ochabind [h], Eugenius IV. [g k].

8 Connadh-cearr, Kinat-kerr [d], Kinat-finifter [b], Keneth-ker [i].

9 Fearchair [d], Fercar [b], Ferquarth [e], Ferquardus [k].

10 Domnall-breac, Domhnal-breac, Dovenald-varius [b], Downald-brec [f], Donaldus IV.

11 Malduin, Maldowny [f], Malduinus [i].

12 Fear-

12 Fearcair-fada, Fergar-longus [b], Ferchar-foda [d], Ferquardus [k].

13 Eochoidh-rinnemhail, Eochol-habens-curvum-naſum [b], Heoghed [d] Rinavel-Echdac-Echadach [a h], Eoghed [e], Hecged-ronaval [f], Eugenius V [g k].

14 Ainbceallach, Armchallach [e], Arinchellac [b], Armkellech [d], Amrikelleth [g], Ambirkeletus [k].

15 Eogan [e], Eoghan, Ewan, Ewen [b], Heatgan [d], Eugenius VI. [g k]

16 Muireadach, Murdauch [e], Murechat [b], Murdochus, Murthec [f], Murdahu, Mordacus [i], Murdacus [g k].

17 Eogan [e], Heoghan [d], Ewan [f], Ewen [b], Eugenius VII.

18 Aodh-fionn, Ed-albus [b], Heth-fin [d], Hedwhite [f], Eda[a]-find[c]-Ethafind[h], Etfinus [k].

19 Feargus, Fergus.

20 Sealbhach, Selvach, Selvac [b], Sealuanc [e], Sealuhanc [d], Sewald [f], Selwathius [g], Solwathius [k].

21 Eochoidh-anguibh, Eochal--annuine, Eochal-venenoſus [b], Heoghed-annuine [d], Eogad-annuin [e], Echach, Ethacus [h], Eokal [f], Achajus [g].

22 Dunghal, Dunegal [b], Doughal [f], Dungallus [k].

23 Ailpin, Alpin.

24 Cionaodh, Cinacha [c], Kinadius [a], Kenaucht Kinedus [b], Kinath [d], Kenethus [g].

25 Domhnal, Dunevaldus [a], Domnail [c], Dolſnal [b], Dovenald [d].

26 Conſtaintin.

27 Aodh, Ed [d], Edus [a], Het [b], Eth, Ethus [k].

28 Gar-

28 Gairig, Girg [d], Giric [a], Greg [b], Gregorius [g].
29 Domhnal, Dovenald, Doneval [b], Donevaldus [a], Donaldus [k].
30 Conſtaintin.
31 Maelcoluim, Maelcolai [c], Malcolm [b], Milcolumbus [k].
32 Iondolbh, Indolf [b], Induff [d], Indulfus [k].
33 Dubhoda, Duf [b], Niger [a], Duffus [k].
34 Cuilin, Culin [b], Culenrig [a], Culenus [k].
35 Cionadh, Cinadius [a], Cinada [c], Kinadius, Kinet [b], Kenethus [k].
36 Conſtaintin.
37 Grim-Macdubh, Chinet [b], Girgh[d]-mac-Kinath. Greg, Grimus [g].
38 Malcolium Milcolumbus.
39 Donnchadh, Donchath [d], Dunecan, Donuchada [c], Duncanus [i].
40 Macbeatha, Machetad, Macbethad, Macbeth [b], Machabæus [i].
41 Lulach [b], Lahoulan [e], Luthlath [i].
42 Malcoluim, Malcolm[i]-cean-more, Malcolm [b] Kenremore [e], Milcolumbus [k].

a. Innes's Num. III. of Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine, Chronico de regibus Scotorum
b. Innes's Num. IV. " " " " Cronica Regum Scottorum
c. Innes's Num. IV. " " " " Genealogia in App. 4
d. Nomina Regum Scottorum et Pictorum (From Registry of St. Andrews)
e. Breve Chronicon Scoticum sive Chronicon Rythmicum
f. Winton's Chronicle
g. Fordun's "
h. The two genealogies in Fordun
i. Boece
k. Buchanan

Note: 28. Garig, Girg, Giric, Greg, Gregorious.
37. Grim-Macdubh, Chinet, Girgh-mac-Kinath, Greg, Grimus.
40. Macbeatha, Machetad, Macbethad, Macbeth, Machabaeus.
41. Lulach, Lahoulan, Luthlath.

It will be noted that in compiling this list of kings from those chronicles considered by Innes authentic and reliable, there is no mention whatever of an "Eochodius" reigning with King Greg. It will also be noted that Kenneth IV., whose family name was Greg, is also mentioned by five authorities quoted by Innes, and that Macbeth and Lulach are assigned their places in the line of Scottish kings.

Skene has taken the "Piece 3" which Innes condemned and repudiated, and out of it has builded a theory of King Greg being only "tutor," or "governor," to a king mentioned *only* in the *doubtful part* of the *Pictish Chronicle*, but in *no other* document so far "discovered."

In regard to the next list of kings, Innes stated:

> In this series or catalogue of our kings, contained in this Register of St. Andrews, from Keneth Macalpin downward, there is a short account of the death and burial place, and of some of the actions of our kings; and this last part of the series is entirely the same, word for word, with another chronological account of our kings from Keneth MacAlpin, contained in a MS. of the Cotton Library (Vitellius A. 20.) It is also conformable to another chronological account of the same kings, in verse, and printed at the end of Melrose's chronicle. Now, this conformity of several ancient accounts of our kings, written by different hands, and preserved in different places, proves the account of them to be true, because they agree one with another.[1]

He further stated that Sir Robert Sibbald sent him the copy from which he made the following list, and that it contained the folios of the Register from which it was taken. As proof of its accuracy, he said:

> It is no less to be remarked that this catalogue itself, being registered among the records and charters of that ancient church, is a full proof of its being held authentick at the time it was written, that is, A.D. 1251, whilst our ancient annals and monuments of history were yet in being, and forty years before the searches made in King Edward's time.[2]

[1] *Critical Essay*, vol. ii., p. 608.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 607.

Extracts from *Nomina Regum Scottorum Et Pictorum*

24 (*a*) Kinath Mac-Alpin 16 an. Super Scotos regnavit, deſtructis Pictis; mortuus in Fortevioth; ſepultus in Yona inſula, ubi tres filii Erc, ſcilicet Fergus, Loarn & Enegus ſepulti fuerant. Hic mira calliditate duxit Scotos de Argadia in terram Pictorum.

25 Dovenald Mac-Alpin 4 an. mortuus in Raith in Veramont, ſepultus in Yona inſula.

26 Conſtantin Mac Kinath 16 an. Interfectus eſt a Norwigenſibus in bello in Merdo (*b*) fatha, ſepultus in Iona inſula.

27 Ed Mac-Kinet uno anno. Interfectus in bello in Strathalin a Girg filio Dungal. ſep. in Iona.

28 Girg Mac-Dungal 12 an. Mortuus eſt in Dundurn, & ſepultus in Iona. Hic ſubjugavit ſibi Hyberniam totam & fere Angliam. Et hic primus dedit libertatem eccleſiæ Scoti-

(*a*) *Habetur in veteri codice Bibl. Cotton.* [Vitellius A. 20] *exemplar hujus chronici regum Scotorum a Kenetho & deinceps.*
(*b*) Werdo fatha. *MS. Cotton.*

canæ,

canæ, quæ ſub ſervitute erat uſque ad illud tempus ex (*a*) conſtitutione & more Pictorum.

29 Dovenal Mac-Conſtantin 11 an. Mortuus eſt in Fores, & ſepultus in Iona.

30 Conſtantin Mac-Edha 40 an. Hic dimiſſo regno ſponte Deo in habitu religionis abbas factus Keledeorum S. Andreæ 5 ann. (*b*) & ibi mortuus eſt & ſepultus.

31 Malcom Mac-Dovenald 9 an. interfectus in Ulurn a Moravienſib. (*c*) ſep. in Iona.

32 Induff Mac-Conſtantin 9 an. interfectus a Norwagenſib. in Inverculan ſep. in Iona.

33 Duff Mac-Malcolm 4 ann. & 6 menſ. Interfectus in Fores & abſconditus ſub ponte de Kinlos; & ſol non apparuit quamdiu ibi latuit (*d*). Sepultus in Iona.

34 Culin Mac-Induff 4 an. & 6 menſ. Interfectus ab Andarch filio Dovenald propter filiam ſuam in Laudonia.

35 Kinath Mac-Malcolm 24 an. & 2 menſ. Interfectus in Fotherkern a ſuis per perfidiam Finellæ filiæ Cunechat comitis de Angus; cujus Finellæ filium unicum prædictus Kinath interfecit apud Dunfinoen.

36 Conſtantin Mac-Culin 1 an. & 6 menſ. Interfectus a Kinat filio Malcolm I. in Rathveramoen, & ſepultus in Iona.

(*a*) *Conſuetudine* MS. Cot.
(*b*) *Servivit.* MS. Cot.
(*c*) *Per dolum.* Cot.
(*d*) *Et inventus eſt* & Cot.

37 Girgh

37 Girgh Mac-Kinat-Mac-Duff 8 an. Interfectus a filio Kinet in Moeghanard, ſep. in Iona inſ.

38 Malcolm Mac-Kinath rex victorioſiſſimus 30 an. Mortuus in Glamis, & ſep. in Iona inſula.

39 Donchath (*a*) Mac-Trini abbatis de Dunkeld & Bethoc filiæ Malcom-Mac-Kinat 6 an. Interfectus a Macbeth-Mac-Finleg in Bothgouanan & ſep. in Iona.

40 Macbeth-Mac-Finleg 17 an. Interfectus in Lunſanan a Malcolm-Mac-Donchat & ſepultus in Iona.

41 Lulach fatuus 4 menſ. Interfectus eſt in Eſſei in Strathbolgi, & ſep. in Iona.

42 Malcolm Mac-Donechat 37 an. & 8 menſ. Interfectus in Inneraldan, (*b*) ſep. in Iona. Hic fuit vir S. Margaretæ.

43 Donald Mac-Donechat prius regnavit 6 menſ. & poſtea expulſus eſt, &

44 Donekan Mac-Malcolm regnavit 6 menſ. hoc interfecto a Malpeder Macloen comite de Moerns in Monachedin: rurſum Donald Mac-Donechat regnavit 3 annis. Hic captus eſt ab Edgar Mac-Malcolm, cœcatus eſt & mortuus in Roſcolpin, ſepultus in Dunkelden, hinc tranſlata oſſa in Iona.

45 Edgar 9 an. Mortuus in Dunedin, & ſepultus in Dunfermling.

(*a*) *Mac trivi.* C.

(*b*) *Juxta Alnwick.* C.

It may seem to some that altogether too much space has been given to so small a matter as a "joint reign" of King Gregory and Eochodius. This would be very true, if the matter ended there. As this one instance, however, shows the inconsistencies of one of the most prominent writers of the anti-Celtic school; and as his works have had undue influence for the past fifty years or more on the earlier works of men equally prominent in their time, it has been impossible in less space for me to call attention to these discrepancies and errors. A careful comparison of the various works, from which I have reproduced in facsimile, will show some of these discrepancies, especially in the case of the *Pictish Chronicle* as given by Innes, and contrasted with the version by Skene. I have shown in various parts of the present work that all writers of any note have relied upon the *Critical Essay* of Innes, and have unreservedly pronounced it the most reliable history of Scotland even to the present time. Since he utterly condemned that part of the *Chronicle* which gave this joint reign to Greg and Eochodius, giving his reasons for so doing in his important Note (f),[1] there ought to remain in the mind of any unprejudiced and unbiassed person not a single misgiving as to the correctness of the point at issue. As we have seen,[2] Innes stated:

> The Latin version, such as we have it in this only Ms. is most barbarous, and every way imperfect, and written by an ignorant transcriber that hath not known the *Latin* tongue; and by consequence is so incorrect, that in some places no sense can be made of it.

We have also seen (p. 219) that Skene likewise appeared to think that Populton "transcribed it from another MS. and not always correctly," adding in a note that in 1334 the Archbishop of York mentions "William de Populton seneschal of our hospice." Neither Skene nor any one else has ever been able to give a true account of the transcribing of this *Pictish Chronicle*. I should not consider as worth a footnote the mere mention of a "William de Populton" as seneschal of a hospice in 1334, when, according to Skene, the document was written in the tenth century, over three hundred years before William de Populton appeared on the records of the hospice. Certainly it

[1] *Supra*, pp. 216, 217.
[2] *Supra*, p. 209.

gives us no insight into the true compiler of this important document. Skene further says:

> The Pictish Chronicle, which is the most important piece in this MS. consists of three parts: first, a preface, containing passages extracted and adopted from the "Origines" of Isidore of Seville; secondly, a list of Pictish kings, from Cruithne, the *eponymous* of the race, to Bred, the last king; and, thirdly, a chronicle of the kings from Keneth MacAlpin to Kenneth, son of Malcolm, with the leading events under each reign. Innes, however, was mistaken in supposing that this latter appears in the Colbertine MS. as a separate chronicle.[1]

Innes did print this "thirdly," as Skene calls it, in a separate "piece" (p. 212). This is the one which Innes so emphatically condemned as incorrect and as having been an "anonymous" piece, written by "an ignorant transcriber that hath not known the Latin tongue." Skene, however, does not mention this fact, but leaves the reader to suppose that Innes had merely separated the chronicle into divisions not existing. He does not mention Innes's true attitude. He says further, on the same subject:

> All three pieces are evidently transcribed as one chronicle, though possibly compiled from different sources; but there appears to be something omitted between the second and third divisions of the chronicle, as, in giving the events under the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin, the expression occurs in the latter, "Pictavia autem a Pictis est nominata quos *ut diximus* Cinadius delevit," while there is no mention of the destruction of the Picts in the previous part of the chronicle.

It seems that Skene here inadvertently admits the proper divisions made by Innes. He further justifies Innes's divisions of the chronicle when he says, "The Pictish Chronicle, which is the most important piece in this MS. consists of three parts;" adding a little further his own interpretation in the following:

> The second and third divisions of this chronicle have obviously been translated into Latin from an Irish or old Gaelic original, as the transcriber has left some words untranslated, which he appears not to have understood.

He takes particular pains in the next few paragraphs to point out five errors, which he attributes to the transcriber. He agrees with Innes as to the ignorance of this individual, whoever he may have been. The chronicle itself bears "Pray

[1] *Supra*, p. 220.

for Populton, who compiled me at York," leaving the name of the original author in uncertainty. In view of his criticisms of this work, on the ground of lack of authenticity, his own statement, in the Preface to *Fordun's Chronicle*,[1] that the *Pictish Chronicle* is one of the most valuable that have come down to us, is practically nullified.

Skene is inclined, as may be seen from the following paragraphs, to connect the *Pictish Chronicle* with the country of Brechin. In view of this suggestion, it is barely possible that the original chronicle was written there, and afterwards compiled at York by Populton, with several others, into the one document we now possess. In spite of all conjecture and hazard, the origin of the *Pictish Chronicle* remains obscure and indefinite. The date of the chronicle is as uncertain as its origin.

The Colbertine MS., containing the *Pictish Chronicle*, has been assigned to the fourteenth, while the latter MS. itself probably saw light in the tenth century. Skene's reasons for so dating the MS. are as follows:

> The termination of the chronicle in the middle of the reign of Kenneth, son of Malcolm, and the fact that while the years of the reigns of other kings are given, the years of Kenneth's reign are left blank, point to his reign as the period of its compilation. Kenneth reigned from 977 to 995, and the chronicle has accordingly been placed in this series between these dates.

Due credit should be given Skene for his attempt to solve the problem of this manuscript. He finally concluded that as that part of the chronicle ended with the reign of Kenneth, son of Malcolm, "*Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino*," the chronicle was evidently connected with the country of Brechin, adding that "while all other editions of this part of the chronicle commence the series with Fibh or Fife, and place Circin at the end, the *Pictish Chronicle* transposes these two, and commences the list with Circin, maintaining in other respects the same order."

The true origin of the *Chronicle* must ever remain a matter of conjecture, though Skene's conclusion is perhaps as good as any. He says, "It is in Maghcircin, or the plain of Circin, that Brechin is situated; and as the chronicle terminates with the

[1] Reviewed in Chapter VI., p. 253 *infra*.

foundation of an ecclesiastical settlement there, this chronicle was probably compiled by the monks of Brechin."

The country of Maghcircin in modern times is known as the Mearns, though for many centuries it was known as "the land of Ciric," having derived its name from Ciric, one of the seven sons of Cruithne.

As the *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine, is the only document in existence to-day* in which the name of Eochodius is mentioned, it seems unnecessary to give more space to an analysis of it. Pinkerton, Chalmers and Skene relied upon this one document more than upon all others well known at the time they were preparing their works for the press. Its date, like its origin, is still a matter of conjecture, Innes placing it approximately in the fourteenth or earlier century; Pinkerton deciding that "as it was written about 1350, after the expedition of Edward I., it seems uncertain how it passed into England;" while Skene has fully decided that it should properly belong to the tenth century. With all the efforts made, the chronicle still remains of very doubtful origin.

THE IRISH VERSION OF THE PICTISH CHRONICLE

A very remarkable and significant fact regarding the *Pictish Chronicle* (*Chronicon de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum*), was the publication of an old MS. found in Trinity College, Dublin (marked *H.* 3. 17), which Skene termed "The Irish Version of the Pictish Chronicle." This commences with an account of Cruithne and his seven sons, and runs down the line of Pictish kings to the union of the Scottish and Pictish houses under the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin, A.D. 843.

In the same manner its lists of kings are in uniformity with those of the various other documents to which attention has been called in Chapter IV. In the case of Gregory, the "Irish Version" styles him *Girig mac Dungaile*, and gives him a *sole reign*, making no mention whatever of an Eochodius. It also clearly records the other kings of the same family—Kenneth IV., as *Cinaed filius Duib;* Macbeth, as *Macbeathad mac Fin mic Laig;* and lastly *Lulach*. A comparison of this chronicle with those given in Chapter IV. will show that in these names they are in agreement, while the *Pictish Chronicle* agrees with none of

them. An examination of the two documents will indicate how unlike in this particular the "Irish Version" and the *Pictish Chronicle* are.

In his Preface, Skene states:

> In the Appendix are inserted several pieces, either illustrative of the foregoing documents, or which the Editor has been unable to place in their proper position in the chronological series. . . . No. II is an Irish version of the Pictish Chronicle contained in the Trinity College MS. (H. 3. 17). It is obviously transcribed from an older text, and the scribe appears not to have understood the Latin he was copying.[1]

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. lxxiii.

IRISH VERSION OF PICTISH CHRONICLE.

MS. TRIN. COLL. DUBL. H. 3. 17.

Cruithne mac Cinge patar Pictorum habidann in aca insola c. annis renebait; *vij. meic ro teacht; ate ann so a n-anmand .i. Fib, Fidach, Foltlaig, Fortrend, Caitt, Ce, Circing.*[a]

Circin lx. annais regnau[it].
Fidach xl. annis r[egnauit].
Fortrend xl. annis r[egnauit].
Foltlaid xxx. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Gatt xij. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Ce xij. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Fidbaiid xxiiij. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Geide Ollgothach lxxx. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Oenbegan a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Ollfinachta lx. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Guidedh Gaeth Breatnach l. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Geascuirti.

TRANSLATION.

[a] Cruithne, son of Cing, *pater Pictorum habitantium in hac insula c. annis regnabat*, He had seven sons. These are their names, viz., Fib, Fidach, Foltlaig, Fortrenn, Caitt, Ce, Circing.

Onbes f[ilius] Urgust xxx. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Breite f[ilius] Uugut xv. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Ciniod f[ilius] Iuuredeg xv. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Alpin f[ilius] Uuoid iij. annis regnauit 7 dimidon regni.
Drest f[ilius] Tolorcan i. a[nno] r[egnauit].
Talorcan f[ilius] Drostan uel v. *deg.*
Talorcen f[ilius] Onust xij. 7 dimidoin a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Canul f[ilius] Tang. v. annis r[egnauit].
Cuastantin f[ilius] Uurguist xxxv.
Uidnust f[ilius] Uurgust xij. an[nis] r[egnauit].
Drost f[ilius] Consatin 7 Tolorc f[ilius] Uuthoil iij. a[nnis] r. conregnauerunt.
Uuen f[ilius] Unest iij.
Urad f[ilius] Bargoit iij. a[nnis] 7 Brod 1º a[nno] r[egnauit].
Cinaed f[ilius] Ailpin xvj. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Domnall f[ilius] Ailpin iiij. r[egnauit] 7.
Custantin f[ilius] Cinaeda xx. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Aed f[ilius] Cinaed 1º a[nno] r[egnauit].
Girig mac Dungaile xj. uel iij. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Domnall f[ilius] Cousantin xj. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Constantin f[ilius] Aed xlv. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Maelcolaim f[ilius] Domnall ix. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Cuilein f[ilius] Ildoilb f[ilii] Constandtin iiij. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Cinaed uel Dub f[ilius] Maelcolaim vij. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Culein i. dimidoin r[egnauit].
Cinaed f[ilius] Duib *ocht* a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Maelcolaim mac Cinaeda xxx. a[nnis] reg[nauit].
Dondchad *ua* Mailcolaim vij. r[egnauit].
Macbeathad mac Fin mic Laig xvj. a[nnis] r[egnauit].
Lulach v. *mis.*
Maelcolaim mac Colaim mic Donncaid *iarsin.*

The scribe may not have understood the Latin he was copying, but the "Irish Version" has been so transcribed as to make it uniform with every other document *except the Pictish Chronicle*, and I would not, therefore, term it an "Irish Version of the Pictish Chronicle."

Not content with Skene's statement that this Chronicle was properly an "Irish Version," I wrote to Trinity College for information, receiving the reply, which is self explanatory:

THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE

DUBLIN, June 28, 1906.

W. H. GREGG, ESQ.,

DEAR SIR:

There is beginning at Col. 806, of MS. No. 1336, Press Marks H. 3. 17, an Irish Version of Nennius's account of the Britons. This MS. is one of the large collections common to Ireland in former days, rather a small library than a book. It is thus described in our Catalogue of MSS. by Rev. T. K. Abbott (Dublin 1900) 4th number (parchment) SS. XV. XVI. (15th and 16th centuries) Brehon Law Tracts and Miscellanea. The volume belonged to the philologist Edward Lhuyd and was presented to the Library with others in 1786, by Sir John Seabright. The Version of Nennius has been published by James M. Todd, under the title "The Irish Version of the Historia Brittannorum of Nennius," as a Vol. of the Archæological Society of Dublin 1848.

Respectfully,

(Signed) ALFRED DE BURGH,

Asst. Librarian.

After a critical examination of the two documents, we are not able to form any satisfactory conclusion as to the origin of either. Skene describes the *Pictish Chronicle* as a work of the tenth century, and says of the "Irish Version" that "it is obviously transcribed from an older text." As the "Irish Version," however, is in thorough agreement with the majority of other documents, in respect to this period of Scottish history, and particularly with reference to the reign of King Gregory, it would appear that the "Irish Version" is the more accurate.

When Skene collected and published the various documents comprising the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, he rendered a great service to the Scottish clans, particularly to those related to the Alpin line, among whom may be found the Greg, Gregg, Gregor, Gregory (Scottish) and MacGregor families, with their allied branches.

CHAPTER VI

JOHN OF FORDUN'S CHRONICLE

Skene's Estimate of Fordun's Chronicle—Introduction to Skene's Edition—Fordun's Agreement with Chalmers—Wyntown—Boece—Major—Hollinshead—Tabulation of Kings from Each Authority—Fergus Mac Erc to Malcolm Canmore—Descent of MacBeth.

WHEN John of Fordun died in 1385, the work upon which he had been engaged for many years was nearing its completion, but it remained for Bower or Bowmaker, more generally termed "Fordun's continuator," to finish the work upon which Fordun had for so long laboured. Bowmaker made such additions as he considered advisable. Fordun's history is, therefore, the first continuous story of the events of Scotland prior to the fourteenth century.

In this chapter, it is my intention to review the works of Fordun, Wyntown, Major, Boece, Hollinshead and others, with the idea of obtaining information at first hand, as to what these various writers have said on the subject of that period which still forms one of the controversial subjects of Scotland's history. In doing this, I have been at great pains to obtain copies from the first and original editions wherever possible, though I have been compelled now and again, as previously stated, to use a "reprint."

In 1872 appeared Skene's edition of John of Fordun's Chronicle, a translation of the original with introduction and notes. This edition forms the fourth volume of the series of *The Historians of Scotland*. The original chronicle is reproduced as the first volume of the same series. According to Skene's Introduction in the fourth volume, Fordun's work must form the basis of every history prior to the reign of James I. (1406–1437). The following will bear testimony to the true valuation placed by Skene upon Fordun's work:

John of Fordun's Chronicle of The Scottish Nation.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN TEXT BY FELIX J. H. SKENE.

EDITED BY

WILLIAM F. SKENE.

EDINBURGH
EDMONSTON AND DOUGLAS
1872

The history of Scotland, at least prior to the fifteenth century, must always be to a great extent based upon Fordun's narrative, and it is therefore essential to a right comprehension of the history of the country, and an accurate narrative of its events that the original text of Fordun, as he compiled it, should be eliminated from the additions and interpolations of his continuators, and reproduced freed from the manipulation it has undergone at their hands. This is the object of the present edition.[1]

When Skene, therefore, was preparing to give to the public an English edition of Fordun, he evidently intended that it should be free from "interpolations" and from "manipulation." There is no fault to be found with the text of the English edition, as a strict comparison will prove that the work has been carefully and accurately done. The whole fault lies with the Introduction. Fordun's Chronicle (cf. facsimile, p. 262) gives considerable space to the reign of King Gregory, in no way referring to a joint reign with Eochodius. In the Introduction, however, Skene says:

There is then a break in the line, when Eocha, the son of Run, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, and grandson of Kenneth by a daughter, reigns jointly along with Grig, whose descent is unknown.[2]

Skene goes out of his way to introduce another's work with his own views regarding this particular reign, at the same time admitting that "the history of Scotland, at least prior to the fifteenth century, must always be to a great extent based upon Fordun's narrative."

After alternate praise and criticism of Fordun, in such terms as all antiquarians are familiar with,—"Fordun suppresses," or "the great skill with which Fordun's work," etc.,—he concludes a part of his review with the following:

With the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin, the historical period of Scottish history, in the true sense of the term, may be said to commence, and he (Fordun) had little motive to pervert the history of his successors.[3]

Skene here admits that Fordun had little motive to pervert the reign of King Gregory, one of the important successors of Kenneth MacAlpin. Fordun gives him a sole reign and does not even mention an Eochodius. Fordun calls him "*Gregory*

[1] *Historians of Scotland*, vol. i., p. xlv.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. xxx.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. lxxviii.

the son of Dungallus," and gives him at least as much space in his history as any other king of Scotland.[1] Skene says, "Eocha . . . *reigns jointly along with Grig, whose descent is unknown.*"

The present writer has been at some pains to reproduce facsimiles from the work of Fordun, together with a few from the Preface of Skene's edition of Fordun, showing clearly that while Skene deplores the fact that other editions of Fordun have been "manipulated," and claims for his edition a freedom from additions and interpolations, he has discredited Fordun's own text in the case of King Gregory. He has so "manipulated" it as to place a Strathclyde Briton on the throne of Scotland, and incidentally mentions that "*the descent of Grig is unknown.*"

The facsimile from Skene's Introduction to Fordun is explanatory:

> The first four kings of this race, viz., Kenneth mac Alpin, the founder of the dynasty, his brother, and his two sons, though of Scottish descent, are termed in the Irish Annals 'Reges Pictorum,' and, in the oldest chronicle, the districts under their direct rule are termed 'Pictavia.' There is then a break in the line, when Eocha, the son of Run, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, and grandson of Kenneth by a daughter, reigns jointly along with Grig, whose descent is unknown. The male line is again established in the person of Donald, a grandson of Kenneth by his eldest son, and the remaining kings of this dynasty are termed in the Irish Annals 'Ri Albain,' the Irish equivalent of 'Reges Albaniæ,' while, in the same chronicle, the name of Albania is now applied to their kingdom. Under Constantine, the second of the kings termed 'Ri Alban,' his brother was elected king of Cumbria, which placed the Scottish race on the throne of that British kingdom; and upon Malcolm, his successor, the kingdom of Cumbria or Strathclyde was bestowed in 946, by Edmund, king of Wessex, who had conquered it in that year. His successor, Indulph, added the district extending from Stirling to Edinburgh.

[1] Cf. facsimile from Fordun, p. 261 *et seq.*

Having thus glanced briefly at the Preface of *John of Fordun's Chronicle*, edited by Skene, it is well to see what John of Fordun himself said about the reign of King Gregory, as given in the following facsimiles of the original English translation.[1] Skene says the descent of Greg is unknown. He also states that the descent of Kenneth MacAlpin is unknown—"except that he was of Scottish race and bore the patronymic of mac Alpin, which is a Pictish name." The original text of Fordun gives a most explicit genealogy of Kenneth mac Alpin:

> Now this Kenneth was the son of Alpin, son of Achay, son of Ethfin, son of Eugenius, son of Findan, son of Eugenius, son of Dongardus, son of Donaldus Brek, son of Eugenius Buyd, son of Aidanus, son of Gowranus, son of Dongardus, son of Fergus, son of Erth.[2]

In giving the genealogy of King David, the same royal line to which Kenneth MacAlpin belonged, Fordun traces his descent to Noah. The facsimiles show that he had no doubt of Greg being the son of Dungallus. He not only gives him a *sole reign*, with no mention of Eochodius, but at the same time clearly sets forth his conquests of Ireland and of nearly the whole of England. His account of Greg's liberation of the Church is confirmed by nearly all the chronicles which have already been reproduced in facsimile. In his Preface to the valuable work of Fordun, Skene seeks to undo all of this; although his only authority for such a joint reign is the *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine.*

According to Fordun's list, Ethfyn and Selwachius (also known as Selbach, Seluach and Selbhach) were brothers, sons of Eugenius. Achaius was the son of Ethfyn, and Dungallus the son of Selwachius, making Achaius and Dungallus first cousins. The genealogies in the downward scale would read thus:

Ethfyn, son of Eugenius	Selwachius, son of Eugenius
Achaius, son of Ethfyn	Dungallus, son of Selwachius
Alpin, son of Achaius	Greg (Ciric), son of Dungallus

Kenneth, son of Alpin

If the above genealogy were put into Celtic we should have: Kenneth mac Alpin mac Achaius mac Ethfyn mac

[1] See *post*, pp. 261–264, from translation by Felix J. H. Skene.

[2] *Historians of Scotland*, vol. iv., pp. 139–40.

Eugenius, and also Greg mac Dungallus mac Selwachius mac Eugenius.

Thus Eugenius would be the grandfather of Achaius and Dungallus, while their sons, Alpin and Greg, would be second cousins. Tabulated, it would read as follows:

1st Eugenius		1st Eugenius	the same individual
2d Ethfyn	and	2d Selwachius	brothers
3d Achaius	and	3d Dungallus	first cousins
4th Alpin	and	4th Greg	second cousins

Fordun states that according to the rule of kingship, Gregory should have come before Alipes or Ethus, who, it will be remembered, preceded King Gregory. As there was a division of opinion among the chiefs of the kingdom, a battle was fought at Strathallan, in which Ethus was mortally wounded and died two months later.

I have endeavoured to call special attention to the more important passages bearing on the subjects with which the present work deals, by facsimiles from the text of *Fordun's Chronicle:*

After King Achay had ended his life, his kinsman Convallus was raised to the government of the kingdom, in A.D. 819—the sixth year of the Emperor Louis; and reigned five years. That same year died Kynwlf, king of the Mercians, and was succeeded by his son Kynelm, who was, while still in his boyhood, harmless as he was, slain by his sister Quendrida, and earned the name and honour of martyrdom, the grace of God besteading him. The following year, there began to be mooted a great question as to the right to the Pictish throne; for it was asserted that the Scots were entitled to it; and it was ventilated in the mouths of all, whether chiefs or churls. They did not, however, proceed to active measures. Full five years after, on the death of Convallus, Dungallus, the son of Selwalchius, straightway began to reign, in A.D. 824—the eleventh year of the emperor Louis; and reigned seven years. By him was renewed the war against the Picts, which had slumbered for nearly fifty years; forasmuch as he said that their throne was his, by virtue of an old covenant. Now, the primitive law of succession of their kings and chiefs, according to *Bede* and other chronicles, is this:—When the Picts first came into this island, they had no wives of their own nation. So they asked the Scots for their daughters; and they consented to give them on this one condition, that, when any doubt should arise as to the succession to kingdom or dominion, the Picts should choose their kings from the female, rather than the male, line; which custom is well known to be constantly observed among the Picts. And this, perhaps, may have been the cause of this claim or dispute. For true it is that it is gathered, from their chronicles and histories, that, in the days of peace, from the very beginning, true friendship was fostered between them to such a pitch, that their kings and chiefs almost always got themselves consorts and wives of the sons and daughters of the Scottish kings and chiefs on the other side—and the reverse. But He, from whom nothing is hidden, knows the ultimate cause of this dispute; and by whose fault was begun this most cruel war, which had no end, until it pleased Him who rules all kingdoms, and scatters them at will, that the Picts should be wholly overcome, and the Scots should finally obtain the palm of victory, together with their kingdom. Then, in the seventh year, died Dungallus, though it is stated elsewhere that he was killed in battle; he was buried in the church of the blessed Columba, and lies in the islands, beside his father.

The following brief sketches regarding the kings from the time of Dungallus to that of his son, Gregory, are taken from *Fordun's Chronicle.*[1]

Alpin: After the death of Dungallus, Alpin, the son of Achy, was at once crowned, and assumed the government of the kingdom in A.D. 831.

Kenneth: Kenneth, the son of Alpin, succeeded to his father's throne in A.D. 834, and to that of the Picts, when they had been overcome, in A.D. 839.

Donald: After the solemn celebration of the funeral of King Kenneth the Great, he was succeeded the same year he died—that is, A.D. 854—by his brother Donald, also a son of Alpin, who reigned four years.

Constantine: He was succeeded in A.D. 858 by his nephew Constantine, son of his brother Kenneth the Great, who reigned sixteen years.

Heth: Constantine was succeeded in A.D. 874 . . . by his brother Heth, the wing-footed, who was also a son of Kenneth the Great, and who reigned one year.

Skene denies the possibility that Gregory at any time could have brought England under his power. The conditions, however, that existed at that time in England, under which the southern part of the country was being continually overrun by foreign invaders, would at least suggest a reasonable excuse for his so doing—particularly may we credit such a statement when we remember that nearly all of the old chronicles record it as a fact. Skene's mere denial is not sufficient evidence to outweigh such overwhelming proof to the contrary.

[1] *Historians of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 135 *et seq.*

In the time of the reign of King Constantine, a second fleet of the heathen, larger and more formidable, came from the Danube, and joined the former one; and, combining for no good purpose, but all for warfare and wickedness, they covered the seas—as it were groves planted therein. And thus it came to pass, shortly afterwards, that, landing in both kingdoms, they dwelt there without fear for days and months, as though it were their own home. These, it was now thought, the barbarous Picts, who had not yet been thoroughly tamed, had secretly enticed to Scotland; even as one might not unlikely have suspected from the upshot of the matter. The king had many a time offered them a safe reception among the harbours of his kingdom, and leave to buy provisions to their hearts' content, if only they would cease from their inroads, and faithfully observe the terms of peace. As, however, they could not be appeased by this means, nor by any other treaty of peace, the king—whether on an appointed day, or by chance, unexpectedly, is not known—gave them battle at a spot named the Black Den, and fell there, with many of his men. And no wonder for he had rashly brought with him, to battle, like a snake in his bosom, some of the lately conquered Picts. These fled as soon as they closed in battle, thus giving occasion to the others to do the same. So the king was left on the field by a great part of his army, and beset by the enemy and slain. When the enemy, after their victory there, had retreated to their ships, the routed inhabitants returned; and, after searching the field, they found the king's body, and bore it with deep wailing to the island of Iona, where it was enshrined, with great honours, in his father's bosom. In England, moreover, two years before the king's death, the heathen of the said fleets martyred Saint Edmund, king of the East Angles. Constantine was succeeded, in A.D. 874—the nineteenth year of Louis—by his brother Heth the Wing-footed, who was also a son of Kenneth the Great, and who reigned one year. This king was so distinguished for vigour and nimbleness of limb, that all men called him Heth *the Wing-footed*, that is, Heth with wings on his feet; for he had earned a name for swiftness above all others of his day. But ought he to be set above the runners of Alexander the Great—Anisius the Laconian, and Philonides—for nimbleness, those men who, according to *Solinus*, went through, in one day, from Lapnum to Sicion, a distance of twelve hundred stadia (about 138 miles)? A certain Ladas, however, seems to have outstripped them in speed, as the same *Solinus* relates; for he ran so swiftly on the white dust, that he left no trace of a footprint on the sand. Enough for the king that he bore the palm for swiftness in his time. Now, according to the rule of the kingship, Gregory, son of Dungallus, should have come before him; wherefore, the chiefs of the kingdom being divided amongst themselves, a battle was fought at Strathallan, wherein the king was mortally wounded at the first shock, and died two months after; while a few of the chiefs on either side were slain in the fight. King Heth was buried in the island of Iona, beside his father.

Accession of King Gregory, who brings under his Yoke the whole of Ireland and nearly the whole of England.

Now this Gregory, when he had, with the approval of most of the chiefs, obtained the government of the kingdom, was solemnly crowned at Scone, in A.D. 875—the twentieth year of Louis—and reigned nearly eighteen years. When the ceremony of his coronation was over, he forthwith firmly established peace throughout all the ends of his kingdom; and granting full forgiveness to all who, he knew, had withstood him in battle, he brought them round to true friendship with him. Neither was he, from the beginning of his reign, forgetful or neglectful of divine worship—nay, he even, with the consent of the chiefs, granted the Church of God, and churchmen, their freedom for ever, confirmed by Pope John VIII., who held the fifth synod at Constantinople. For, until then, the church had been subject to servitude, according to the custom of the Picts. Moreover, he brought the whole of Ireland, and nearly the whole of England, under his yoke. And though Ireland belonged to him by right of succession, he did not get possession of it without war on the part of some who withstood him. The sovereignty of his possessions in England he won partly by his arms, and partly by kindness. In his days—even as before, and long afterwards, pirates of various nations, as was shown above—to wit, Danes, Norwegians, Goths, Vandals, and Frisians—sharing one and the same lawless bent, were scattered over the harbours and lands of the English; and, in their fury, unceasingly laid waste, with most woful desolation, the districts, especially, on the seaboard, until they had reduced them, in great part, under their dominion, and gained possession of them. Moreover, King Gregory himself, also, subdued the upper and western districts, even as they had those on the sea-board; and he brought upon them desolation not far short of that those men had spread around. The natives of some provinces, however, before he had reached their borders, gave themselves of their own accord, with their lands and property, into his power, after having sworn fealty and homage. For they deemed it a more blissful lot, and more advantageous, willingly to be subject to the Scots, who held the Catholic faith, though they were their enemies, than unwillingly to unbelieving heathens. All the provinces, says *William*, were burning with fierce ravages, because each king cared more to withstand the enemy in his own territory, than to extend help to his fellow-countrymen in their struggles. In the first year of Gregory, two Norican, or Danish, kinsmen—Rollo and Gello—forced their way into Neustria, and seized Rouen, and the other towns in the neighbourhood. In the third year, the emperor Louis died, and was succeeded by his uncle, Charles the Bald, who held the empire two years. After his death, Charles the younger was emperor twelve years. Now Charles, since he was unable to drive Rollo and his comrades from the fatherland, took counsel, and, after having received a solemn promise from Rollo that he would

embrace Christianity, gave him his daughter Gilla to wife, and the whole of Neustria—which Rollo called Normandy, after the Normans.

Gregory—His Death—Martyrdom of the blessed King Edmund—Nearly the whole of England at that time subject to the Scots and Danes.

THE English had then—in the time of Gregory, to wit—no defender, or, at all events, a feeble one; for they were bereft of all their kings—of old, eight in number—except Alfred, king of the West Saxons, who, alone surviving, attacked the enemy with all possible courage, though with little success. Being, however, much more often attacked by them, and having to avoid the snares of enemies raging on every side, he soon fell into so forlorn a state that, with fearful heart, he knew not where to turn for a place where he could hide in safety in England. The Northumbrians, again, had more than once before, by their own fault, driven out their kings from their midst, but were now driven, by force of circumstances, to take back a king whom they had previously cast out—namely, Osbert; and, shortly afterwards, they were, together with him, cruelly slain or burnt, under the walls of the city of York, by the enemy, who thenceforth held their lands by right of conquest. Burthred, likewise, king of the Mercians, being driven from his kingdom by the enemy, repaired to Rome, nevermore to return; while Saint Edmund, king of the East Angles, having gloriously suffered martyrdom at the hands of the heathen, as above described, exchanged his earthly for a heavenly throne; and thenceforth his foes possessed his kingdom. The rest of the chiefs, too, who were left over, being in bondage either to the Scots or the Danes, did service for their lives and property. But the upper provinces, bordering on the kingdom of Scotland, unwillingly submitted to King Gregory. And thus, in those days, and for a long time after, the whole of England, whirled round through the various chances of fortune, wretchedly succumbed to various lords—

> The Dane had part; the greatest part the Scot;
> And one small part fell to King Alfred's lot.

But Alfred, says *William*, was at last driven to such a pitch of distress (scarcely three counties standing fast in their allegiance

> to him—namely, Huntingdonshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire) that he sought refuge in a certain island called Adlingia (Ely) which, from its marshy situation, was hardly accessible. In the time of Gregory, the County of Flanders took its rise. Before that, it used to be ruled by the French king's foresters; the first of whom was Lideric, the second Ingerlam, and the third Audacer; and these, though they were not counts, were the rulers of Flanders under Pipin, Charles the Great, and Louis. Afterwards, Charles the Bald, who was mentioned above, gave Flanders to Baldwin, the son of Audacer, and his daughter Judith, for an inheritance. But this glorious King Gregory, after a vigorous reign of eighteen years, all but a few months, closed the last of his days at Donedoure, and lies buried in the island of Iona. In the thirteenth year of Gregory, died the emperor Charles, and was, in A.D. 887, succeeded by Arnulph, who filled the imperial throne fifteen years.

Fordun states that Greg was the son of Dungallus, and that according to the rule of kingship, Gregory should have come before Heth, the Winged-footed. There should have been very little difficulty for Skene to have found a place for him in the royal line. Yet he says that "Greg's descent is unknown." Fordun says: "Now this King Gregory, when he had, with the approval of most of his chiefs, obtained the government of the kingdom, was solemnly crowned at Scone in A.D. 875 . . . and reigned nearly eighteen years." After reading carefully the account of this king by Fordun (p. 261 *et seq.*) it is all the more surprising that in the very work containing such passages as those reproduced here in facsimile, Skene should, in editing *Fordun's Chronicle*, adhere to the condemned part of the *Pictish Chronicle*, *Colbertine*, and place "Eochodius" on the throne, with Greg as tutor. Fordun gives him a sole reign, clearly stating that as the son of Dungallus he should have come before Heth. Fordun is equally explicit as to the successes of Gregory in Ireland and in England, as the facsimiles show.

Rule of Succession of foregoing and subsequent Kings of the Scots, down to the time of Malcolm, the son of Kenneth.

We have shown, above, the true dates of the accessions of the Scottish kings who reigned after Fergus, the son of Erth, in the northern part of Albion, together with the Picts. And now it is fitting to go on to the monarchs who acquired sole dominion over the whole of that part, after the Pictish tribes were overthrown; and to show forth some of their exploits, as well as the dates of their reigns—even as we are taught in the volumes of the ancients. But we must first speak of the rule of their succession. For the question is often asked, why the sons did not commonly succeed their fathers in the government of the kingdom, as the custom of modern times requires, rather than the brothers, as is implied in the succession of the foregoing kings. This, then, was done in those days, for the same law of succession obtained with the Scots, the Picts, and the kings of a great many countries, as well as with certain of the chiefs of the empire—to wit, on each king's death, his brother, or his brother's son, if he had the advantage over the king's son in age or fitness to rule, even though more remote in degree of kinship, came before him to the throne. For it was not nearness in blood, but fitness as having attained to full puberty, that raised this or that man to the king's throne to reign. Now this arrangement, as to who should reign, first prevailed on account of the scanty numbers of a nation in its early days; which, inasmuch as it is, from its weakness, exposed to war from all quarters in getting, or keeping, a settled home in freedom, shrinks from handing over to youths the government, not only of their kingdom, but also of their persons; and so was established this law we have been treating of. This old custom of the succession of kings lasted, without a break, until the time of Malcolm, son of Kenneth; when, for

According to the rule of succession, outlined by Fordun, the law of tanistry continued in force until the time of Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, whose reign ended in 1034—nearly one hundred and fifty years after the reign of Gregory. We may, therefore, safely infer that Gregory was considered "more fit to rule" than King Ethus, the son of Kenneth. Gregory's father, Dungallus, had occupied the throne of Scotland just previous to Alpin, the father of Kenneth and grandfather of Ethus, or Heth. Had Gregory been of a suitable age when his father was drowned in the river Spey, the reign of Alpin, followed by his son Kenneth, would probably have been deferred, if not entirely prevented.

There was evidently no question in the mind of Fordun as to the true descent of King Gregory, and we have every reason to believe that he thoroughly examined all records available at that time. The *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine*, had not, of course, been discovered at the time of Fordun's writing, nor had the famous "MS. of 1450," which forms the principal theme of Skene's *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, briefly reviewed in the ninth chapter. These two now famous MSS. have endlessly confused this period of Scottish history, for upon them alone rests one statement as to the genealogy of King Gregory, not to be found elsewhere. In fact, the MS. of 1450, like all the old documents, is entirely silent as to a *joint reign* of King Gregory, and the only foundation for such a reign may be said to lie wholly with the *Pictish Chronicle*, as I have frequently shown.

In the following extracts from Skene's various works, it will readily be seen that he has made a desperate effort to "place" Gregory, though it seems that he has merely succeeded in confusing the fact that he was the son of Dungallus.

The various ways in which Skene has tried to account for the descent of King Gregory are summarised as follows:

Descent Unknown.

> There is then a break in the line, when Eocha, the son of Run, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, and grandson of Kenneth by a daughter, reigns jointly with Grig, whose descent is unknown. *Historians of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. xxx.

Son of Dungal.

> It is plain that after the termination of the reign of Grig, the son of Dungal, the kings belonged to two families, both descended from Kenneth MacAlpin. *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. cxlvi.

Pictish or Scottish?

It is difficult to ascertain whether Grig was of the Pictish or of the Scottish race, but the probabilities are rather in favour of the former. *Ibid.*, p. cxxxvi.

Ciric, old form of the name.

The old form of his name is *Ciric*, which is the same as the name of one of the seven sons of Cruithne, from whom *Maghcircin* took its designation. There is a curious notice in the Pictish Chronicle that in his ninth year an eclipse of the sun took place "die Cirici." *Ibid.*, p. cxxxvii.

Grig, son of Dungal—sole king.

And along with him is associated in the government, Grig, son of Dungal, who appears in most of the Latin lists as sole king. *Ibid.*, p. cxxxv.

Name Curig, a British name.

His name is evidently the British name Curig, and under this form St. Ciricus, a martyr of Tarsus, was introduced into the British calendar. *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 330.

Greg's relationship to Eocha.

The name of Dungaile, borne by his father, was the same name as that of Dunnagual, who appears in the Welsh genealogies annexed to Nennius as the father of Arthgal and grandfather of Run; Girig was therefore in all probability Eocha's paternal granduncle. *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 330.

Usurper of a foreign race.

The usurper of a foreign race, who had for a time intruded upon the line of Scottish kings descended from Kenneth MacAlpin, and been after a few years driven out, fills a prominent position, as Gregory the Great, solemnly crowned at Scone, and one of the most powerful of the early Scottish kings. *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 334.

Greg, or Giric, a Pict.

At this time the kingdom ruled by the new dynasty of kings of Scottish race was still the kingdom of the Picts and the kings were still called kings of the Picts. Giric, therefore, must be regarded as such. *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 320.

Father's name omitted—appears to be Dungal.

He (Populton, G.) has Ciricium filium, omitting the name of the father, which, from the Irish editions, appears to have been *Dungal*. *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, p. xix. (footnote).

Not a Scot.

His omission by the "Irish Annals" and the "Albanic Duan" rather favour the conclusion that he was not of the Scottish race. *Ibid.*, p. cxxxviii.

The quotations given above, taken from Skene's various works, show very clearly his views regarding the descent of

King Gregory. They are emphatically at variance one with the other. At the close of Chapter IV., appears a list of the various names by which King Gregory is recorded in the chronicles, all of which are considered of value by Skene, since he has been at great pains to collect and edit these documents in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*. In all of the documents mentioning Greg, he is called the *son of Dungallus*. His father, Dungal, and his grandfather, Selbach, are indisputably recorded as kings of Scotland in the same lists.

We do not undertake to account here for Skene's statement, in the introduction to Fordun, that with the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin the historical part of Scottish history, in the true sense of the term, may be said to commence. It has generally been acknowledged, however, by many conscientious searchers after truth, that the period of Scottish history, between the reigns of Kenneth MacAlpin and Malcolm Canmore, is one of the most obscure in its early annals. While admitting that Fordun could have little motive in perverting the history of the successors of Kenneth MacAlpin, Skene himself endeavoured to change the history of King Gregory—one of the most important successors of Kenneth—to the time of Malcolm Canmore. It is by no means clear why Skene should have had such difficulty in tracing Greg's descent, since the documents produced by him are uniform in placing him in the royal Alpin line. The fact remains, however, as evidenced by his own works, that Skene found his reign one of the most difficult to satisfactorily account for.

He deplores the fact that to establish an antiquity for Scotland, Fordun "interpolates a few fictitious kings in order to obtain the additional hundred years he had added to its commencement." He likewise states "the early part of Fordun's work which is tainted with this artificially constructed history," thus nullifying his previous opinion that "the history of Scotland . . . must always be to a great extent based upon Fordun's narrative."

In the Preface to this same volume of the *Historians of Scotland* (John of Fordun's Chronicle) appears the paragraph:

> These five historical documents, viz., the Pictish Chronicle, and the Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach, which belong to the period when the Scottish dynasty still reigned in Scotland; and the Irish and Pictish addi-

tions to Nennius, the Albanic Duan and the Annals of Tighernac, which belong to the reign of Malcolm Canmore, form the first group of authorities for the early history of Scotland. *They are entirely consistent and in perfect harmony with each other.*[1]

He does not, of course, include *Fordun's Chronicle* in the above list, although he has referred to it as the basis upon which the true history of Scotland must be written, particularly the period from the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin to that of Malcolm Canmore. Referring to the five documents above:

The same chronology runs through the whole, and they stand apart, and far above all other chronicles in authority,—first, from their superior antiquity; secondly, because they emerge from the native races themselves, whose early annals they profess to give; and thirdly, because they were compiled before any of those controversies, whether secular or ecclesiastic, arose, which, like all controversies involving matters of national or clerical interest, in which the patriotic feelings of the country or the ambition of ecclesiastical parties are enlisted, led to the falsification of records and to the perversion of history.[2]

It is not difficult to ascertain to what extent the five historical documents, viz., the *Pictish Chronicle*, the *Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach, Irish and Pictish Additions to Nennius*, the *Albanic Duan* and the *Annals of Tighernac* are "entirely consistent and in perfect harmony with each other," referring only to that part which relates to the reign of Gregory. As the various discrepancies in these documents have been so thoroughly threshed out by all writers since the time of Fordun, the details are unnecessary to my point, which is merely to ascertain to what extent these five "consistent" and "harmonious" documents agree as to the reign of King Greg.

The *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine*, records the reign of Greg and Eochodius, which is repeated here for ready reference:

Eochodius autem filius Ku (sic) regis Britannorum nepos Kinadi ac fil. regn. an XI. Licet Giricium fil. alii dicunt his regnasse eo quod alumpnus, ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat. Cujus secundo anno Aed fil. Niel moritur, ac in nono anno ipso die cirici eclipsis solis facta est. Eochodius cum alumno suo expulsus est nunc de regno.

(Cf. facsimile, p. 222)

The *Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach* record King Greg

[1] *Historians of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. xxxvi.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxxvi.

as *Girg mac Dungaile*, and in a footnote to the Chronicle, Skene explains *Grig, ison of Dungal.* There is no mention of an Eochodius. (Cf. facsimile, p. 119)

The *Irish and Pictish Additions to Nennius*, which are the same as the *Irish and Pictish Additions to the Historia Britonum*, contain in (B) the earliest form of the name, *Cirig*, the son of Cruithne, with a reign of eighty years. In a footnote, Skene translates it Cirig, but by a mistake, evidently typographical, makes it eight instead of eighty years. This mention of *Cirig* in the *Historia Britonum* does not, of course, relate to King Gregory, but gives us the earliest form of the annals in which the name of Greg first appears. (Cf. facsimile, p. 122)

The Addition (C) to the same document gives Greg a *sole* reign as *Giric mac Dungaile.* (Cf. facsimile, p. 123)

The *Duan Albanach* omits his name altogether, and, according to Skene and Dr. Todd, the omission may have been intentional. (Cf. facsimile, p. 189)

The *Annals of Tighernac* have no record of his reign, because of the missing pages covering his dates. (Cf. facsimile, p. 186)

If the other reigns in these five documents are no more "consistent" and in "perfect harmony" than in the case of King Gregory, a comparison need not be drawn. Future historians will have to rely on other documents when trying to synchronise the events of Scottish history, if this one instance is any indication of their agreement. I cannot too frequently call attention to the fact that the *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine*, is the only document known which confuses the reign of King Gregory with that of another.

The *Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland*, a work covering the period from Fergus the First to James the Sixth, 1611, is credited to David Chalmers by its Editor, John W. Mackenzie, who presented it to the Maitland Club in 1830. Mackenzie asserts that the work of Chalmers is merely an abridgment of Hector Boece. It is equally true that all historians rely on the main facts in the works of their predecessors for the construction of

their own, though I have found, approximately, that Chalmers is nearer to the truth in some of his data than some of the more modern writers. In these later histories of Scotland, there is absolutely nothing new, except conjectures and arguments, which often appear to have no foundation in fact. I do not give this Chronicle in full, quoting only such parts as relate to my subject:

1. The Yeir of the Varld according to Esebeus 3603; before the coming of Cryst 1588.
3. Fergus crounit in Scotland the yeir befoir the cuming of Cryst 330. He rignitt 25 yeiris.
13. Carratacus crounit A.D. 33. Ringit 21 yeiris.
19. Ethodius I. crounit A.D. 162. Ringir 35. The reparation off Adreans wall.
20. Ethodius II. crounit 216 A.D. Ringit 16.
22. Donaldus II. crounit 263. Ringit 2.
26. Eugenius I. crounit 366. Ringit 3.
28. Fergus II. crounit 422. Ringit 9.
32. Congallus, crounit 482. Ringit 20.
33. Kinnatillus, crounit 578. Ringit 1.
33. Adainus, crounit 580. Ringit 25.
34. Kennethus Keir, crounit 606. Ringit 1.
34. Eugenius IV. crounit 606. Ringit 15.
35. Donevaldus, or Donaldus IV. crounit 632. Ringit 17.
36. Eugenius V. crounit 684. Ringit 4.
39. Fergus III. crounit 765. Ringit 3.
39. Soluathius, crounit 768. Ringit 20.
39. Achaius, crounit 789. Ringit 32.
43. Dongallus, crounit 824. Ringit 6. The king drounit in Spey. (Father of Greg, or Gregory the Great, G.)
43. Alpin, crounit 830. Ringit 8.
47. Gregorie, crounit 876. Ringit 18. The defeatt of the Frittons and Inglissmen; the tining of Northumberland, Vestmuirland, and Cumberland. The Battell of Lochmaben. The King of Yrland taen be the Scottis. The building of the toun of Abeerdeine.
51. Grimus, crounit 1002. Ringit 9. (King Greg, Kenneth IV., G.)
53. Macbethus, crounit 1046. Ringit 17. Macbethus slayne be McDuff, Erlle of Fyffe. Of his gret honouris. Of singular Combattis.

There is also given the usual account of King Gregory's successes in Ireland and Scotland, differing but little from those

recounted previously. The author's text begins with the story of Gathelus, who—

"had in mairryadge Scota dochter of Pharo King of Egipt, and sister to him that wes deownit in the Reid sie. . . . He transportitt him and his cumpanie to the country of Cadys in Spayne, and to Cantabria callit presantly Bisquay, quhair haiffing caussit build the toune callit Brigance, presantly callit Compostilla, thair he wes crounit King, and caussit his pepill to be callit Scottis efter the name of his wyff Scotta.

There are many passages in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland* worthy of special attention. They bear on our subject, and prove the descent of Greg from the royal line of Scotland, as the son of King Dongallus, or Dungale, but there is no mention of a "joint reign" of Eochodius with Greg. On the contrary, Greg is given full credit for one of the most prosperous reigns during those early days, as the following extracts from Chalmers attest:

Achaius, the LXV King of Scottis, sone to the foirsaid Ethfinus. (P. 39.)

Convallus the LXVI King of Scottis, cussing germane to the foirsaid Achaius, leiwit in gude peace with Hungus King of the Pechis, and all his wther nychtbours. He is bureyit in Columkill. (P. 43.)

Dongallus the LXVII King of Scottis, sone to the foirsaid Selvathius, heaffand pacifeit ane tumwltt amangis his pepill becaus thay wald constrayne Alpin sone to the foirsaid Achaius to tak wpone him the croune of Scotland, Dongallus and he being accorditt togidder, the king thairefter denuncitt weirr with the Pechis becaus thay refuissit Alpin to be thair king, quha wes only sone to Forguz dochter to Hungus King of Pechis and his air, becaus that Dostorlogus and Egannus was deid, quha war hir bredren, without childrein. The King willing to pas the rewer of Spay in ane littill bark to prepair for the weir aganis the Pechis, wes be accident drownitt. He is bureyit in Colimkill. (P. 43.)

Alpin appears as next King, and was succeeded by his son Kenneth. Then follow Donaldus, brother of Kenneth, and Constantine.

Ethus vtherwyiss callitt Lichtfutt, the LXXII King of Scottis, broder to Constantine, heawing begun to reforme his subiectis, himself chayngis his maneris, and giffs him to leicherrie and wthee wyceis; quhairfoir he wes taine, and put in prissone, quhair he deitt, and his counsallouris war hangit. He wes bureyit in Colimkill. (P. 46.)

In other accounts Ethus is said to have been mortally

wounded in a battle among the chiefs at Strathallan and to have died two months thereafter.

Gregorie the LXXIII King of Scotland, sone to the foirsaid Dongallus, did so mekill be his wailweantnes and grit manheid, that in few dayis he chaissit all the Deanis, Brittanis and Inglismen, quha peciablie bruikit and possest all the landis betuix Ingland and the Firths of Forthe, and from Stirling to Donbritton, ewer sen the deathe of Donald brother to Kenethus. And efter he defait the Deanis remanying in Northumberland, in ane battall neir wnto York, Herduntus being thair Captane, he conqueist Northumberland, Comerland, and Westmurland. Thairafter he desconfeitt the Inglismen and Saxonis in ane battall at Lochmabane. Immediatlie he dantoneitt the Irland men quha had done gritt heirschepis in Scotland, and tuik thair young King in his keiping being thair in proper persone; and pacefeitt all seditioun of all his land. Efter heaffing made mony gritt and gude lawis for awancement of religioune, he gaiff his ayth to defent the libertie of the kirk, and left the sam to be done be all his successouris to do the lyk. He caussit build the toune of Aberdeine. He deceissit at Dunnotter, and was bureyit in Colimkill. (P. 47.)

Grimus, newoy, or as wtheris reporttis sone, wnto Duffus, wes crounitt the LXXXII King of Scotland in the absence of the foirsaid Malcolme, thane remainand in Comerland, within the bourdouris off Ingland. (P. 51.)

Macbethus afoirsaid, newoy to Malcomus the first be his second dochter Douada, Countess of Glammis, then succeeded to the throne. (P. 53.)

Malcolmus the thrid, callit Malcome Cainmoir, sone to the foirsaid Duncane, electit with grit joy the LXXXVI king of Scottis. (P. 54.)

While this chronicle differs in some minor points from others, it agrees with nearly all of them in the descriptions of the above named kings.

DE

ORYGYNALE CRONYKIL

OF

SCOTLAND,

BE

ANDROW OF WYNTOWN,

PRIOWR OF SANCT SERFIS YNCHE IN LOCH LEVYN.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED,

WITH

NOTES, A GLOSSARY, &c.

BY

DAVID MACPHERSON.

THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY T. BENSLEY;

AND SOLD BY THOMAS EGERTON, WHITEHALL;
AND WILLIAM LAING, EDINBURGH.

M.DCC.XCV.

De Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland is supposed to have been written about A.D. 1420 "be Androw of Wyntown." The copy in my possession is a reprint, edited by David MacPherson, in two volumes, 1795. As already observed, Fordun and Wyntown were contemporaries, though unacquainted and unfamiliar with the work of the other.

It is worthy of mention that the name of *Mac*Gregor does not occur in any of these old comments, as the prefix "mac" had not at that time become a part of the surname.

The editor states:

> Andrew of Wyntown, not inferior to Fordun in historic merit, has also an equal claim to the title of an *original historian* of Scotland; for, though he survived Fordun, it is certain that he never saw his work. . . . From a comparison of Fordun and Wyntown, who may be considered as two witnesses ignorant of the evidence given by each other . . .[1]

Thomas Innes also states:

> Thus *Winton;* and by these two writers, *Fordun* and Winton, the most ancient, and indeed the only general historians the Scots have extant, before the tragedy of King James III. and who wrote independently one of another, as is plain by their works.[2]

Wyntown's frequent reference to "Greg-mak-Dougal," "Kyng Gryg," "Dis Gregor Kyng," and "Gregore," prove that Greg was not unknown at the time Wyntown's *Chronicle* was written. There is no mention of an Eochodius having reigned with Gregory:

> Quhen Gregory's dayis ware all dwne,
> Donald, Constantynus Swne,
> Wes Kyng in Scotland of powere,
> And held that State elewyn yhere.

In the second volume, Greg is indexed, "*Greg or Gregore King of Scottis, son of Dougal,*" and in the list of "Kings of the Scottis" "*Gregore or Greg son of Dougal.*"

[1] *De Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, pp. ii., and xxiv.
[2] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., p. 264.

Bot frá þis Fergus evin be lyne
Kynede diſcendyd mak-Alpyne.
And, as we fynd in oure Story,
Crwthnè þat tyme mak-Rymy
Wes þe fyrſt in-til Scotland
Atoure þe Peychtis Kyng regnand;
He lyvyd, and regnyd fyfty yhere;
Bot of his douchty Dedis ſere
I wyll tell ná mare þan I wate,
For Cornykklis, þat of hym wráte,
Sayd, he wes a Juge myld
Regnand oure þe Peychtis wyld.
Neſt tyl him ſuccedyd Gede,
And was máid Kyng in-til his ſtède
Oure þe Peychtis in Scotland
Ane hundyr and fyfty yhere regnand.

In his mene time be kyng cald Hed (Hugh, G.)
Of Scottis deyd. Dan in hys stede
Hys swne ras, bai callyd Fergus
Bot bis Hed bat cald wes bus
Wes cald Hed-Fyn in Scottis lay,
In Inglys Hed-Qwhyt bat is to say,
Dis Fergus Hed swne quehn he wes awlde,
Had a Swn wes cald Sewald.
(Some men cald bat Swne Eokal),
Dat Kyng wes oure be Scottis all.
Hys Sown Dowgal gat Alpyn.
Kyned mak-Alpyn gat he syne.
Hed and bis Kyngys were
Before Alpyne fifty yhere.

A.D. 840 Awcht hundyr wynter fourty
Frá God wes borne of oure Lady,
Alpyne Kyng wes yheris thre.
Wyth the Peychtis fwá faucht he,
Dat mony of thame wyth fors of hand
Owt he pwt than of Scotland.
He wan of Were all Galluway:

Dare wes he slayne, and dede away,
Quhen Lowys wes Emperoure,
Charlys Sowne, in gret honoure.

A.D. 843 Aucht hundyr wynter fourty and thre
Estyre the blyst Natyvtè.
Quhen Alpyne bis Kyng wes dede,
He left a Sowne was cald Kyned:
Dowchty man he wes and stowt.
All the Peychtis he put owte.
Gret Bataylis than dyde he
To pwt in Fredwme hys Cuntrè.
Frá the Peychtis left the Land,
Sextene yhere he wes lyvand.
Owt of Ergyle the Scottis
He browcht, and quhare that the Peychtis
Had before than thaire duellyng,
He gert thame duell, and wes thare Kyng;
And tretyd the Scottis favorably,
And thame defendyd manlyly.
Laws he mad that estyre syne
War cald the Lawys Mak-Alpyne.
At Fortevyot hys lyf tuk end.
Till Icolmkil than wes he send;
Dare enteryd yhit he lyis
Wndyr Epitaphe on this wyis:

Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kynedus,
Filius Alpini, prelia multa gerens.
Expulsis Pictis regnaverat octo bis annis:
Et post Fortevyot mortuus ille fuit.

A.D. 859 Aucht hundyr fyfty yhere and nyne
Frá lychtare wes the swet Virgyne,
Saynt Edmund of Est-Ingland
Tuk all the Kynryk in hys hand.
And that ilke yhere, wes dede
De Kyng of Scottis this Kynede.
Downald hys Brodyre in Scotland
Wes eftyre hym as Kyng regnand
Foure yhere; and syne at Skwne
Be slawchter wes hys dayis dwne.
In Ilkolmkil lyis he:
Dare thir Wers wryttyne men may see:

Rex Donaldus erat in Scotia quatuor annis.
In bello miles strenuus ille fuit.

Regis predicti frater fuit ille Kynedi,
Qui Scone fertur subditus esse neci.

Quhen dede wes Donald, Constantyne
Nest eftyr hym Kyng wes syne
Fyftene wynter in Scotland.
And wyth the Norwayis than fychtand
Wes slayne in-til Verdofatha.
In Ykolmkil he lyis alsua:
Oure hys Grave yhit to rehers
Wryttyne men may fynd thir Ẅers:

Jam Constantinus fuerat rex quinque ter annis:
Regis Kynedi filius ille fuit.
In bello pugnans Dacorum corruit armis:
Nomine Nigra specus est, ubi pugna fuit.

Dis Constantyne than regnand
Oure the Scottis in Scotland.

A.D. 878 Aucht hundyr wynter and sevynty
And aucht to rekyn fullyly.
Hed regynd bot a yhere,
Dis Constantynys Brodyr dere:
Báthe ware thai Sownnys of Kynede
Mak-Alpyne. Gregore slwe this Hede:
And eftyr hym neste wes he Kyng,
And Scotland had in governyng.
In Ycolmkil lyis hys body
Wndyr this Epitaphy:

Ejusdem frater regnaverat Alipes Hedus,
Qui Greg-mak-Dougal saucius ense perit.
Hic, postquam primum regni compleverat annum,
In Strath-Aline vitam vulnere finierat.

A.D. 881 Awcht hundyre yhere foure score and ane.
Frá God of Mary flesch had táne,
* * * * * * *
Dis Gregor Kyng, that slayne had Hede,
Kyng wes regnand in hys stede
Auchtene wynter, and than he
In gret state held that Reawtè.
De Kyrk of Scotland, befor hys dawys
Dat grevyd wes be the Peychtis lawys,
He relewyd in gret Fredome,
Frá in the Kynryk Kyng he come.
All Ingland he wan of Were,

And Irland Nere, wyth hys Powere.
He lyis als in Ycolmkill:
His Epitaphy red quha will:

Greg sua jura gerens annis deca rex fit et octo.
In Dundorne probus morte retentus erat.
Hic dedit ecclesie libertatem Scoticane,
Que sub Pictorum lege redacta fuit.
Hujus ad imperium fuit Anglia tota subacta,
Quod non leva dedit sors sibi bella terens.[1]

Dis Greg, that I spak of beforne,
Tuk hys endyng at Dwndorne.
All thus this Kyng, hys Kyng that kend
Had grace in Hap hys tyme to spend.
For he luẅyd God and Haly Kyrk,
Wyth Wyt he wan hys will to wyrke.
Thoucht and Deid he mád báth eẅyn,
And send hys Spyryte syne till Heẅyn.

In the Index of Wyntown's volume ii. under the heading of *Kings of the Scottis*, the following genealogical data are found:

Fergus, son of Hed;
Sewald or Eokal, son of Fergus;
Dowgal, son of Sewald;
Alpin, son of Dowgal;
Kyned, son of Alpyn;
Downald mak-Alpyn;
Constantyne, son of Kyned;
Hed, brother of Constantyne;
Gregore or Greg, son of Dougal.

It will be well to here contrast the statements by Fordun, Wyntown, Boece, and others of the early period, with those writers of the modern school who record Greg as co-ruler with an *Eochodius*.

[1] Translation: Greg in his own right was King for eighteen years, In Dundorne he was overtaken by death, in honour. He gave liberty to the Church of Scotland, Which had been brought under Pictish law. All England was made subject to his dominion, which a not unkindly fortune gave him, By making wars numerous.

THE

HISTORY AND CHRONICLES

OF

SCOTLAND:

WRITTEN IN LATIN

BY HECTOR BOECE,

CANON OF ABERDEEN;

AND TRANSLATED

BY JOHN BELLENDEN,

ARCHDEAN OF MORAY, AND CANON OF ROSS.

VOLUME I.

EDINBURGH:
REPRINTED FOR W. AND C. TAIT.
M.DCCC.XXI.

The History and Chronicles of Scotland was written in 1536 by Hector Boece, translated by John Bellenden, and published in two volumes in Edinburgh in 1821. I have taken from this work his line of kings beginning with Fergus III.[1]

Fergus, the third of that name, and son to King Ethfine, was maid king, efter deith of Eugenius VIII.

Solvathius, sonne of Eugenius the VIII. was maid king. Solvathius beand deceissit, *Achaius*, son of Ethfine, was maid king. Eftir deith of Achaius, succedit his brother sonne *Conwallus;* for Alpine, the sonne of Achaius, wes of so tendir age, that he micht not succeid to the crown.

Conwallus deceissit on this maner, succedit, his cousing, *Dongallus, sonne of Solvathius*, afor reheirsit. Sindry Scottis, seand this prince inclinit to justice, maid hortation to Alpine, sonne of Achaius, to tak the crown; traisting the extorsionis done be thaim to the commonis suld be unpunist be that way. And becaus he wes nocht as deligent, as they desirit, thay come on him awful mannassing; and swore, gif he tuk nocht haistely the crown, thay suld slay him. Alpine, astonist of his life, come, with ane gret nowmer of pepill in Argyle, to take the crown. Nochtheless, dredand gret trubill to appeir in the realme be his rebellioun, he fled, with two tendir servitouris, to King Dongallus; and wes so plesandlie ressavit, that Dongallus promittit, gif the pepil wer content, to exoner him of the crown, in favor of the said Alpine; for he desirit na thing sa mekill as the felicite of Achaius hous. Alpine gaif him thankis, and said, He wald not rassave the crown sa lang as Conwallus wes on live: . . . Dongallus, making gret deligence to assembil his pepil aganis the Pechtis, come to the watter of Spey, and gat ane cobil to pas ouir the samin; bot at last, be force of streme, he was borne downe the watter, and perist, the VI. yeir of his regne, fra the incarnation, DCCCXXX yeris; and wes buryit in Colmekill . . . Dongallus, perist in this manner, Alpine, son of Achaius, was maid king.

Then follow the usual accounts of the succession of Kenneth II., Donald, and finally, Constantine, son of Kenneth. Boece then recounts the reign of Ethus, brother of Constantine, followed immediately by Gregory:

Ethus beand thus miserably deceissit in prison, Gregoure, sonne to Congallus, that rang afore king Alpine, was crownit at Scone. He had bot two monethis in age, quehn his fader perist in Spey. This Gregoure, efter his coronation, knawing weill that devine helpe is the only targe and sicker munition of kingis and realmes, but quhilk na kingdomes may stand ony time permanent; thairfore, that he micht begin his empire with mair felicite, he set ane convention of his nobillis at Forfair, for agmentation of devine service.

[1] Vol. ii., pp. 121-192.

Boece devotes twelve pages of his history to the reign of King Gregory, or "Gregoure," as he terms him, concluding with the statement:

> Efter this, the Scottis had gude peace, but ony trubil, during al the time of Gregour; quhil at last, this nobil prince, protectour of the kirk, and haldar of his pepil in equite, na less puissant in polecy, religioun, and justice, than in mercial glore and dedis of armes; fell, by lang age, in gret maledy; and deceissit in Dumdore, ane castel of Gareach, the xviii yeir of his regne; fra the incarnation, dcccxciii yeris; and wes buryit in Colmekill.

Boece's account of the reign of King Gregory coincides with and corroborates Fordun's and Wyntown's statements, and clearly shows that Gregory not only ruled Scotland as *sole king*, but came to the throne by right of birth, as the son of Dungallus, who was King of Scotland before the reign of Alpin.

He further explicitly states that Gregory died in his castle of Dunadeer—"ane castel of Gareach"—although Skene has endeavoured to locate it on Loch Earn.[1]

[1] Cf. *infra*, Chapter XI.

HISTORIA MA

ioris Britanniæ, tam Anglię q̄ Scotię, per Ioannē Ma
iorem, nomine quidem Scotum, professione autē
Theologum, e veterum monumentis concinnata.

Vęnundatur Iodoco Badio Ascensio.

Major's *History of Greater Britain* is one of the most complete narrations extant, of Scottish and English events. In the English edition, translated from the Latin and edited by Archibald Constable, with a prefatory Life of Major by Æneas J. G. Mackay (to which I have previously made reference), is found much valuable information not obtainable elsewhere, unless one is fortunate enough to possess a copy of the original Latin version. The title-pages reproduced are of interest.

Inſignia Scotiæ.

Ad Iacobum Quintum Scotorum Regem, Magnæ ſpei ac ſpectatę indolis puerum
Iodocus Badius Aſcenſius.

REX Iacobe, puer fatis melioribus orte,
Cui moderanda dedit Scotica ſceptra Deus,
Perlege maiorum regalia geſta tuorum,
Et libertatis protege iura tuæ.

Mackay thinks that the combining of the histories of the two countries by Major was "done of a set purpose to aid the view which Major insists on, that the two crowns should be united by marriage." He thinks that with the same object Major favoured the English more than had the earlier historians, being "the first Scottish advocate of the Union." He quotes Major's views:

> The Scots ought to prefer no king to the English in the marriage of a female heir, and I am of the same opinion as to the English in a similar case. By this way only two hostile kingdoms, flourishing in the same island, of which neither can subdue the other, would be united under one king, and if it is said the Scots would lose their name and kingdom, so would the English, for the king of both would be called King of Britain. . . . The Scottish nobles, as I think, are unwilling to have one king with power over the whole island, and the English nobles are of like mind, because the nobility would not dare to go against such a king. Yet a single monarch would be useful even to the nobles. They would flourish by justice; no one would dare use force against another. Their homes and families would be more permanent. No foreign king would invade their country, and if they were injured, they would be able without fear to attack others.[1]

These views were far in advance of Major's time, and Mackay thinks it singular that a Scotsman, bred in France, should have adopted them. He is of the opinion that experience must have convinced Major that Scotland would be better served by an English union than a French alliance. Mackay calls particular attention to Major's ability to distinguish truth from fable—with which the Scottish annals were then encrusted. He likewise commends his work as superior to that of Boece, his contemporary, and even to Buchanan, paying tribute to him as follows:

> History is a progressive branch of knowledge. Much more is known now than Major knew of our ancient annals. But his work will always be interesting as the first History of Scotland written in a critical and judicial spirit, and as presenting the view of that history in its past course and future tendency, taken by a scholar of the sixteenth century, who, though he halted in the old theology, was so far as history is concerned singularly far sighted and fair. Such qualities are not even yet so common amongst historians that we can afford to neglect an early example of their exercise.[2]

Major discarded the familiar story that the Scottish kings

[1] Major's *History of Greater Britain*, p. lxxix.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. cxiv-cxv.

were descended from *Scota*, agreeing with Bede that they originally came into Ireland from Spain, and further, that the Picts probably came also by the way of Ireland and Scythia, deriving their name from their habit of painting the body.

Major's opinions are clearly expressed by himself in the following facsimiles and translations, taken from the edition of 1520 or 1521, which date is most peculiarly inserted on the facsimile on p. 283, a good pictorial story of the early art of printing. John Knox and George Buchanan were pupils under Major, and doubtless owed much of the enthusiasm and success of their works to the inspiration they received from him.

De Gestis Scotorum

Dũgalus

Nno ab orbe redempto.802. vitam in mortem Congalus Scotorum rex commutauit Cui Dũgalus tempore Ludouici imperatoris succeſſit,qui ſolum ſeptem annis regnauit. Huius regis tẽpore poſt.l.annoꝝ pacẽ cũ Pictis obſeruatam noua belli ſeminaria prodierũt.Et id rationis erat. Nã dũ Britãniã Picti primo ingreſſi ſunt : cõiuges ex Scotis Hibernicis a quibus Scoti Britãni pullularũt hac lege acceperũt: ꝙ ĩ caſu ancipiti ad mulierẽ,& nõ ad virũ regnũ ſpectaret. & ex cõſequẽti illius legis vi inſtare tẽpus Scoti dixere ꝙ ius regni Pictoꝝ ad Scotos attinebat.Circa hoc ius Picti tergiuerſabãtur & ſiue via iuris ſiue facti id factũ ſit:belli periculoſi futuri ſeminarium iactũ eſt. Poſt Dungalum Alphinus inter Scotos regnat qui bellũ a ꝑdeceſſore inchoatum in Pictos continuauit vix vnq̃ a bello relaxans ſpiritũ.Anno eius.iii.in feſto Paſchatis inter eum & Pictos grande prelium cõmiſſum eſt: in quo plerique Scotoꝝ illuſtres viri cecidere:victoria tamẽ Scoti potiti ſunt. Poſt hoc anno.xii. Kalendas Auguſti acri bello Pictos Alphinus adoritur,in quo Scotoꝝ plurimi interierũt: & a Pictis Alphinus captiuus abductus eſt, & ſine miſericordia vlla capite obtruncatus. Alphino occiſo ſumma rerum apud Scotos Kenedus eius filius habuit in re militari cũ patre non parum exercitatus,& vltra animi fortitudinẽ & corporis robur prudentia militari (ſine qua incaſſum pugnat) pollebat.Sui regni primores viros ad cõſilium vocat, & quia ſuos in Pictos non facile mouendos ob varias clades acceptas arbitratus eſt eis oratione in qua plurimum valuit bellum ſuadere niſus eſt. Et ſic orſus putatur. Viri Scoti ſi vos ad

Pictoꝝ cõtrouerſia cũ Scotis.

Alphinꝰ.

Alphinꝰ captꝰ trucidatur.

Kenedus.

In the year of the Redemption of the world, 802, Congal, king of the Scots, passed away and was succeeded by Dungal, in the reign of Emperor Louis. His reign lasted for only seven years. During the course of this reign, after fifty years' duration of the peace with the Scots, fresh causes of strife broke forth. This was the manner of it: On the first landing of the Picts in Britain, they took their wives from the Scotch-Irish, and from these the Scots of Britain are descended. This condition, however, was attached, that in case of any doubt as to the kingship, the kingdom should come to the wife and not the husband. As a result of this agreement, the Scots asserted that the time was at hand when the royal power over the Picts should fall to them, the Scots. Concerning this right, however, the Picts hedged, whether it was a result of the law or the facts of the case. At any rate, the seeds of a dangerous, future war were sown. After Dungal came Alphin as ruler among the Scots. He continued the war begun by his predecessor with the Picts, with energetic persistence. In the third year of his reign on Easter day, he fought a great battle with the Picts, in which the Scots, though losing many illustrious men, still gained the victory. Afterward in the first of August in the twelfth year of his reign, Alphin fell upon the Picts in a fiercely contested battle, when very many of the Scots perished. Alphin, himself, was captured and beheaded mercilessly. On his death the rule over the Scots fell to his son Kenneth.[1]

Major claims that following the Britons, the Picts invaded the island, then the Irish Scots, each with a separate king and kingdom, so that no one of the nations could understand the language of the other.

After recounting the usual reigns of the kings, as given by the authors heretofore quoted, Major's list is brought down to Ethus, the Wing-footed, who preceded King Gregory:

Gregori⁹ Hiberniæ ſubactio.

Etho ergo ꝑempto Gregorius anno domini. 875. apud Scoꝫnam ſolenniter coronatus eſt. Libertates eccleſiaſticas quę ante eum diminute erāt, ampliauit: ſimultates & inimicitias inter ſui regni principes viros mulcebat. Poſt hæc Hiberniā inſulam quā iure ſucceſſionis ad ſe attinere dicebat, adiuit: quā non multo tempore ſubegit, & Anglię partem Borealem partim humanitate & prudentia, partim viribus accepit: deinde in pace diem clauſit extremam: & in inſula Iona ſepultus:

Translation:

On the death of Ethus, Gregory was solemnly crowned at Scone in the year of our Lord 875. He enlarged the liberties of the church which had suffered diminution before his time, and healed the strifes and enmities existing among the chief nobles of his kingdom. Afterwards, he attacked Ireland, which he claimed as his own by rights of succession. After subduing that island in a short time, he also made himself ruler over the

[1] Liber ii., fo. xxxv.

northern part of England, partly by his leniency and ability, partly by force of arms. Finally, after the accomplishment of these deeds, he closed his eyes in peace, and was buried in the island of Iona.[1]

With regard to Major's statement above, Mackay says in his English edition:

> This is taken, according to Mr. Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 331), from a copy of the Chronicle of St. Andrews, which states that Gregory subdued "Hiberniam totam et fere Angliam." It has been copied by later chroniclers, but Mr. Skene prefers the reading "totam Berniciam et fere Angliam" (cf. *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 288) and remarks that there is no trace of any conquest of Ireland, and that "Hibernia" seems to have been substituted for "Bernicia." [2]

Skene is in error when he says there is no trace of any conquest of Ireland by King Gregory. On the contrary, many of the documents reproduced in Chapter IV. record this conquest in substantially the same terms employed by Major. Skene and his followers seem to be the only writers throwing doubt upon the previously accepted history of King Gregory's reign.

Major frequently refers to Gregory as "the son of Dungal," in no single instance referring to him as co-ruler with Eochodius. Neither does he refer to him as *usurper*, *tutor*, *associate* or *governor* to Eochodius: but, with all of the early chroniclers, praises him for his wisdom and valour, comparing his reign with that of King David and the Alexanders. In describing the reign of Donald, the grandson of Kenneth the Great, who succeeded Gregory, Major again alludes to the conquests of Ireland and England, and incidentally refers to the reputation which Gregory gained among the Kings of Scotland:

[1] Lib. iii., fo. xxxix.
[2] In Major's *Greater Britain*, p. 113.

Lib. III. Fo. XL.

Símile factũ legímus de ſancto Felici ſubulis ſutoriis enecto.
¶Poſt Gregoriũ Donaldus Kenedi magni nepos Conſtátíní Donald⁹.
Regis filius apud Scotos regnat, qui labore improbo terras
quas Gregorius acquiſiuit tuerí niſus eſt, quia Nõ minor eſt
virtus q̃ quęrere parta tuerí. Nũc Hiberniã nũc terras ĩ An
glía captas víſitat & ſubíectís legẽ ponit. Huíc Donaldo Da
ní multa obtulerũt, quatín⁹ cũ eís ín Anglos bellũ mouerer,
quíbus Donaldus nõ acquíeuit, índecorũ cẽſens chríſtícolas
& fideles víros gratía Paganorũ vel poſſeſſionís ínıuſte poſſí
dẽdę íquíetare. In hoc vírũ laudo & paulo poſt Gregoriũ lau

Translation:

After the death of Gregory, Donald, grandson of the great Kenneth, and son of King Constantine, succeeded as king of the Scots. He made every effort to preserve the lands that Gregory had won, acting on the principle that "it is no less valorous to guard than to gain." Now he would visit Ireland, now the captured lands in England, arranging laws for the subject peoples. To him the Danes proposed many reasons wherefore he should join them in a war against the English, but Donald refused them, considering it a shameful deed, for the sake of heathenish people to disturb Christians and faithful men, even though these latter be in unlawful possession of their lands. For this, I praise him, and consider him in merit but little inferior to Gregory himself.

The *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine*, was not published by Thomas Innes until about two hundred years after Major's time, but as it totally disagrees with every other document on the subject, it will be safe to conclude that all other documents could not be in error and this *only chronicle* correct, when it makes Gregory's a mere co-reign with that of Eochodius.

THE

SCOTTISH CHRONICLE;

OR, A

COMPLETE HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

OF

SCOTLAND;

BEING

AN ACCURATE NARRATION OF THE BEGINNING, INCREASE PROCEEDINGS, WARS, ACTS, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE SCOTTISH NATION, FROM THE ORIGINAL THEREOF UNTO THE YEAR 1585.

TOGETHER WITH

A particular, full, and interesting Account of all its
SHIRES, ISLANDS, SEAS, RIVERS, LAKES, BAYS,—*&c. &c. &c.*

LIKEWISE,

ITS CHIEF CITIES, TOWNS, UNIVERSITIES, BISHOPRICKS, DUKEDOMS, EARLDOMS, VISCOUNTIES, ABBIES, CHURCHES,—*&c. &c. &c.*

ALSO,

An useful and entertaining Relation of the Religion, Customs, Manners, Virtues and Vices of the Scots and Picts: and a genuine Detail of the Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Commodities, Natural Curiosities, Antiquities, Minerals, Vegetable Productions, Flowers, Herbs, Plants,—&c. &c. *found in its various Regions.*

BY THE REVEREND AND LEARNED

MR. RAPHAEL HOLLINSHEAD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

ARBROATH:

PRINTED BY J. FINDLAY:——AND SOLD BY
MESSRS. MAGNAY, *and* PICKERING,
R. OGLE, J. ROACH, *London;*
W. *and* J. DEAS, *Edinburgh;*
A. WILSON, *Glasgow.*

1805.

The title-page of Hollinshead's Chronicle is characteristic of the works of that period. The name of Shakespeare is intimately associated with that of Hollinshead, for it is conceded that he drew the material for several of his most popular characters from the stories woven into this famous chronicle.

Hollinshead begins his work with a very full and interesting account of the Scots' descent from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh Orus, King of Egypt. This account, being compiled from various histories existing at the time, is much more complete than any account found elsewhere. He also gives an account of the settling of a colony of Scots from Ireland, 133 years after the coronation of Simon Brechus. He describes his reign as follows:

> Brechus being thus crowned, was the first king that reigned over the Scots in Ireland, who began his reigne there, in the years from the creation of the world 3270, which time by Mr. Harrison's account, is after the floud 1616, from the first building of Rome 55, after the entrie of Brutus into Britaine 870, and before the incarnation of our Saviour 697. . . . divers companies of them [Scots, G.] got them over into the maine land of the north part of this our Britaine, called as then Albion . . . *Anno 3383*. That part where they first began to settle themselves, they named Argathelia, after the name of their first captein and guide Gathelus, but the inhabitants at this day call it Argile. . . . In this state they continued many a yeare, increasing in processe of time unto a mightie nation. . . . In this mean time also, the Picts which were a certaine people of Germanie, as most writers do agree, came and set foot also in another part of Britaine, which now is comprehended likewise within Scotland. Some saie that they came forth of the hither part of Scithia, and other there be which hold opinion, that they descended of the people named in old time Agathyrsi, which inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, and were called Picts, because they used to paint and colour their faces, or (as some suppose) for that they used gaie apparell of divers and sundrie colours; but the same writers generallie confesse, that they first came into Germanie or hither Scythia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yeares before they entered into Britaine. . . . These Picts, as by conference of times may appeare, entered first into Scotland, about the yeare after the creation of the world 3633.[1]

From the above account it appears that the Scots were settled in what is now called Scotland about 350 years before the arrival of the Picts. An account of the rule of royal succession is found in the following paragraph:

> This ordinance also they decreed to be observed as a law from thence-

[1] *Scottish Chronicle*, vol. i., p. 41, 42.

forth ever after, that if the king died leaving no issue, but such as were under age to succeed him, then should one of his nearest cousins, such as was thought meetest to occupie the roome, be chosen to reigne as king during his life, and after his deceasse the crowne to revert unto his predecessors issue without controversie, if the same were once growne up to his lawfull age.[1]

He mentions the establishment of Icolumkill, in Iona, in the year A.D. 352. In previous pages, the names of Ióna and Icolumkill have become quite familiar, as the burial place of royalty and their descendants. I therefore quote from Hollinshead:

The same time the Scotish bishops and priests, being banished as well as the other sort of the Scotish people; a number of their monks got them into the ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, where they erected a monastrie for their own habitation, the worthienesse whereof hath beene right famous, even unto these our daies.[2]

As the *Pictish Chronicle* was unknown in Hollinshead's time, he had not heard of the joint reign of Gregory and Eochodius.

A comparison of the line of succession in Hollinshead's Chronicle, with that of the chronicles or histories of Fordun and Wyntown, as well as the line given by Boece, Major and others, shows no material variation. According to Hollinshead:

Eugenius VIII., son of Mordake, died in A.D. 767;
Solvathius, son of Eugenius VIII., in A.D. 788;
Achaius, son of Ethfine, in A.D. 819;
Alpin claims the throne by right of descent from both the Pictish and Scottish lines of kings—the former from Fergusia, the Pictish Princess, and the latter from regular, undisputed Scottish descent. "*By this means both the Nations of Scots and Picts* should be joined in one."
Dongall, son of Solvathius, drowned in the River Spey in A.D. 830;
Alpin, son of Achaius, beheaded by the Picts in A.D. 834;
Kenneth, son of Alpin, died at Forteviot, A.D. 856;
Donald, brother of Kenneth, died in A.D. 860;
Constantine, son of Kenneth, killed in A.D. 874;
Ethus (Heth, Aodh, etc.), succeeded by *Gregory*, son of *Dongallus*, in A.D. 875.

[1] *Scottish Chronicle*, vol. i., p. 49.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

Ethus.

The people likewise doubting for want of a governor to be the sooner overcome by t[he] enemies, did lead the said *Ethus* to *Scone*, where they crowned him king, in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 874, and the thirteenth after *Constantine* began to rule 874. estate of the realme.

But now to returne unto *Ethus*, I find that he was of such swiftnesse of foot, that he would match and make waie in running with harts and hounds, and thereupon was surnamed *Lightfoot:* but of what nimble lightnesse of bodie soever he was, truth it is that he was of disposition in mind unfit to have the order of anie publike regiment. For whereas he might have recovered *Fife* and *Louthian* with other regions, whilest the *Englishmen* and *Danes* were together by the eares, he passed over that occasion, delighting more in following the pleasures of the bodie and sensuall lusts, than to bestow his time in feates of chivalrie and other warlike exercises. The nobles of the realme perceiving him thus to abuse the woorthie gifts of his person, mistrusting least his insolent dooings should indamage the publike state of the common-wealth, they tooke counsell together how they might apprehend him, and to send him some whither out of the waie where to be safelie kept, and then to place some other in the gouernement of the realme, that might rule the same with more discretion on a better advice. And least their resolution should be disclosed before it took effect, they slacked no time, but went speedilie about their businesse. And comming to the king, whome they found a hunting in *Calidon wood*, they suddenlie arested him, and therewith committed him to safe keeping: and those whom they knew to be favourers of his evill rule and misgovernance, they put them also fast in irons, till they had answered unto such articles as should be laid to their charge. This doone, they proceeded to the

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election of a new king; and in the end by the persuasion of one *Dongall* governor or thane of *Argile*, they chose *Gregorie* the son of that *Dongall*, which reigned before *Alpine*, who was not past two moneths old when his father died.

GREGORIE.

This *Gregorie* being known to be a man worthie of the roome, though he himselfe onlie was against it, at length by persuasion received the investure of the kingdome of *Scone*, with all due solemnitie. *Ethus* hearing thereof, through anguish of mind died within three days after, in the second yeare of his reigne, and 876 after the birth of our *Saviour*. There be that write how he was strangled in prison by *Dongall* his procurement, least by adventure he might have been restored unto libertie, and withall have made claime to the crowne againe. *Gregorie* being thus established in the estate, considering that the suertie of all realmes rested in the hands of the *Divine Majestie*, to begin his government with some lucky enterprize, caused a convocation to be holden at *Forfair*, for the advancement of *Christs* religion: where, among other things, it was ordeined, that priests from thenceforth (to the end they might more freelie attend to their vocation) should be exempt from paieng of tribute and all manner of exactions. Also that they should not be constreined to go unto the wars, neither to come before anie temporall judges, but onlie before their ordinaries and bishops, by whom they should be judged in all causes. The same ordinaries and bishops should also have authoritie to order all men, both publike and private, as well for the keeping of faith given, as to constreine them to confirme the same, and to punish such as should be found in the contrarie; likewise in causes of controversie touching matrimonie, tithes, testaments, legacies, and such like: moreover, the correcting of those that blaspheme either God or his Saints.

876. H. B.

875 Jo. Ma.

Heretikes and necromancers, with other the like offendors against the lawes and articles of the Christian religion, was assigned unto the bishops and their substitudes, so that all those which were found disobedient unto them, and refused to be at their commandement, they should have authoritie to excommunicate them out of the church, and from companie keeping with anie of the congregation, so as they that were thus excommunicated, should be deprived of all abilitie to enjoy anie inheritance or right to lands or possessions whatsoever they were. Neither should they be accepted as a witness in anie manner of cause, neither bear anie office or rule in the common-wealth. This *Gregorie* also (as is said) was the first author of the ordinance, by the which the *Scotish* kings at their coronations use of ancient custome to vow by solemne oath, that during their lives, they should mainteine and defend the church with his ministers, in all ancient liberties and privileges, and not to suffer anie man to hurt or infringe the same.

There was surelie in this *Gregorie* a certeine naturall inclination to vertue, with such advisedness in all his words, that he uttered few or none but that the same seemed to be spoken with verie great consideration. He was never married, but continued in chastitie all his life time. Of meate and drink he was verie spare, delighting in all kind of sobrietie, more watchfull than given to sleepe. But his fame increased most for his mainteining of justice and civill administration concerning the state of the common-wealth, not

King *Gregorie* was never married.

In the last paragraph of the above facsimile is a statement not found in any other work; namely, that King Gregory was never married. The *Book of Deer* records a *Domnall mac Giric*, which could mean no other than *Donald, son of Greg*. As Hollinshead gives no authority for the statement that Greg never married, he cannot in this instance be considered authoritative.

The founding of Aberdeen, mentioned in various other Chronicles, is set forth by Hollinshead in the following lines:

> After this [the subjugation of Ireland, G.] there chanced no notable trouble with the Scots, neither foreign nor civill, by all the time of King *Gregories* reigne, so that passing the rest of his life in quietness, he studied chieflie for the politike government of his people in good order and rule, to the advancement of the commonwealth; and finallie died an happie old man, in a castell called *Dundore*, within the countrie of *Garioth*, in the eighteen yeare after his entering into his estate, and after the birth of our Saviour 893. He was never married, but lived in continuall chastitie; for his famous victories and other his princlie doings, he deserved of the *Scots* to be numbered among their most high and renowned princes. Among other his princlie acts which he set forward in his lifetime, to the adornment of his countrie and commonwealth; *Aberdine* (of a village) was advanced by him to the state and dignitie of a citie, and the church there indowed with faire revenues, and sundrie privileges. His bodie was conveyed unto the abbie of *Colmekill*, and there buried with all solemn pompe and exequies; over the which his next successor, *Donald* the Vth of that name, caused a fair town to be erected.[1]

All the early Chronicles agree as to King Greg's piety, his liberation of the Church from servitude, and his peaceful death in his Castle of Dunadeer in the Garioch. As frequently noted, some of the modern writers have vainly attempted to controvert this statement.

While reviewing Hollinshead's Chronicle it may be well to quote a few passages from him regarding other important personages in the royal line, namely, Grime, or Grimus (King Kenneth IV.), and Malcolm Canmore, crowned at Scone, April 25th, A.D. 1057. As previously stated, the reign of Malcolm Canmore marks an important epoch in the history of Scotland, for since his time there has been less dispute as to actual historical occurrences:

> Then *Grime* nephue to King *Duffe*, hearing of the slaughter made betwixt King *Constantine* and *Kenneth*, gathered together the residue of

[1] *Scottish Chronicle*, vol. i., p. 283.

Constantines armie, being scattered abroad after the overthrow, supposing that by the death of *Kenneth*, the partie of his brother *Malcolme* was sore weakened, and thereupon he came unto the abbeie of *Scone*, and there caused himself to be crowned king, as lawfull successor unto *Constantine*, by force of the old laws and ordinances of the realme.[1]

It is said that *Grime* was taken alive standing at defence, and most fiercelie fighting, who being sore wounded in the head, had both his eies put out, and afterwards continuing so in great miserie and languor certeine daies, at length departed out of this life, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, and was buried in *Colmekill*, after the incarnation 1010 yeares.[2]

Very probably during the time mentioned in the following quotation, the title of "Earl" began to be used instead of Mormaer. In speaking of Malcolm Canmore, Hollinshead says:

He created manie earls, lords, barons and knights. Manie of them that before were *thanes*, were at this time made *earls*, as *Fife*, *Menteth*, *Atholl*, *Levenox*, *Murrey* [Moray, G.], *Caithness*, *Ross* and *Angus*. These were the first earls that have been heard of among the Scotishmen, as their histories do make mention. Manie new surnames were taken up at this time among them.[3]

In reviewing the various chroniclers, it has not been possible to eliminate all matter foreign to my subject without partly destroying the connection. I have, therefore, quoted and given in facsimile to what may appear an unnecessary extent.

The analysis given of the origin of the Greg family is the result of an examination of the reprints and facsimiles of old documents, chronicles, histories and genealogical works covering several centuries; some written in Latin, some in Celtic (Irish or Gaelic) and some in Lowland Scotch, while many of them are now printed in English. The earlier ones have been assigned to dates beginning with the seventh century and ending with the sixteenth. Having been almost invariably written by the monks, priests, abbots and bishops of the early Church, they naturally remained in the custody of the religious houses until comparatively modern times.

In nearly all of these old documents, as I have shown in the preceding pages, King Gregory the Great; Greg, or Grimus (Ken-

[1] *Scottish Chronicle*, vol. i., p. 316.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 321.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 351.

neth IV.); his grandson Lulach, together with Lulach's son, Malsnechtan, have had as regular and important mention as any of the kings of Scotland, though Malsnechtan did not ascend the throne, because he was defeated by Malcolm Canmore. *Gregory* is nearly always mentioned as the "*son of Dungal . . .* who reigned next before Alpin"; and, according to Fordun, Boece, Wyntown, Buchanan and other writers, there is no more important reign among the kings of Scotland, if we except Kenneth MacAlpin and Malcolm Canmore. The following table of kings, compiled from the several writers just mentioned, indicates how clearly they have all recorded his reign:

Fordun—1 1385		*Wyntown*—2 1420		*Major*—3 1521	
Eugenius V.	697				
Eugenius VI.	715	Ewan	724	Eugenius V.	734
Murdacus	730	Murthak	727	Amberkeleth	
Ethfyn	761	Hed-Qwhyte			
Eugenius VIII.	763				
Fergus	766	Fergus			
Selwachius	787	Sewald (Eokal)[1]			
Achaius	819			Achaius	
Convallus	824			Congall	802
Dungallus	831	Dowgal		Dungall	809
Alpin	834	Alpyne	840	Alphin	821
Kenneth	854	Kyned	843	Kenneth	859
Donald	858	Downald	859	Donald	
Constantine	874	Constantyne	874	Constantine	
Heth	875	Hed	878	Ethus	
Gregory	892	Gregor Kyng	896	Gregory	875
Donald	903	Donald	908	Donald	
Constantine	943	Constantine	943	Constantine	903
Malcolm	952	Malcolme	946	Malcolm	943
Indulf	961	Indulf	955	Indulphus	
Duff	965	Dulf		Duffus	961
Culen	970	Culen (4½ yrs.)		Culinus	
Kenneth	994	Kyng Kynede (24 yrs.)		Kenneth	
Constantine	996	Constantyne (6 mos.)		Constantine	994
Gryme	1004	Gryme	1004	Gryme	1004
Malcolm	1034	Malcolm	1034	Malcolm	1034
Duncan	1040	Dwnkane	1040	Duncan	1040

[1] Wyntown evidently meant "Selwalchius" for *Sewald*, and "Achaius" for *Eokal*.

Fordun—1 1385	*Wyntown*—2 1420	*Major*—3 1521
Machabeus 1057	Makbeth Fynlak	Machabeus 1057
Lulath (4 mos.)	Lulawch (3 mos.)	Lulach
Malcolm (Canmore) 1057 to 1093	Malcolm (Canmore) 1057 to 1087	Malcolm (Canmore) 1057 to 1089

Boece—4 1536	*Hollinshead*—5 1578	*David Chalmers*—6 1556–1592
Eugenius VI.		
Amberkelleth		
Eugenius VII. 716	Eugenius VII. 716	Eugenius I. 366
Mordak 731	Mordack 734	Fergus II. 422
Ethfine 762	Ethfine 762	Eugenius II. 430
Eugenius VIII.	Eugenius VIII. 765	Dongardus 461
Fergus 767	Fergus 767	Constantinus I. 465
Solvathius 787	Solvathius 788	Congallus 482
Achaius 819	Achaius 819	Conranus 500
Convallus 824	Convall 824	Eugenius III. 535
Dongallus 830	Dongall 830	Convallus 568
Alpine 834	Alpine 834	Kinnatillus 578
Kenneth 855	Kenneth 855	Aidanus 580
Donald 860	Donald	Kennethus Keir 606
Constantine 874	Constantine	Ferquhardus 622
Ethus 876	Ethus 874	Donevaldus, or
Gregoure 893	Gregorie 893	Donaldus IV. 632
Donald 903	Donald 903	Ferquhardus 646
Constantine 943	Constantine 943	Malduinus 664
Malcolm 959	Malcolm 959	Eugenius V. 684
Indulphe 968	Indulf 961	Eugenius VI. 688
Duffus 972	Duffus 972	Amberkellitus 697
Culine 976	Culene 976	Eugenius VII. 699
Kenneth 1000	Kenneth	Mordacus 716
Constantine 1002	Constantine 1002	Ethfinus 732
Gryme 1010	Grime 1010	Eugenius VIII. 762
Malcolm 1040	Malcolme 1040	Fergus III. 765
Duncan 1046	Duncane 1046	Soluathius 768
Macbeth 1061	Makbeth 1057	Achaius 789
Malcolm (Canmore) 1061 to 1097	Malcolm (Canmore) 1057 to 1092	Convallus 819
		Dongallus 824
		Alpin 830
		Kennethus II. 839
		Donaldus V. 851

Boece—4 1536	*Hollinshead*—5 1578	*David Chalmers*—6 1556–1592
		Constantin II. 861
		Ethus 874
		Gregorie 876
		Donaldus VI.[1] 839
		Constantin III. 903
		Malcomus I. 943
		Indulphus 959
		Duffus 968
		Culinus 972
		Kennethus III. 976
		Constantin IV. 1000
		Grimus 1002
		Malcomus II. 1010
		Duncanus 1040
		Macbethus 1046
		Malcomus III. (Canmore) 1061 to 1097

1. Fordun is very explicit about dates, synchronising the events of the Scottish kings with events in France, Britain and Rome. His chronology may be considered as nearly accurate as any.

2. Wynton's dates are indefinite, though coinciding with Fordun in the main.

3. Major's work has no marginal dates. His use of the expression "about this time," in connection with his text, may mean anything or nothing, so far as chronology goes.

4 and 5. Boece and Hollinshead, of course, coincide in all particulars, being at variance only by a year or two in some instances.

6. The dates given in the list from Chalmers mark the *beginning* of the reign, and not the close of it.

N.B. Previous to the reign of Achaius there is some confusion in the lists, but beginning with his reign, the authors of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries practically agree in the lines of succession.

[1] The reign of Donaldus VI. seems to be an error. Donaldus V. began his reign in 851, according to Chalmers, and the insertion of Donaldus VI. must have been an afterthought, and inserted out of place.

Table of Kings, the genealogy and terminations of reign, compiled from *John of Fordun's Chronicle*, English edition, *Fergus mac Erc to Malcolm Canmore:*

A.D.		
403 to 419	Fergus, son of Erth, or Fergus mac Erc	
	Left three sons:	
	Eugenius, Dongardus, Constantius	Begotten of the daughter of Gryme, the Briton
452	Eugenius I.	son of Fergus, with his grandfather, the Consul Gryme
457	Dongardus	brother of Eugenius, son of Fergus
479	Constantius	brother of Eugenius and Dongardus
501	Congall	son of Dongardus
535	Gonranus [1]	brother of Congall
558	Eugenius II.	nephew of Gonranus (also called Eochodius Hebdre)
568	Convallus	brother of Eugenius II.
569	Kynatel or Connyd	brother of Convallus
604	Aydanus [2]	son of Gonranus
622	Eugenius III.	son of Aydanus (also called Eugenius Buyd or Eochodius)
632	Ferchardus	son of Eugenius III.
646	Donenaldus Brek	brother of Ferchardus
664	Ferchardus Fode	son of Ferchardus
684	Maldewinus	son of Donenaldus Brek
687	Eugenius IV.	son of Dongardus, son of Donald Brek
697	Eugenius V.	son of Ferchardus Fode
697	Amrikeleth	son of Findan, son of Eugenius IV.
715	Eugenius VI.	son of Findan and brother of Amrikeleth
730	Murdacus	son of Amrikeleth
761	Ethfyn	son of Eugenius VI.
763	Eugenius VII.	son of Murdacus
766	Fergus	son of Ethfyn
787	Selwalchius	son of Eugenius V., son of Ferchardus Fode
819	Achaius	son of Ethfyn
824	Convallus [3]	"kinsman" of Achaius
831	Dungallus	son of Selwalchius, son of Eugenius, son of Ferchardus Fode
834	Alpin	son of Achaius
854	Kenneth	son of Alpin

[1] Upon the death of Gonranus, his Queen fled into Ireland with her two sons, Rogenanus and Aydanus.

[2] Aydanus, son of Gonranus, returns to claim his throne.

[3] Fordun does not state the relationship of Convallus to Achaius, merely calling him "kinsman."

858	Donald	son of Alpin
874	Constantine	son of Kenneth
875	Heth	son of Kenneth
892	Gregory	son of Dungallus, son of Selwalchius
903	Donald	son of Constantine
943	Constantine	son of Heth
952	Malcolm	son of Donald
961	Indulf	son of Constantine, son of Heth
965	Duff	son of Malcolm
970	Culen	son of Indulf
994	Kenneth	son of Malcolm
996	Constantine	son of Culen
1004	Gryme [1]	son of Kenneth, son of King Duff
1034	Malcolm	son of Kenneth, son of Malcolm
1040	Duncan	son of Beatrice, daughter of Malcolm
1057	Machabeus [2]	son of Finele
4 months	Lulath [3]	cousin to Machabeus
1093	Malcolm Canmore	son of Duncan

In the foregoing lists of kings, the genealogies of all are distinct and clear, with the possible exception of Macbeth. Fordun, as will be seen, says Macbeth is "the son of Finele." It is perfectly clear, therefore, that he does not belong to any of the kings mentioned above, if we accept that statement and go no further. It will be well, therefore, to devote a page or two to the matter, since it is one of interest to our subject and one on which I have spent considerable time. It will be first necessary to state that during the reign of Kenneth, the son of Malcolm (A.D. 970 to A.D. 994), a question arose as to the succession of emperors, especially as to the successor of Otho III., a Council being appointed to decide upon the successor, instead of the son succeeding his father. Kenneth, being stirred up by such rumours, and wishing his son Malcolm to succeed him, endeavoured to pass a law by which "*thenceforth every king, on his death, should be succeeded by his son or his daughter, his nephew or his niece; or by his brother or sister, in the collateral line; or, in short by whoever was the nearest survivor in blood to the deceased king*, surviving him—even though it were a babe a day old."

[1] Greg, Kenneth IV.

[2] Fordun is here mistaken. On p. 166 of his work he states that Finele's *only son* had been ordered to be put to death by Kenneth. In no other work is Macbeth spoken of as the son of Finele.

[3] Lulach was step-son of Macbeth, and not his cousin, being son of Macbeth's Queen, Lady Gruoch.

Fordun states that Gryme (Greg, Kenneth IV.), and Constantine, were opposed to such a rule of succession, and entered into a conspiracy with Lady Fenella by which Kenneth and his son Malcolm should be destroyed. He likewise states that Fenella had injuries of her own to punish, in the death of her only son, whom Kenneth had put to death. Therefore, by an ingenious instrument, she had him put to death while a guest in her house. Immediately thereafter Constantine succeeded to the crown. Fordun, however, says that Machabeus was the son of *Finele*. He is not explicit in this particular, but from his description, there is no doubt that he meant the Lady Fenella. Other writers say that she was closely related to King Duff, which possibly accounts for the relationship between her and Gryme, the grandson of King Duff. This is probably what Fordun meant, though it is unsatisfactory to some extent. He likewise says that Lulach is "cousin" of Macbeth, but as we have seen from frequent quotations heretofore, he was Macbeth's step-son.

To quote Fordun literally as to Macbeth: "He [Duncan] was, however, murdered through the wickedness of a family, the murderers of both his grandfather and great-grandfather, the head of which was Macabeus, son of Finele; by whom he was privily wounded unto death at Bothgofnane." Of course, Fordun did not notice his own discrepancy in having made the statement just previously that Finele's *only* son had been put to death by order of Kenneth. Duncan's grandfather, Malcolm, and his great-grandfather, Kenneth, were killed in the wars of succession with the family of Gryme and Constantine, thus affording Fordun some basis, perhaps, for his assertion. I have found no other writer, however, who makes Macbeth the son of Finele.

Under the heading of Makbeth-Fynlay, Wyntown's meaning is clear:

In this tyme, as yhe herd me tell
Of Trewsone that in Ingland fell,
In Scotland nere the lyk cas
Be Makbeth Fynlayk practykyd was,
When he mwrthyryfyde his awyne Eme
Be hope, that he hed in a dreme,
That he sawe, quhen he was yhyng
In Hows duelland wyth the Kyng,

That fayrly trettyd hym and welle
In all, that langyd hym ilke dele;
For he was hys Systyr Sone,
Hys yharnyng all he gert be done.

Thus he makes him a "sister's son" to King Duncan, or, in other words, Duncan's nephew. I do not think Wyntown is to be relied on in this matter, however, for in another part of the same Book or Chapter, he states that he is the illegitimate son of a young maid who went for a walk in the wood and met a man whose name is never given. He does not give this as a fact, however, but records it as one of the stories told regarding the birth of Macbeth. In a similar way, he states that Lady Gruoch (afterward Lady Macbeth) had been the wife of Duncan, an assertion apparently without foundation.

Major does not attempt to give Macbeth's genealogy, but chooses to evade the matter rather than discuss it. Boece gives a much more comprehensive genealogy for Macbeth than any other writer, according to whom, Gryme, Constantine and Lady Fenella are descended from King Duff. The murder of Kenneth was perpetrated, that the crown might revert to Constantine and Gryme. Of Macbeth, he says:

Malcolm had two douchteris, of quhilkis the eldest, namit Beatrice, wes gevin in mariage to Abbanath Crinin, quhilk wes Thane of the Ilis and west partis of Scotland. On hir wes gottin Duncane, quhilk succeedit immediatlie efter him to the croun. The second douchter, namit Doada, wes gevin in mariage to Sinel, Thane of Glammis; on quhome wes gottin ane feirs and vailyeant man, namit Makbeth, richt ganand to have governit ony realme, wer nocht hys strength wes gvein ouir mekil to cruelte. Thocht Duncane and Makbeth wer sister sonnis, thay wer far different fra other in manneris.

Boece gives no authority for the above statement, making Duncan and Makbeth first cousins, or the sons of sisters. Wyntown's allusion to him as "hys Systyr Sone" may be so construed, since to keep track of the relationship in those early days was a difficult matter. We very frequently find the word *nephew* for *grandson*.

Hollinshead, of course, follows Boece almost literally, making Duncan and Macbeth first cousins, but gives Boece as his sole authority. Whether Macbeth came to the throne by

right of birth matters but little, since we must deal with him in our present work as the husband of Lady Gruoch, the granddaughter of *Kenneth the IV.*, whose family name was Greg, or "Gryme."

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CHAPTER VII

AUTHORITIES OF LATER PERIOD

Duncan's Catalogue of Kings—Accounts by Mackenzie—Anderson—Chalmers—Tables of Kings from Chalmers—Review of Pinkerton's "Enquiry"—Ritson's Treatment of "Ku"—Burton's Perplexity—McLauchlan's Views

FROM the preceding chapter, it will readily be seen that the writers of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were all agreed as to the succession of the kings of Scotland, particularly from King Achaius to Malcolm Canmore. In 1722, a very compact little book was issued by Matthew Duncan, dedicated to the Earl of Kilmarnock, entitled *The Catalogue of the Kings of Scotland.* In the compilation of this work, he consulted the *Historical Geographical Dictionary* of the time, Buchanan's *History*, Dr. Abercrombie's *Scots Heros*, Knox's *History of the Reformation*, Ruthworth's *Historical Collections*, Whitlock's *Memorials*, Bonnet's *Memorials of the Reformation*, and other works at that time considered authoritative. As these works have not been consulted by the authors previously cited, it is well to give Matthew Duncan's lists more than a passing glance; he states in the Preface:

'The following compendious History presents your Lordship with the longest succession of Kings that 's to be found anywhere in the Records of Time; Upon which Account, our Kings have justly claimed the Precedency of all other Crowned Heads. Tho' this be venerable, yet it 's not the alone glory of our History; That which shines with a peculiar brightness through every page of the Scotish History, is the Noble Spirit of Liberty our Ancestors were possessed with. . . . Nor did we resist foreigners, only to be Slaves to our own Princes, but with an equal Fortitude we defended Liberty, Law, Constitution, against all the numberless Attempts and Rapes made upon them, by such as aimed at Arbitrary Government.[1]

Duncan, as many others have, rejects the story of the Scots' descent from Scota, but admits they came from Spain into Ire-

[1] *Kings of Scotland* (Dedication), pp. iii, iv.

land. His theories do not differ from those of Innes. Regarding the antiquity of the nation, he says:

> This Nation has as great Pretentions to Antiquity as any in Europe, having, according to their Historians, possessed that kingdom for above two thousand years, without ever being conquered i.e., having their Crown on the Head, or their Laws from the Hand of a Foreigner. . . . They plead also as their particular Glory a line of Kings who can all of them deduce their Pedigree from Fergus I., who was sent for by the People from Ireland, and came into Scotland about the Time that Alexander the Great took Babylon, viz., 330 years before Christ.[1]

The following list of kings, together with extracts from Duncan regarding their various reigns, bear evidence of careful and conscientious compilation from the various works he examined:

THE
CATALOGUE
OF THE
Kings of *Scotland.*

1 FERGUS
2 Feritharis
3 Mainus
4 Dornadilla
5 Nothatus
6 Reutherus
7 Reutha
8 Thereus
9 Josina
10 Finnanus
11 Durstus
12 Evenus
13 Gillus (*base born*)
14 Evenus ii.
15 Ederus
16 Evenus iii.
17 Metellanus
18 Carataccus
19 Corbred i.
20 Dardanus
21 Corbred ii *sirnam'd* Galdus
22 Luctacus
23 Mogaldus
24 Conarus
25 Ethodius i.
26 Satrael
27 Donald i.

[1] *Kings of Scotland*, p. iii. (Introduction.)

28 Ethodius ii.
29 Athirco
30 Nathalocus
31 Findochus
32 Donald ii.
33 Donald iii.
34 Crathilinthus
35 Fincormachus
36 Romachus
37 Anguſianus
38 Fethelmacus
39 Eugenius i.
40 Fergus ii.
41 Eugenius ii.
42 Dongardus
43 Conſtantine i.
44 Congallus i.
45 Goranus
46 Eugenius iii.
47 Congallus ii.
48 Kinnathellus
49 Aidanus
50 Kenneth
51 Eugenius iv.
52 Ferhard i.
53 Donald iv.
54 Ferchard ii.
55 Malduinus
56 Eugenius v.
57 Eugenius vi.
58 Amberkelethus
59 Eugenius vii.
60 Mordacus
61 Etfinus
62 Eugenius viii.
63 Fergus iii
64 Solvathius
65 Achaius
66 Congallus iii.
67 Dongallus.
68 Alpinus
69 Kenneth ii.
70 Donald v.
71 Conſtantine ii.
72 Etheus
73 Gregory
74 Donald vi.
75 Conſtantine iii
76 Malcolm i.
77 Indulfus
78 Duffus
79 Cullenus
80 Kenneth iii.
81 Conſtantine iv.
82 Grimus
83 Malcom ii.
84 Donald vii.
85 Mackbeth
86 Malcom iii.
87 Donald Bane viii
88 Duncan
89 Edgar
90 Alexander i. *ſirnam'd* Acer
91 David i.
92 Malcolm iv
93 William i.
94 Alexander ii.
95 Alexander iii.
96 John Ballol
97 Robert Bruce
98 David ii.
99 Edward Baliol
100 Robert ii.
101 Robert iii.
102 James i.
103 James ii.
104 James iii.
105 James iv.
106 James v.
107 Henry Stuart & Mary Stuart
108 James vi.
109 Charles i.
110 Charles ii.
111 James vii.
112 William ii. *and* Mary ii.
113 Ann

SO that according to this Catalogue, from FERGUS the I. who began his Reign 330 Years before CHRIST the SCOTS Monarchy has to this Year 1722 laſted 2052—— Years in a continued Succeſſion.

In quoting at some length from Duncan's accounts of the kings and their reigns since the time of Achaius, it may be somewhat of a repetition, but as his account of each reign is very explicit, it seems advisable to give such portions as relate to that very early period. A comparison with Fordun and other writers in the preceding chapter shows the uniformity of succession: [1]

Achaius, son of Ethfin, began his reign An. 787, and died An. 819, in the 32d year of his reign.

Congallus (3d) succeeded Achaius, and having reigned five years in Peace, he died in 824.

Dongallus, King of Scotland, being so severe in his Government that the Souldiery could not endure it, gathered themselves to *Alpinus*, the Son of *Achaius*, whom they forced to be their Leader; but having gathered together an Army, and pretending to do as they directed, he disappointed them, and fled to *Dongallus*. The rebels being thereupon dismayed, accused him to the king as the Author of their revolt, but the King being satisfied of the contrary, surpris'd and put the Chief of them to death. *Dongallus* as he passed the *Spey* to make War on the *Picts*, was drowned in the 6th of his Reign, about 830.

Alpinus (the father of Kenneth MacAlpin, G.) son of King *Achaius*, succeeded Dongallus, the son of Solyathius. His reign was chiefly memorable for his fatal War with the *Picts*, whose Government *Frederethus* had seized upon and arrogated to himself. *Alpinus* resolv'd to remove this Usurper, met him with his forces at *Rectenot*, a Village of *Angus*, where the fight was maintain'd with great Obstinacy, till the Pictish King happen'd to be slain, whereby the Scots got the Victory; but Brudus, one of high Descent and Noble Achievements, being elected King by the Picts, turn'd the Scale, and, by a Strategem defeated and took King *Alpinus*, An. 834, and put him with many of his nobles cruelly to Death; His Head was fasten'd to a Pole, and carried about the Army, and at last set up for a Spectacle in *Abernethy*, their Chief Town, which was afterwards severely Reveng'd by the *Scots*, who called the Place where he was slain *Bas Alpin*.

Kennethus II. (Kenneth MacAlpin, G.) the 69th King of Scotland, succeeded King Alpine his Father, when the Kingdom was at a very low ebb, by Reason of the Victory the Picts obtained over his father, who fell in the Battle. The Picts did thereupon endeavor to drive the Scots out of Britain, for which end they hired some English Troops to join their Own Forces; But such an outrageous Sedition happened amongst the Commanders, that Brutus the Pictish King not being able to compose it, disbanded the Army, and died for Grief about three Months after. After which Kennethus called an Assembly of the States, to consult of a war with the Picts; and though the King himself, with the fiercest of his officers, were for a War, yet

[1] *Kings of Scotland*, pp. 68–93.

the majority were for deferring it, until they had recovered Strength; and in the meantime resolved, neither to shew for Peace, nor declare for War. Which Opinion prevailing, a Peace ensued for three years. . . . War was concluded with universal consent, and accordingly declared. So that both Nations having taken the field the Armies fell on at first View; the Soldiers being so eager that they did not expect the command of their Officers. It was fiercely fought on both sides for some time, until a Watch-Word being given the *Scots*, *That they should remember King Alpin*, they were inspired with new courage, and with a desire of Revenge, which made them redouble their Force so that the Enemies were put to Flight. The *English* who came to assist the *Picts*, perceiving their disorder, retired in a Body; and the *Scots* were so intent to Revenge the Cruelty of the *Picts* towards King *Alpin*, that they did not pursue them. The Slaughter of the *Picts* was so very great, that they found themselves obliged to sue for Peace; which the Scots would grant upon no other Terms but the surrender of the Kingdom. Next Year *Kennethus* subdued all their Dominions beyond the Forth and as he was marching to this Side, the *Picts* rebelled on the other. Whereupon marching back, he wasted the Country with Fire and Sword, sparing neither Age nor Sex. Hereupon *Druskenus* their King, perceiving that it stood them to fight for their lives, raised his whole Force, passed the *Forth*, and encamped at Scone, on the Banks of the Tay, where he offered to Surrender the whole Country beyond the *Forth;* but the *Scots* would have all or none, so they came to a Battle, and after a new bloody fight, the Picts were defeated, the King and all his Nobility killed, as were most of his Army, many of those that escaped being also drowned in the Tay, and thus totally rout'd, tho' they had renewed the Battle seven Times that Day.

Kenneth after this, passed the Forth, wasted the Country; and the Garrisons surrendering for fear, he put the *Picts* out of Condition to recover themselves any more, and the Remainder fled into England, in an indigent condition. This *Kenneth* is reckoned the Third Founder of the Scotish Monarchy, Fergus I. having laid the Foundation, Fergus II. restored them, after they were expelled the Continent of Britain, and Kenneth I. enlarged the Kingdom one half more, when the Scots were very near being expelled the Second time. Having thus exterminated the Picts, he renewed the old Laws, and made new ones to prevent Licentiousness, the product of War, and Luxury, the effect of Peace; so that the Government of Scotland, was for many years after, as much supported by his Laws, as by Arms; and in commemoration of this valiant Prince the Laws were called *Macalpine Laws*, because he was the Son of *Alpin*.

Having thus expelled the Picts, he distributed their Lands amongst his Souldiers, according to their Merits, and then began the changing of names in Counties and Lordships, the Proprietors naming them after their own Christen'd Names; for at this Time, if they had any Surnames at all in Scotland, except *Patronymicks*, or from Complexion, etc., they were very rare; Hence *Angus*, *Mern*, *Fife*, and other Counties were called after their Chief proprietors. *Kenneth*, having established the Kingdom, endeavoured also to confirm the Royal Authority; and because the Fate of the Crown depended,

according to the vulgar Opinion, on the Marble Chair, brought from *Spain into Ireland*, as some say, by *Simon Brechus*, and thence into Argyle by *Fergus*, Kenneth translated it to *Scone*, and therein all his successors were crowned, till the Time of *Edward I. of England*, who took it away. *Kenneth* did also translate the *Episcopal See*, which the *Picts* had transplanted at *Abernethy*, to *St. Andrews*, the Scottish Bishops not being Diocesans at that Time, but exercising their Function indifferently where they came. *Kenneth* having overthrown the *Picts*, in the 5th of his Reign, lived in great tranquility to the 20th, being loved at home for his justice, and dreaded abroad for the Power of his Arms, so having enlarg'd his Dominions from the Islands of *Orcades* to *Adrian's Wall*, he died *Anno.* 854.

Kenneth MacAlpin was succeeded by Donald, who reigned until A.D. 858. He in turn was succeeded by his brother, Constantine II., as the seventy-first king of Scotland. According to Duncan, Constantine after a very successful reign, was laid to rest in A.D. 874 among his fathers in Icolm-kill. He was followed on the throne by his brother Etheus, the Wingfooted, of whom Duncan relates the following:

Etheus, the 72nd King of Scotland, succeeded his brother Constantine, and from his Swiftness was surnamed *Alipes*. . . . The nobility combined and took him, and after a long Speech, recounting his wicked Life, was forced to abjure the Government in the 2nd year of his Reign . . . And there be some who write that he was not forced to abjure, but died of a Wound received from *Gregory*, his rival for the Crown, whereof he died in 875.

Gregory, the 73rd King of Scotland, Son of *Dongallus*, was set in his stead, having reconciled all those to him that were against his promotion, and restor'd the old Laws concerning the Immunity of the Ministers of the Church, he marched against the *Picts*, left by the *Danes* in *Fife*, whilst themselves were employing their arms against the *English*, and drove them thence, as also out of *Lothian* and *Merch* too, and being admitted in the night time into *Berwick*, put all the *Danish* Garrison to the sword marching afterwards into *Northumberland*, he fought a prosperous Battle against *Hardecute*, and recovered all that part of the Country from 'em. Then he turn'd his Arms against the *Britains*, who had some of the Scottish Dominions, but made Peace with 'em upon their giving up the Land, and Promise of Assistance, should the Danes return.

But repenting this Agreement, they entered Scotland in a Hostile Manner; and as they were carrying away a great booty, Gregory met 'em at Lochnaban, and after a bloody fight, overthrew 'em and their King Constantine a firm Peace following this Battle, the *Scots* were left in possession of what they had got from the *Danes*. A little after the *Irish* making an irruption into *Galloway* carried off some Booty, on pretence that the Men of *Galloway* had hostilely seiz'd upon and plunder'd some Galleys driven on

their Coasts, belonging to the inhabitants of *Dublin*. Gregory followed 'em into Ireland with a strong Army, and having defeated their forces commanded by Brienus and Cornelius, two of the Powerfullest of the Nobility (who profiting of the minority of their King Dunachus, had divided the whole land into two Factions) took Dundalk, Drogheda, and Dublin; where having committed the Care of the young King, his kinsman, to such of the old Counsellors as he judg'd most faithful to him, and having exacted an oath from the Nobility, That they should admit neither *English*, *Danes*, or *Britons* into the Island without his permission. He returned home in Triumph, carrying along with him 60 Hostages for the performance of their Agreement. He died Anno, 892, that being the 18th of his reign.

If the account of Duncan is authentic—for which there is as good authority and proof as for any other account of Scotland—the conquests of Gregory in Ireland and England are here confirmed. Duncan also says, "having committed the Care of the Young King,[1] his *Kinsman*, to such of the old Counsellors," showing the relationship spoken of by various authorities. It may be said that Duncan did not know of the *Pictish Chronicle*, printed for the first time by Innes five years after the publication of his work.

The story of the killing of King Kenneth III. by Lady Fenella mentioned in the preceding chapter, is more fully related by Duncan:

Kenneth III., the 80th King of Scotland, succeeded *Cullenus*, and applied himself to reform the Manners of the People, corrupted by the former Reign, beginning with his own Family for Example. After this he travelled all over the Kingdom, indicting Assemblies in each Quarter, for suppressing Thift and Robberies, and having indicted one at Lanerk in Clydesdale, those who were summoned did not answer, most of the Nobility thereabouts being guilty themselves, or allied to those that were . . . . He faithfully observed the League, which his Predecessors had made with the English . . . . and this King might justly have been reckoned amongst the best of Princes had it not been for taking off by Poison, Prince *Malcolm*, the son of King *Duffus*, to make way for his own Son's coming to the Crown, the Nobility having a great Esteem of Malcolm, because of his Virtues; It being, till that time, the Custom, to chuse him for King who was thought fittest for the Government, provided he were of Fergus's race. The matter was so managed that nobody suspected the King, till he came to propose the abrogating of that old Law, and enacting a new one. . . . And as he was going to visit the Tomb of *Palladius*, a certain Lady called *Fenella*, who then lived in a stately Castle near Fettercarn, which the King, because of its pleasant Situation went to see; being offended with him because he had excluded her kinsmen *Con-*

[1] Of Ireland.

stantius and *Grimus* from the Crown, caused him either to be murdered by an Ambush; or, as Major and Boetius say, by an arrow shot out of a Brazen Statue by an Engine which she carried him to see on purpose. But, however that is, he died in the 25th year of his Reign, An. 993.

Lady Fenella was undoubtedly of the Alpin line, and probably of the Greg family, since it seems to be a generally accepted fact that she committed the deed in defence of *Constantius* and *Grimus*, who were of that family, and who immediately followed Kenneth III. in the line of succession. Then follows an account of *Grimus*, known as *Greg, Kenneth IV.*:

Grimus, the Son of *Mogallus*, brother of King *Duffus*, after the death of Constantine went to Scone, and was there created King by the men of his own Party. But finding that *Malcolm* kept a Correspondence with the Nobility, he apprehends and imprisons some of the Ambassadors who were sent to them; but finding himself unable to deal with *Grimus* whose Army was much more numerous, by his Friends Advice, he disbands the Greater Part of his Army, and with a few select troops he resolves to dispute their Passage over the *Forth*. In the meantime Bishop *Fortharus* a Man of Good Character and great Authority, endeavours to compose their Differences, persuades both Parties to submit their Controversies to the Determination of Arbiters to be chosen by mutual consent, and procures a Truce for Three Months, and adviseth *Grimus* to retire to *Angus* and *Malcolm* to *Cumberland*, which both comply with. The Arbiters having conveened together, determine that *Grimus* should continue to be King during his own lifetime; and after his Death that the Kingdom should return to *Malcolm*, and *Kenneth's* Law concerning the hereditary Succession should take place, and continue inviolable for the future; As also, that *Adrian's* Wall should be the common Bound of both their Pretensions, that what was without the same should belong to *Malcolm*, and what was within should pertain to *Grimus*. Upon these Terms a Peace was concluded which was faithfully observed for near the Space of Eight Years. After this *Grimus* gave himself wholly to Voluptousness, whose Luxury rendered him very Poor and Covetous, as is usual. So that he became a great Oppressor, and persecuted with Fire and Sword those who advised him to better Measures; Whereupon *Malcolm* is called home, and *Grimus*, (although he was deserted by the most part of the Nobility) yet he attacked Malcolm, but was beaten, and having received a Wound in the Head was taken prisoner, and had his eyes thrust out. A few days thereafter he died, the 10th Year of his Reign.

Grimus was succeeded by Malcolm II., who is reported to have lost three of his greatest captains and subjects in a battle with the Danes: *Kennethus*, Thane of the Isles; *Grimus*, Thane of Strathearn; and *Dunbar*, Thane of Lothian. After Malcolm II. was laid to rest among his fathers in the thirtieth year of his

reign, and according to Duncan, A.D. 1034, Donald VII. was raised to the throne as the eighty-fourth king of Scotland:

Donald VII. the 84th King of Scotland, while Governour of Cumberland, did faithfully assist the English against the Danes; and when advanc'd to the Crown, did Govern with great Justice. His first troubles were occasioned by McDonald of the Isles, who having wounded Bancho, Thane of Lochaber, and killed another of the King's Ministers as administering Justice, he broke out in Rebellion, and overthrew *Malcolm*, with the King's Army; whereupon *Macbeth* and *Banco* were sent against him and defeated him. . . . Peace being thus obtain'd, *Macbeth* being encouraged by a dream, to Aspire to the Throne, cut off *Donald* in an Ambush, and usurp'd the Throne about 1040.

If, as we have seen in the previous chapter, Donald VII., or King Duncan, as he is more generally called, was a first cousin to Macbeth, we could hardly call Macbeth an "usurper." Matthew Duncan calls him "kinsman" to Donald VII., but does not specify the kinship. His account of Macbeth differs in no way from the accounts of other authors of the time, assigning to him a very successful reign at first, so that he was accounted inferior to none of his predecessors. Later he developed into a tyrant, whose reign of seventeen years was cut short by Malcolm, son of Donald VII., in the year 1057. According to Duncan "This is that Macbeth, concerning whom there goes so many fabulous Stories, upon which account, he is made the Subject of Stage Plays to this Day." Of the reign of Malcolm Canmore very little need be added:

Malcolm was declared King at Scone, April 25, 1057. He restored the Estates which Macbeth had forfeited, and is said to be the first who introduced the new Titles of Dukes, Marquisses, Earls and Barons, and created *McDuff*, Thane of *Fife, the first Earl of Scotland;* Some think [but Buchanan dissents] that it was in his Reign, that the Nobility of Scotland began to be surnamed from their Lands. During the meeting of the States at *Forfar*, *Macbeth's* Faction declared his Son King at *Scone;* but *Malcolm* defeated and killed him, about three Months after, in *Strathbogie.*

The allusion to Macbeth's son, of course refers to Lulach, his step-son. Of the further reign of Malcolm, Duncan adds:

Peace being thus settled abroad, was followed by intestine Rebellions at home, in the West and in the North, both of them being fomented by the Highlanders, that in the West was quelled by *Walter*, nephew of *Bancho*, for which the King made him Steward of Scotland; *which office gave*

succeſſion. daughter. the Earls of Huntingd.

the Holy-lande (as they call it) — Margaret, daughter to Henr 3 King of England Edward 1. Langſhanks ſiſter. — ALEXANDER 3. — Joleta, daughter to the Earl of Dreux, his ſecond wife.

Dornagilla, wife to John Balioll. — Robert Bruce competitor with John Balioll the ſon, for the Crown.

Alexander, he builded the Abbay of Palley. — Alexander the Prince, who maried the Earl of Flanders daughter. — David — Margaret — Ericus, or Hanganonus King of Norway.

Margarete, called the Mayden of Norway. In her the whole poſterity of King William faileth, and the Crown of Scotland returns to the poſterity of David Earl of Hunting & Gario.

John Cummin — Marjorie — JOHN Balliol King of Scotland.

John, ſurnamed the red Cummin ſlain by Robert Bruce King, in the Kirk of Drumfriſe — Edward Balliol K. of Scotland.

Robert Bruce, who married Martha, the Counteſſe of Carrict, and begate upon her.

walter 2.

Iſabel, daughter to Gratnay, Earl of Mar his firſt wife. — ROBERT BRUCE the valiant King of Scotland. — Iſabel daughter to Ha merus de Bure Earl of Hulſter in Ireland his ſecond wife.

Alexander 2. — Robert his brother, of whom are deſcended the Earls of Lennox.

Johne

Walter 3. the great Steward of Scotland. Who maried King Robert Bruce his daughter — Majory Bruce

DAVID ſecond, Margaret, Maude Bruyſe, he maried Countes of firſt leane, daughter to Edward 2. Sutherland of Carnaruan King of England, and after her death Margaret daughter to Sir John Logie Knight.

Elizabeth Mure, daughter to Sir Adam Mure Knight, his ſecond wife. — ROBERT 2. the first of the Stuards — Euſeme his firſt wife, daughter to Hugh Earl of Roſſe.

Anabel Drummond, daughter to the Laird of Stobhall. — John Earle of Carrict thereafter King, by the name of ROBERT the 3. — Robert Earl of Fife and Menteeth — D. Murdo. — Walter — Euſeme wife to James Earl of Douglas — David Earl of Stratheme — Walter Earl of Athole — Alexander Earl of Buchan & L. of Badenoch.

Marie Wife to George Earl of Angus — David Duke of Rotheſay, &c. and Prince of Scotland. He died of famine in priſon at Falkland. — JAMES 1. — Jeane, daughter to John, Duke of Somerſet, & Marques Dorſet, ſon to John of Ghendt, 3. ſon to Edward the third, the victorious King of England. By her he had many children.

Margaret wife to Lewis 11. King of France. — Elizabeth, dutches of Britain. — Jeane Countes of Huntley. — Helenor, dutches of Auſtria. — Mary wife to the Lord of Camp-veer. — Anabel — JAMES 2. — Mary daughter to Arnold Duke of Geldre, ſiſters daughters to Charles, ſurnamed Audax the laſt Duke of Burgundy, ſlain by Renatus, Duke of Lorayn, and the Zwitzers.

Margaret daughter to Chriſtianus 1. King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway — JAMES 3. John Earl of Mar — Alexander Duke of Albany — Marie wife to Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran, and thereafter of James Hamiltoun of Cadzou.

John Duke of Albany Governour in James 5. minoritie.

Margaret, eldeſt daughter to Henry 7. King of England — JAMES 4.

surname to his Posterity, the royal family of Stuart. . . . Malcolm reigned 36 years, and rendered himself famous to all Posterity for his great Virtues. He had six Sons, three of whom succeeded him in the Kingdom, and two Daughters, one of which was married to *Henry*, King of England, and the other to *Eustace*, Count of Bologne.

Much of the above is more or less of a repetition of the facts already quoted from Fordun, Major, Boece and others, but I have been thus careful in giving verbatim quotations in order to bear out my statement that the earlier writers *agreed* in their lists of kings.

No king of Scotland has suffered more injustice at the hands of historians than Macbeth. After a very careful and unbiased analysis of hundreds of documents and histories by modern writers, I find nothing new in the story of his life. There have been spasmodic attempts by some of them to clear his name from the stigma of *usurper*, *tyrant*, or *murderer*, as well as various other opprobrious epithets applied to him. These efforts so far have been futile, and, despite the numerous documents recording his reign as one of the longest and most successful of ancient times, the average person will still retain the picture of this king as drawn by Boece, Hollinshead and Shakespeare.

Some of these later writers, however, have given us a clear genealogy. Here he is made the son of Doada, daughter of King Malcolm, and first cousin to King Duncan, the son of Beatrice, who was also the daughter of Malcolm. It has been frequently shown in previous pages that when he ascended the throne he did so as the husband of Lady Gruoch, granddaughter of Kenneth IV., who has been styled Grimus and Greg by many of the more ancient writers. It has also been very conclusively shown that he was Maormor of Ross by birth, and Maormor of Moray by marriage with the Lady Gruoch. Skene comes nearer to giving the true facts of the case than any, when he says:

> But the Irish Annals record a Boede, son of Kenneth, whose grandson was slain in the year 1033; and it appears from the chartulary of St. Andrews that Gruoch filia Boede was wife of Macbeth, son of Finnloech, and reigned along with him, while Lulach, his successor, is termed in one of the Latin lists "nepos filii Boede," and thus the rights of that family may have passed to her husband and to Lulach, and given rise to their claims upon the throne.[1]

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. cxlvii.

Thomas McLauchlan, in *Early Scottish Church* (p. 317) likewise says: "Never were claims to an inheritance more righteous than those of Macbeth, whose memory has suffered much injustice at the hands of historians, as well as at those of the great English dramatist. His wife was in fact the lawful representative of the ancient Scottish kings."

That W. C. Mackenzie, in *A Short History of the Scottish Highlands* (p. 39), does not agree with most writers as to the character which Macbeth has been compelled to assume in the history of Scotland, is evidenced by the following statement:

> The internal strife which distracted Scotland about the middle of the eleventh century coincided with, and contributed towards, the consolidation of Norse power in the Highlands. In 1040 King Duncan was assassinated by MacVeda or MacBeth, the Maormor of Ross and Moray, the latter province coming to him through his wife the Lady Gruoch. Husband and wife alike have been saved from obscurity by Shakespeare, only to be dragged into the mire of infamy by his presentation of their character for effective stage treatment. Yet the means by which MacBeth mounted the throne of Scotland was characteristic of his age, and the use he made of his acquired power, so far as authentic records show, was generally for the good of the country, while his character, far from irresolute, was marked by vigour and ability. By the irony of circumstances, MacBeth, branded as long as literature lasts with the stain of blood, was the friend of the poor, the protector of the monks, and the first Scottish King whose name appears in ecclesiastical records as the benefactor of the Church.

In the last statement, however, Mackenzie is mistaken. The first king of Scotland who gave freedom to the Church was King Gregory. Frequent quotations from Innes and other early authorities show that Gregory not only gave freedom to the Church, but that he also built the Church of Greg, termed in the early documents "Ecclesgreig."[1]

William Anderson's account in *Scottish Nation* (vol. ii., p. 710) is reproduced here as being typical of the generally accepted statements found in the large majority of works treating of Macbeth's reign. As it contains some matter not related elsewhere, particularly with regard to his castle on Dunsinane Hill, it is given verbatim:

> MacBeth, king of Scotland, lived in the first half of the eleventh century. He is said to have been by birth Maormor of Ross, and also of Moray by marriage with the Lady Gruoch, grand-daughter of Kenneth IV. Her

[1] See *post*, Chapter XI.

grand-father had been dethroned by Malcolm II., who burned her first husband, and murdered her brother, and who also slew the father of MacBeth. These wrongs were avenged on his grandson, King Duncan, whom MacBeth assassinated in 1039, at Bothgowan, near Elgin, some historians say at his castle of Inverness, and immediately usurped the throne. By the wisdom and vigour of his government he endeavoured to compensate for the defect in his title to the throne. The recollection of his guilt, however, seems to have haunted him continually. He attempted by distributing money at Rome, by gifts of land to the Church, and by charity to the poor, to obtain relief from the "affliction of those terrible dreams that did shake him nightly." Neither his liberality to the people, with the strict justice of his administration, nor the support of the clergy, sufficed to secure to him a peaceful reign. The nation was never fully reconciled to his usurpation, and his tyranny increased with the resistance to his authority. He is represented as having erected a castle on Dunsinane Hill, in Perthshire, which commands a view of the whole country. But there is no reason to suppose that he ever was at Dunsinane at all, and there is not the slightest evidence there ever was a castle or any similar structure on that hill.

The injuries which he had inflicted on MacDuff, the Maormor of Fife, created in him a powerful enemy, and with other chieftains the latter fled to Duncan's son, Malcolm Canmore, who had taken refuge in Cumberland, and urged him to assert his right to the throne. Siward, the potent earl of Northumberland, and his son Osbert, accompanied Malcolm to Scotland, with a numerous army in 1054. After a furious battle, in which Osbert was killed, MacBeth was pursued to Lumphanan, in Aberdeenshire, where he was slain by MacDuff, December 5, 1054, after a reign of fifteen years. Shakespeare's imperishable tragedy of Macbeth is founded upon a fictitious narrative which Holinshead copied from Boece. No such personage as Banquo is known in history.

Anderson was mistaken with regard to Banquo, however, who is entitled, in many reliable authorities, *Thane of Lochaber*. George Chalmers says:[1]

Kenneth IV. left behind him a son Boidhe, who was the father of the celebrated Gruoch, Lady Macbeth; and also of a son who was killed by Malcolm II. in 1032. [Reg. of St. Andrews; annals of Ulster.] Kenneth IV. had the merit of giving a hospitable reception to Sueno, the king of Denmark's son, when he was driven from his country, on account of his religious innovations.

In Chalmers' account of King Duncan, reference is made to the daughter of Boidhe, Lady Gruoch, in the following terms:

His daughter was the Lady Gruoch, who married, for her first husband, Gilcomgain, the Maormor of Moray, a person of the first consequence, next

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 397.

to the royal family; and, for her second husband, she married the never to be forgotten Macbeth. The Lady Gruoch, with great strength of character, had the most afflictive injuries constantly rankling at her heart; a grandfather dethroned and slain; a brother assassinated; and her husband burnt, within his castle, with fifty of his friends; herself a fugitive, with Lulach, her infant son. Such were the injuries, which prompted the Lady Gruoch's vengeful thoughts; and "which filled her, from the crown to the toe, topful of the direst cruelty." Amidst her misfortunes, she married Macbeth, the Maormor of Ross, who was then in the prime of life; and who was of still greater power than her first husband; for, after his marriage with this injured woman, he became Maormor of Moray, during the infancy of Lulach. If Macbeth was, indeed, as we are assured by Boece, and Buchanan, and Lesley, the son of Doada, a daughter of Malcolm II., he might well enter into competition with Duncan for the crown.[1]

In this work, Chalmers devotes many pages to the rights and wrongs of Macbeth and the family of Lady Gruoch. Macbeth was "by birth, the thane of Ross; by marriage with the Lady Gruoch, the thane of Moray; and, by his crimes, the king of Scots." He also adds, "We have now seen distinctly that Macbeth was Maormor of Ross, the son of Finlegh, and the grandson of Rory, or Roderick; and that he was the husband of Gruoch, who was the daughter of Boedhe, and the granddaughter of Kenneth IV."

In closing his account of Macbeth, Chalmers states:

> Macbeth and the Lady Gruoch, his wife, gave the lands of Kirkness, and also the manor of Bolgy to the culdees of Lochleven. . . . The singular story of Macbeth has furnished a subject to one of the sublimest of poets, for one of the noblest of dramas. The age, the subject, the country, the notions of the times, wherein lived the dramatist himself, were all highly favourable to the great production of the human genius. Every fiction, every tradition, every locality, were allowable to Shakespeare; but, no poetic license descended to his commentators, who were bound, in their strictures, to adhere to the truth.[2]

In a footnote Chalmers adds that "there are a thousand blunders in the introductory note to the play of Macbeth in Steven's edition of Shakespeare."

Chalmers also gives one of the clearest accounts of Lulach's reign found in any of the early histories. He says in part:

> Lulach was thus the great-grandson of Kenneth IV., who fell at the

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 405.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 408–410.

battle of Monzievard, in 1003: as Kenneth IV. was descended from Duff, the eldest son of Malcolm I., the son of Donald IV.; and through Constantine II., derived his blood immediately from Kenneth MacAlpin; the title of Lulach to the sceptre and the sword of his fathers, was perhaps preferable, in the legal usages of that Gaelic age, to the pretensions of Malcolm Canmore, who was descended from Kenneth III., the second son of Malcolm. Lulach was the son of Gruoch, the granddaughter of Kenneth IV. Malcolm was the son of Beatrice, the daughter of Malcolm II. Lulach, as his father perished in 1032, must have been a youth of five or six and twenty, when he succeeded Macbeth, on the 5th of December, 1056. The short reign of Lulach extended only throughout a few months of feverish struggle. . . . The competitors for the bloody sceptre met in a decisive conflict at Essie, in Strathbolgie, where Lulach fell before the fortune of Malcolm, on the 3rd of April, 1057. Lulach was buried with Macbeth, in Iona, the accustomed repository of the Scotish kings. He left a daughter, to weep his fall and to transmit his rights with his wrongs.[1]

The above accounts of Macbeth and Lulach do not differ materially from similar accounts in the early works treating of their reigns. It remained for a later generation to disparage the previously accepted statements as to their royal descent and right to reign.

Skene termed Chalmers' work "ponderous." The three volumes, constituting the set, aggregate over two thousand pages, of 11¼ x 8¾ inches. The fourth volume was nearing completion when Chalmers died in 1825, and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, has not been published. The three volumes in my possession, were evidently never out of the publisher's hands until I secured them. All three volumes contain very copious notes, so that the work would really have assumed gigantic proportions, if the notes had been embodied in the text in the same style of type.

I have no doubt that Chalmers employed many readers and assistants in the compilation of these three volumes, for it was little else than a compilation of the material already gathered by Fordun, Wyntown and others. When *Caledonia*, by which title his work is known, was written (1807–1824) it would seem reasonable to suppose that the work had to be done with a quill pen, as the art of typewriting was not in use at the time. It is not at all likely that he could have borne the expense of such

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 416.

a work, and the motive of preparing and publishing it has frequently puzzled me. If one read critically, he will gather the impression that the author had means behind him for the prosecution of certain purposes, in destroying some of the previously accepted history of Scotland. During the same period, Pinkerton was writing his famous *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, in which he scores Chalmers most mercilessly.[1]

As shown in the preceding chapter, all writers of importance, from Fordun to George Chalmers, including Matthew Duncan, show little variance in names and dates of reigns. The two tables, given in facsimile from Chalmers, cover the period from Fergus son of Erc, A.D. 503, to Donald Bane, A.D. 1097. The lists, compiled from the various authors heretofore, carry the reigns down to Malcolm Canmore, A.D. 1093.

The purpose of reproducing these lists in facsimile is not only -to confirm what has been previously shown, namely, that Selbach, Dungal, Gregory, Kenneth IV., Macbeth and Lulach, are connected with the royal House of Loarn, in the Alpine line, but also to establish the fact that there is an approximate agreement of dates.

Chalmers' table from Kenneth MacAlpin's reign to Donald Bane, it will be noted, does not agree with any other table or list of kings found. On this one point, if for no other, it is worth repeating in facsimile. In the first table, there is very little variance from other tables, though in the text of his work Chalmers seeks to throw discredit on the reigns of Selbach and Dungal, grandfather and father of Greg, by use of the terms "feebleness of reign" owing to "insignificance of character," thus laying a foundation for acceptance in his later list of a "joint reign" of Eocha (or Achy) with Grig. Contrary to all the early records as to the death of Dungal, according to some of which he was drowned in the river Spey, while in others he was killed in battle, Chalmers says; "he relinquished his sceptre to a different race, in 833 A.D., after a feeble reign of seven years." He gives no authority for this very unique statement regarding King Dungal's reign.

[1] See *post*, p. 328.

A TABLE, Genealogical, and Chronological, of the Scoto-Irish Kings, from the Year 503 to 843 A. D. drawn up from a consideration of the Ancient Chronicles, Nos. 4, 5, and 6, in Innes's Appendix; from the MS. *Chronica Accurata* of Innes; and from the Gaelic Poem, or Duan; from O'Flaherty's Genealogical Catalogue; and from an Examination of the "Enquiry into the History of Scotland, 1789:" Giving, from a comparative view of all those authorities, and an attention to their several histories, a *genuine series* of the Accession, Reign, and Demise, of each of those Kings.

The series	The Names, and Filiation, of the Kings.	Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 4.	Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 5.	Chronicon Rythm. in Innes's App. No. 6.	Innes's MS. Chronica Accurata.	The Genuine Chronology: Accessions.	Reigns.	Demise.	The Gaelic Poem, or Duan.	O'Flaherty's Geneal. Catalogue.	Pinkerton's System.
		Reigned Years	Reigned Years	Reigned Years	Reigned Years	A.D.	Years	A.D.	Reigns. Years	Reigns. Years	Reigns. Years
	Loarn, the son of Erc, reigned contemporary with Fergus										
1	Fergus, the son of Erc	3	3	3	3	in 503	3	in 506	27	16	3
2	Domangart, the son of Fergus	5	5	5	5	506	5	511	4	5	5
3	Comgal, the son of Domangart	32	24	24	24	511	24	535	24	24	34
4	Gauran, the son of Domangart	22	22	20	22	535	22	557	2	2	16
5	Conal, the son of Comgal	14	14	14	14	557	14	571	15	15	15
6	Aidan, the son of Gauran	34	34	34	34	571	34	605	24	32	30
7	Eocha'-bui, the son of Aidan	16	16	16	16	605	16	621	17	23	17
8	Kenneth-cear, the son of Eochá-bui	3 Mos	3 Mos	3 Mos	3 Mos	621	—¼	621	3 Mos	3 Mos	3 Mos
9	Ferchar, the son of Eogan, the first of the race of Loarn	16	16	16	16	621	16	637	16	12	16
10	Donal-breac, the son of Eochá-bui	14	14	14	14	637	5	642	14	—	12
11	Conal II. the grandson of Conal I.	—	—	—	—	642	10	652	10	18	10
12	Dungal reigned some years with Conal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	Donal-duin, the son of Conal	—	—	—	—	652	13	665	13	13	13
14	Maolduin, the son of Conal	—	16	16	16	665	16	681	17	17	17
15	Ferchar-fada, the grandson of Ferchar I.	21	21	21	21	681	21	702	21	21	21
16	Eocha'-rineval, the son of Domangart, and the Grandson of Donal-breac	3	3	13	13	702	3	705	2	7	2
17	Ainbhcealach, the son of Ferchar-fada	1	1	1	1	705	1	706	1	1	1
18	Selvach, the son of Ferchar-fada, reigned over Loarn, from 706 to 729	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	20
19	Duncha-beg reigned over Kintire, and Argail, till 720	—	—	—	—	706	27	733	—	—	—
20	Eocha III. the son of Eochá-rineval, reigned over Kintyre, and Argail, from 720 to 729; and also over Lorn, from 729 to 733	13	13	13	13	—	—	—	—	5	10
21	Muredach, the son of Ainbhcealach	3	3	3	3	733	3	736	3	3	3
22	Eogan, the son of Muredach	3	3	3	3	736	3	739	—	—	—
23	Aodh-fin, the son of Eochá III.	30	30	30	30	739	30	769	30	30	30
24	Fergus, the son of Aodh-fin	3	3	3	3	769	3	772	—	—	5
25	Selvach II. the son of Eogan	24	24	24	24	772	24	796	—	—	—
26	Eocha-annuine IV. the son of Aodh-fin	30	30	30	30	796	30	826	—	—	—
27	Dungal, the son of Selvach II.	7	7	7	7	826	7	833	7	7	7
28	Alpin, the son of Eochá-annuine IV.	3	3	3	3	833	3	836	4	4	4
29	Keneth, the son of Alpin	7	—	7	7	836	7	843	—	4	2

A TABLE, containing *the Genuine Chronology* of the Scotish Kings, from 843 to 1097 A. D.; as the same has been adjusted, by an attention to the four Ancient Chronicles, in Innes's Critical Essay; to the *Chronicon Elegiacum*; to the *Vera Series* of Innes; and containing also the Systems of the same Chronology, by the Gaelic Bard, by O'Flaherty, and by Pinkerton.

THE NAMES OF THE KINGS.	Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 3.	Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 4.	Ancient Chronicle in Innes's App. No. 5	Chron'con Rythm. in Innes's App. No. 6.	Chron. Elegiacum in the Chron. of Melros.	The GENUINE CHRONOLOGY: Accessions.	Reigns.	Demise	Innes's *Vera Series.*	The Gaelic Bard.	O'Flaherty's Genea Catalogue.	Pinkerton' System
	Years	Years	Years	Years	Years	A.D.	Years	A.D.	Years	Years	Years	Years
KENNETH MACALPIN over the Scots and Picts	16	16	16	16	16	843	16	859	16	30 in all	16	16
DONALD MACALPIN	4	4	4	4	4	859	4	863	4	4	4	4
CONSTANTIN II., the son of Kenneth	16	20	16	17	15	863	18	881	15	30	14	18
AODH, or HUGH, the son of Kenneth	1	1	1	1	1	881	1	882	1	2	2	1
FOCHA, or ACHY and GRIG jointly	11	12	12	12	18	882	11	893	11	—	17	11
DONAL IV., the son of Constantin	11	11	11	11	11	893	11	904	11	4	5	11
CONSTANTIN III., the son of Aodh	40	25	40	40	35	904	40	944	40	46	46	40
MALCOLM I., the son of Donal IV.	11	9	9	9	9	944	9	953	11	4	7	9
INDULF, the son of Constantin III.	8	9	9	9	9	953	8	961	8	8	8	8
DUF, the son of Malcolm I.	5	4½	4½	4½	4½	961	4½	965	5	7	7	4
CULEN, the son of Indulf	5	4½	4½	4½	4	965	4½	970	5	4	4	5
KENNETH III., the son of Malcolm I.	—	22 2Mos	24 2Mos	24 2Mos	24	970	24	994	24	27	24	22
CONSTANTIN IV., the son of Culen	—	1½	1½	1½	1½	994	1½	995	1	7	1½	1
KENNETH IV., surnamed Grim, the son of Duff	—	1½	8	8	8	995	8	1003	8	4	7	8
MALCOLM II., the son of Kenneth III.	—	30	30	30	30	1003	30	1033	30	30	30	30
DUNCAN, the grandson of Malcolm II.	—	6	6	6	6	1033	6	1039	6	6	6	6
MACBETH, the son of Finleech	—	17	17	17	17	1039	17	1056	17	17	17	17
LULACH, the son of Gruoch and Gilcomgain	—	—4½Mos	— 4Mos	— 4Mos	— 4½Mos	1056	— 4½Mos	1057	—4Mos	7	— 6Mos	— 4Mos
MALCOLM-CEANMOR, the son of Duncan	—	37 10Mos	37 8Mos	37 8Mos	36 8Mos	1057	36 8Mos	1093	36	—	35	—
DONAL-BANE, the son of Duncan	—	— 7Mos	— 6Mos	—	— 6Mos	1093	½	1094	—	—	—	—
DUNCAN II., the son of Malcolm III.	—	— 6Mos	— 6Mos	— 6Mos	—	1094	½	1094	—	—	—	—
DONAL-BANE, again	—	3	3	3	3	1094	3	1097	—	—	—	—

In the preceding table [p. 322] Chalmers cites as his authority for this joint reign of Eocha and Grig, the *Chronicles* of Innes, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, and the *Chronicon Elegiacum*, together with others of less importance. A glance at those enumerated here will prove the worse than uselessness of this statement:

No. 3 in Innes's Appendix is the part which Innes condemned, and which is already so familiar to the reader that it bears no argument. [See p. 208].

No. 4 in Innes's Appendix contains his reign as "*Grig fil. Dungal.*"
No. 5 " " " " " " as *Girg-Mac-Dungal.*
No. 6 " " " " " " as "*Greg (c) duodenis.*"

The footnote (c) explains, "Gregorious."

Chronicon Elegiacum records Greg's reign as a sole reign and does not mention Eochy, Achy, or Eochodius. [See p. 146].

Therefore, so far as Innes and the *Chronicon Elegiacum* are concerned as authorities, Chalmers had but little reason to give a joint reign, since it is only the condemned part of the *Pictish Chronicle*, Innes's No. 3, in which there is any account given of the reign of Eochodius. Chalmers, like others, has failed to mention the repudiation of Innes, leaving the reader to naturally suppose it had his endorsement.

His attempt to throw calumny upon the reign of Greg is seen in the following passage, where, in speaking of his predecessor, Aodh (variously known to the reader as Heth, Ethus and Hed) he says:

It was his misfortune to reign while Grig was Maormor of the extensive country between the Dee and Spey. This artful chieftain found no great difficulty to raise up a competitor with a faction to oppose the king. The contending parties met in Strathalan, on a bloody field, wherein the son of the great Kenneth was wounded; and being carried to Inverurie, he died two months after this fatal conflict, and one year after his sad accession, during wretched times, in 881 A.D. The same stroke of treachery which sent Hugh (Aodh, G.) untimely to Iona, entailed upon his people the usual miseries of a disputed reign.[1]

Chalmers evidently meant to imply that Eocha (Achy) was the competitor whom Greg raised up, since he gives him a joint reign on the throne, to which he immediately succeeded. Of this joint reign, Chalmers has much to say, based on *Part 3* of the *Pictish Chronicle* frequently alluded to:

The bloody sceptre of Hugh was immediately seized by Grig. To

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 381.

colour his usurpation, this ferocious chief associated with himself Eocha, the son of *Ku*, the British king of Strathclyde, and the grandson, by a daughter, of Kenneth MacAlpin. Eocha and Grig are said to have reigned jointly; but we may easily suppose that this able usurper actually governed Eocha and his kingdom. This is Gregory the Great, of Scottish fiction, who is said to have overwhelmed the Picts.[1]

Interesting, if not amusing, are the deductions and theories drawn by the anti-Celtic writers of Scotland, by which they seek to construct their own foundations for building and making history. In the same vein:

> The filiation of Grig is doubtful; but, the weight of evidence gives him Dungal, and not Donald, for his father; and it is obvious that, from descent, he was merely the Maormor of the ample country comprehending Aberdeen and Banff. He appears to have been a chieftain of vigorous character, a man of unprincipled morals, with studied attention to religious appearances. His name has been as cruelly tortured, as his nature was cruel.

But the climax of his reasoning power as to this "cruel chieftain" is reached, when Chalmers in a manner satisfactory to himself explains the derivation of this very *nature* from his *name*, in the following terms:

> O'Flaherty, indeed, calls him Grig, the son of Dungal, or in the Irish form Gairig Macdungal; and *Geirg*, in the Gaelic, signifies *fierce* or *cruel*.

I can not conceive of Chalmers seeking to even justify to himself the derivation of the name by such flimsy conceptions. Greg's name was never *Geirg*, but as I have previously shown was originally *Ciric*, later *Giric*, and finally *Greg* and *Gregorious*. Continuing, Chalmers says:

> Owing to some cause, which is not intimated in any of the chronicles, though it is so unusual, Grig was allowed to live four years after his dethronement; and he died, by a quiet expiration, at his castle of Dunadeer, during the year 897 A.D.

Greg was "allowed to live," because he was not dethroned at all, as more than one document heretofore quoted has shown. It has been equally shown by numerous documents that he did not reign with "Eocha or Achy," nor did he reign as an "artful chieftain" who "usurped" the throne of Scotland, but all the evidence is on the side of his reign having been as sole king of Scotland from 875 to 893 by right of birth, as the son of King Dungal,

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 382.

and the grandson of Selbach, of the royal house of Loarn. I can not too often repeat that the only foundation for any other construction to be placed upon the reign of King Greg is that condemned *Part 3* of the *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine*, whose origin has never been known and most likely never will be. If Innes, with his careful, conscientious and candid investigation of the document as early as 1729, having access to the original, saw fit to condemn it because of this confused reign of King Greg, I see no reason for accepting statements from Chalmers, Pinkerton and Skene, all of whom depended on that condemned part for their treatment of his reign, while suppressing the fact that Innes, who first brought it to light, utterly condemned it. That Chalmers was deeply appreciative of the work of Innes, however, there is no doubt:

> Innes merits lasting commendation, for being the first to discover, and to publish, in his *Critical Essay* the *Chronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum*, from a MS. in the Colbertine library. . . . The authenticity of this *Chronicon* has not been questioned, even by scepticism. It may be supported, indeed, by collateral circumstances; Bede, Nenius, Hoveden, Simeon of Durham, and other English writers, recite facts, which confirm the authenticity of the *Chronicon*, and also support the succession of the kings [Innes, vol. i, pp. 111–122, 137–9]. For, as the facts coincide with the *Chronicle*, the coincidence demonstrates the truth. . . . There is nothing more authentic, or satisfactory, in the early annals of any country.[1]

In the foregoing eulogy upon the work of Innes, with the statement that "there is nothing more authentic, or satisfactory in the early annals of any country," it would hardly seem consistent that he should deliberately have ignored Innes's utter condemnation of *Part 3* of the *Chronicle*. In his review of Innes he suppresses, or at least makes no mention of, the one hundred and eighty-three Notes relating to the *Chronicle*, and thus leaves the impression on the mind of the reader that he has literally quoted from Innes in giving the *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine*, as his authority for the above-mentioned joint reign. He further says of Innes, in a statement not refuted even today by the most biased writer:

> The *Critical Essay* of Innes made a great impression on the antiquarian prejudices of those times, though he was encountered by opponents. But every research, which has yet been made, evinces that Innes was accurate in his authorities, founded in his facts, and right in his conclusions.

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 205.

Innes must have been "right in his conclusions," and also "founded in his facts" when he "concluded" that the *Part 3* of the *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine*, was *not authentic*. Chalmers does not consider it necessary to mention this fact, and the reader who has not access to Innes would never know that Innes refused to credit that part of the Chronicle.

AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

PRECEDING

THE REIGN OF MALCOLM III. OR THE YEAR 1056,

INCLUDING

THE AUTHENTIC HISTORY OF THAT PERIOD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By JOHN PINKERTON.

Ημεραι επιλοιποι μαρτυρες σοφωτατοι.
Veritas temporis filia. ADAGIA.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by James Ballantyne and Co.
FOR BELL & BRADFUTE; WILLIAM LAING; DOIG & STIRLING;
WILLIAM BLACKWOOD; AND OLIPHANT,
WAUGH & INNES.

1814.

In connection with the review of Chalmers' work, it may be well to quote at some length the following philippic directed against him by John Pinkerton, who was admittedly foremost among his contemporaries; who not only charged him with plagiarism, but even asserted that he wrote with the satisfaction of the ignorant, about things with which he was absolutely unacquainted:

> It would be as needless to mention, as easy to confute, the numerous books and pamphlets published in England and France against various parts of this work, but some observations may be expected on a production which attempts to supply by quantity what it wants in quality, the enormous and interminable *Caledonia*, by George Chalmers, Esq., author of many commercial and political works, modern biographies, two large volumes on the fabricated papers ascribed to Shakespeare, etc., etc., but still better known perhaps by two lines of a celebrated satirist:
>
> "At genius, towering in his pride of place,
> See ponderous Chalmers aim his leaden mace."
>
> That a man without a shadow of learning, and whose pursuits had even to his old age been political and mercantile, should suddenly attempt themes only fit for the most profound erudition, is indeed a phenomenon. But as ignorance is insensible of its own ignorance, it is the less a wonder that a writer whose quotations show that, far from writing, he cannot even read Latin, should not only engage in a task so foreign to his little means, but should have the presumption to judge his judges.
>
> Have his politics led him to forget his Shakespeare?
>
> "*The insolence of office*, and the spurns
> That patient merit of the unworthy takes."
>
> Certainly this author, who labours so much by the help of assistants and who reads, like Richardson the painter, with borrowed spectacles, can never be suspected of hypochondria, or any of the *morbi eruditorum*, and far less of bashfulness, but there must be a singular warp in that judgment which could even conceive the idea of writing two large volumes to prove that the papers ascribed to Shakespeare and of detected falsity, might nevertheless have been true! To the same judgment, and by the same rule, all the fables and falsehoods in the history of Scotland may be true.
>
> It was impossible for any new writer using the industry of others not to gather some scraps of antiquity; but it has been observed by a man of real learning that the only discovery worth notice is the derivation of the house of Stuart from the English Fitzallans. Now this is a mere amplification of a remark at the very beginning of my History of Scotland under the House of Stuart. If the other borrowed plumes were in like manner withdrawn, the work would be reduced to a very reasonable compass. The plagiarisms are so gross that no man of any tincture of learning, or of that candour which

always accompanies it, no man sensible that he was writing in a learned age and under the eyes of learned judges, would have ventured upon the smallest of them. But the naked and unconscious impudence of real, stark, inborn ignorance, is proverbial. The ostrich hides his head and thinks no one sees him. It is only necessary further to add that the *opinions* of the new Tristram Shandy, this bold plagiarist and heterogeneous compiler, have been so ably refuted by the truly learned Dr. Jamieson, in the introduction to his valuable *Dictionary* of the Scottish language, that the reader needs only to be referred to a work so well known and justly esteemed.[1]

While Pinkerton is strongly anti-Celtic throughout, his list of kings of Scotland differs very little from the list just given by Chalmers. He, of course, gives a joint reign of Grig and Achy, accepting the disputed paragraph in the well known *Pictish Chronicle*, *Colbertine*, as his authority. He considers the names "Grig, Indulf, Odo, Culen and Grim" of Gothic origin, direct and without Celtic vitiation, and is inclined to think Kenneth not of the Dalriadic, or old Scottish, Irish line. To the reign of Macbeth there is very little variation in his descriptions of the kings of Scotland. Of this reign he speaks as follows:

> Macbeth seems to have been an able and beneficent prince. The *Chron. Eleg.* represents fertile seasons as attendants of his reign, which Winton confirms. If a king makes fertile seasons, it must be by promoting agriculture, and diffusing among his people the blessings of peace. Had he paid more attention to his own interests, and less to those of his subjects, the crown might have remained in his family. But neglecting the practice of war, he fell a martyr to his own virtues. The claim of Duncan to the crown was so new, that Macbeth can hardly be called an usurper.[2]

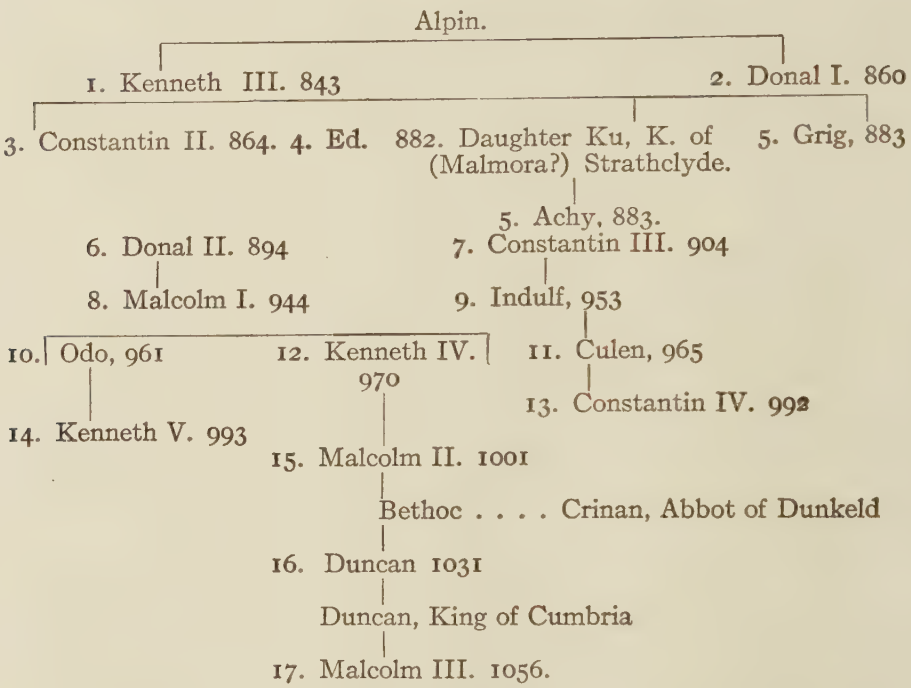
Wyntown confirms this acceptation of the reign of Macbeth in the following passage:

> All his tyme was gret plente,
> Habundande bathe on lande and se;
> He was in justice richt lauchful,
> And til his legis al awfulle.
> Quhen Pape was Leo the Nynt in Rome,
> As pilgryme to the court he come;
> And in his alms he sew silver
> Til al pur folk, that had myster.

Pinkerton likewise gives the usual place to Lulach, the stepson of Macbeth, ascribing to his weakness of character the

[1] *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, pp. xx, xxi.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 197–8.

ease with which Malcolm Canmore attained to the throne of Scotland. No new facts are given by Pinkerton which have not already been reviewed at length from other works, with this exception, that he gives the *name* of the third daughter of Kenneth, said by Skene to have "married a King Run," a Strathclyde Briton. Pinkerton says her name was "Malmora," though he gives no authority for the statement, and I have not found it given elsewhere. Pinkerton's Table of Kings from Alpin to Malcolm Canmore follows:



Pinkerton is probably the first who undertook to sift the great Pictish question—as to whether the Picts were *Goths* or *Celts*. Naturally, in pursuance of the line of work on which he was engaged, he denied the previously accepted fact that the Scots were Celts, nor did he have much patience with the old authorities stating that the Scots had subdued the Picts. On the contrary he sought to prove that the reverse was true. He draws a most pathetic picture of the Goths and the Picts, when he states that even in his day, as in the day of Julius Cæsar, the women of the Highlands performed all the menial labour, while their "unmanly husbands"—or "savages"—lay stretched out in

their huts. The Goths he described as acute, industrious, sensible, erect and free, while the Highlanders, or Celts, he compared to Indians and savages, and recommended that colonies be planted and emigration encouraged. In Chambers' *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotchmen*, the following is related of the result of his new theories:

> Pinkerton proved, indeed, a sore visitation to the Celts. Moderate men had no objections to a conflict which might at least bring amusement, and might serve to humble the pride, by displaying the ignorance of a people who seemed to take an unfortunate pride in the continuance of barbarism. Few took their side; and Pinkerton had many triumphs over their native champions, in the recurrence of that ignorance of their own history, which he maintained to be their characteristic. His knowledge of history effectually foiled any claim put in for Celtic merit. He would call on the company to name a Celt for eminence. He delighted to show that the Scottish Highlanders had never had but a few great captains, such as Montrose, Dundee, the first Duke of Argyle—and these were all Goths—the two first Lowlanders; the last a Norman, a *De Campo Bello*.

With all of his idiosyncrasies, Pinkerton was nevertheless, in many respects, fair. He considered the *Pictish Chronicle*, *Colbertine*, as printed by Innes, "the most complete, important, and authentic" of the documents known to that time, and considered Populton the real writer and collector of the MS. from various other "ancient pieces which he had found; perhaps chiefly in the great library founded at York in early times."

He ascribes the authorship to Populton from the fact that Nos. 29 and 30, given in facsimile,[1] bear the signature of Populton in the request, "Ora Pro Popilton, qui Me Compilavit Eboraci." He thinks there is no doubt that he was a monk, since No. 30 has the additional information in the line, "Ora Pro Fratre Roberto De Populton." These seem to me somewhat meagre facts upon which to base so important a conclusion, and Innes was frank enough to admit that he was not certain as to the authorship. Pinkerton, however, according to his footnote seems to be assured of his position. It is my own conclusion that it emanated from a very doubtful source and is not entitled to any serious consideration, despite the fact that some of the modern historians have placed so much weight upon it as to change completely the whole order of kings during the ninth century.

There has been no attempt whatever to prove that any

[1] See *post*, p. 334.

other than Populton wrote it, though there is a vast difference between authorship and compilation. We must remember that Populton says, "Pray for me who *compiled* it." Pinkerton puts this now important Chronicle to the same use that Chalmers did. Both have used it to support their own assertions of Greg's joint reign, but have not in a single instance mentioned Innes's rejection of that part. Pinkerton pronounces the Chronicle as *authentic*, though his definition of the word differs vastly from that of Innes or Webster, the latter of whom defines *authentic:* "Coming from the real author; of original or first hand authority; having a genuine original authority, in opposition to that which is false, fictitious, counterfeit, or apocryphal; being what it purports to be; genuine; not of doubtful origin; real; as an authentic paper or register." I find no proof of authenticity in what is known of the document's origin, and must agree with Innes that it is unworthy of serious consideration in that part which is directly opposed to all other known annals of the lists of kings.

The Colbertine Manuscript includes a number of documents, as shown in the following list from Pinkerton, No. 15 of which is the *Cronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum*, and as this is the most complete list I have found in any work, I have reproduced it for the benefit of any who may be interested in this valuable collection.

Contents of the same, more fully detailed by M. Van Praet.

Etat des pieces contenues dans le MS. de la bibliotheque du Roi de France, No. 4126.

Fol 1 *recto,*

1. Decretalis contra fratres, procurata per magistrum Richardum Fitzrauf, Archiepiscopum de Armagh.

Here begin the communications of this respectable correspondent, and they extend to No. X. inclusive.

Fol. 4 *verso,*

2. *Sans titre:* Benedicti XI. decretalis super privilegiis fratrum mendicantium.

Fol. 7 *recto,*

3. *Sans titre:* Bonifacii VIII. decretalis de eodem argumento.

Fol. 9 *verso,*

4. *Piece de* 56 *vers, sans titre, commençant par ces deux vers;*

Regnum Scotorum fuit, inter cetera regna
Terrarum, quondam nobile, forte, potens, &c.

Fol. 10 *recto,*

5. *Sans titre:* Joannis XXII. decretalis contra Joannem de Poliaco.

Fol. 11 *recto,*

6. Incipit tractatus magistri Stephani, medici Hugonis Episcopi Dunelmi, de quodam prodigio.

Fol. 12 *recto,*

7. Incipit de diversis signis, et prodigiis mundi, quæ fecit Deus ut terreret homines; quæ descripsit Sanctus Patricius presbyter, Yberniæ episcopus.

Fol. 12 *verso,*

8. De rebus Hiberniæ admirandis.

Fol. 14 *recto,*

9. Incipit Cosmigrafia Prisciani.

Fol. 19 *recto,*

10. Incipit Itinerarium mar.

Fol. 20 *recto,*

11. De tribus mundi partibus; et de distributione tocius orbis moncium et fluminum. (*en vers.*)

Fol. 21 *recto,*

12. Mensura tocius terre, secundum Romanos doctissimos gnomonica racione certissime comprobata.

Fol. 22 *verso,*

13. Incipit descriptio Orosii de tribus partibus mundi, &c.

Fol. 26 *verso.*

14. De situ Albaniæ, quæ in se figuram hominis habet; quomodo fuit primitus in septem regionibus divisa; quibusque nominibus antiquitus sit vocata; et a quibus inhabitata.

Fol. 27 *recto,*

15. Cronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum.

Fol. 29 *verso,*

16. Cronica regum Scottorum ccc. et iiij. annorum.

Fol. 31 *recto,*

17. Qualiter acciderit quod memoria S'ti Andreæ (&c. *see former contents.*)

Fol. 33 *recto,*

18. *Sans titre:* Petri Amfulfi doctrina clericalis.

Fol. 45,

19. Hic incipit prologus in libro Methodii martyris.

Fol. 49 *recto,*

20. Giraldus Cambrensis de mirabilibus Hiberniæ.

Fol. 97 *recto,*

21. *Sans titre:* Alexandri Magni ad Aristotelem de mirabilibus Indiæ.

Fol. 106 *verso,*

22. Incipit metrum in destructione Trojanorum.

Fol. 108 *recto,*

23. Historia Daretis Trojanorum Frigii, de Græco translata in Latinum a Cornelio nepote Salustii.

Fol. 199 *verso,*

24. Vastacio Troie. (*en vers.*)

Fol. 120 *verso,*

25. Incipit præfatio in historia Britannorum, extracta a libro qui dicitur Policronicon.

Fol. 133 *recto,*

26. Versus de excidio Trojano.

Fol. 133 *verso,*

27. De primis autoribus, sive scriptoribus historiarum. (*Id est prologus Alfridi.*)

Fol. 134 *verso,*

28. Cronica Galfridi Monumetensis. Incipit Ystoria Britonum.

Fol. 211 *verso,*

29. Explicit Cronica Galfridi Monumetensis in Historiam Britonum. Sequitur Continuacio regum Saxonum secundum Cronicas Alfridi Beverlacensis, et Henrici Huntingdon. ORA PRO POPILTON, QUI ME COMPILAVIT EBORACI.

Fol. 230 *recto,*

Explicit præfatio. Incipiunt excerpciones de Historiis Anglorum: et unde Angli venerunt, et originem duxerunt. ORA PRO FRATRE ROBERTO DE POPULTON.

30. Explicit Hystoria magistri Alfridi thesaurarii Beverlacensis, incipiens ad Brutum, et finiens in Henricum 4tum, annorum duorum milium ducentorum. Sequitur Continuacio Hystorie, vel Cronica Ranulphi monachi Cestrensis, in suo

Polĭcronicon, usque ad Ewardi Tercii régis tempora. ORA PRO FRATRE ROBERTO DE POPULTON.

Fol 229 *recto,*

31. *Sans titre :* Prophetia Cyrilli eremitæ de monte Carmelo, interprete fratre Gilberto Anglico.

A la fin de cette piece, qui finit au recto du 312*e feuillet, on lit ce qui suit.*

Q^{i} tñsc^{i}pta compilavit.
ego frā Pet^{us} Maȳmeti ordīs
bē marie de Carmelo exñs scola
ris Parysȝ illū libellū manu p
p^{i}a sc^{i}psi et abstraxi a q̊dā exempla
ri valde antiq̊ et cū dyptongis
sc^{i}pto ī q̊ Cirillus cū sac^{i}s et sac̃
dotalibȝ uestibȝ et fr̃ Eusebi^{9} cū
mantello barrato. et ang^{9}s ves^{te}
ī p^{i}ncipio. erāt curiose et mirabilr̃
depicti. R. Populton̄.*

Fol. 299 *verso,*

32. *D'une autre ecriture :* Epistola Sancte Hildegardis ad Colonienses, de futura tribulacione clericorum, et de novis religiosis.

* *Id est :* Qui transcripta compilavit. Ego frater Petrus Maymeti, ordinis beatæ Mariæ de Carmelo, existens Scolaris Parisiis, illum libellum manu propria scripsi, et abstraxi a quodam exemplari valde antiquo, et cum dyptongis scripto, in quo Cirillus cum sacris et sacerdotalibus vestibus, et frater Eusebius cum mantello barrato, et Angelus veste, in principio erant curiose et mirabiliter depicti. R. POPULTON.

This certainly refers only to the prophecy of Cyril. And the signature of Populton, here and before, fully marks that he was the real writer and collector of this MS. from various ancient pieces, which he had found; perhaps chiefly in the great library founded at York in early times: the title of No. 29 bearing "Pray for Populton who compiled me at York:" and the close of that No. and No. 30 express that Robert de Populton was a monk. M. Van Praet thinks the writing French; but some fac-similia in my hands testify it the common writing used in England, in the fourteenth century. Yet that Populton may have been educated, and taught to write, at Paris, is not improbable, supposing M. Van Praet's idea to be well founded.

His final conclusion evidences the fact that Pinkerton believed, as do many of the modern writers, that *history must be manufactured*, if a country has none:

> And the point comes at once to this issue. Either this Pikish Chronicle is a forgery, and its coincidences with the best and most authentic writers are unaccountable; or it is most true and authentic, and its coincidences with such writers are natural, necessary, and unavoidable. *Let the reader chuse; after taking this certain truth along with him, that all historic forgeries, yet discovered, have violated chronology, and clashed with authentic authors.* If a foreigner happens to look into this work, he may with reason think meanly of the author's judgment, for insisting on a matter which would appear so clear at first in the history of Denmark, Germany, Italy, Spain, France, or any country where ancient history is cultivated; but he will please to reflect that in Scotland ancient history is lost by the prejudices, falsehood, ignorance, and indolent superficiality of our writers; and that *with us the whole power of reasoning must be employed to establish truth*, which, in learned and unprejudiced countries, establishes itself.[1]

The italics in the above quotation belong to the writer, calling attention to two facts—first, Pinkerton admits that "historic forgeries . . . clash with authentic authors." The *Pictish Chronicle* clashes with every authentic author previous to the time of its publication, and may, according to Pinkerton, be considered an uncertain document, if not a "historic forgery." Second, he approves of a method of history making, which is not infrequently employed by modern writers, with a heterogeneous mass of contradictions, misstatements and untruths as a result. One scarcely knows where to look, or what to accept, when in search of genuine, historical data.

Pinkerton violates his own injunction when he proceeds to "reason" out the date and authorship of this famous Chronicle:

> The best catalogue of our Pikish Kings was found in a manuscript which had belonged to Lord Burghley, and which, as it chiefly relates to Scottish affairs, had in all appearance been brought from Scotland. As it was written about the year 1350, after the expedition of Edward I., it seems uncertain how it passed into England. The Register of St. Andrews, in which another catalogue was found, ends 1251.[2]

The above seems very plausible, giving the Chronicle a distinct date—"as it was written about the year 1350"—but Pinkerton does not consistently adhere to this statement. In

[1] *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 248.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 253.

another part of his work he states that it was "transcribed in the ninth century." This would give it a still earlier date than the ninth century for its authorship. In his Appendix (p. 490) he places it in the year 1020. With three distinct "guesses" at the date of the Chronicle, whether for its translation, compilation, or original writing, what becomes of Pinkerton's claim for its *authenticity?* I have yet to find a single work, with the exception of Innes's *Critical Essay*, which handles the question with fairness and square dealing. Ritson qualifies his acceptance of it with an explanatory footnote, but nearly all other writers have used or abused its contents in a manner to suit their own personal views. Pinkerton praises and repudiates Innes with one breath:

> Though the chronology of our kings during this period (843 to 1056) be as exact as that of any kingdom in Europe at the time, yet the history is faint and obscure. That of Kenneth, and his eleven immediate successors, appears to best advantage, being preserved in the brief but valuable *Chronicon Pictorum*, published by Innes.[1]

To understand Pinkerton's true estimate of Innes and his work, one must read further:

> The same venerable monument adds that Achy was the real king, though some put Grig, who only governed in his name; and I suppose Achy was a minor. But it seems best to reconcile all accounts by making this a joint reign. Who Grig was is obscure. . . . Innes foolishly trembles at this account of Gregory the Great, whom the Register of St. Andrews marks as the conqueror of England and Ireland, in which silly stuff it is followed by our fablers. *Strange that no English or Irish historian should even know the name of this tremendous whale!*[2]

The above statement is absurd on its face and has no foundation in fact. We have shown, by all the authorities upon which Pinkerton wrote his own history, that Greg is mentioned regularly and uniformly as the son of Dungallus, King of Scotland, and that Innes, instead of "foolishly trembling" at the account of Greg's reign as given by the *Pictish Chronicle*, is about the only writer since his time who has handled the question fairly and without prejudice. Innes did not undertake to give the details of his reign, but rejected that part of the Chronicle which recorded his reign in a "confused manner," stating that the

[1] *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 175.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 180.

Latin version was most barbarous and in every way imperfect, "written by an ignorant transcriber that hath not known the Latin tongue, and by consequence is so incorrect, that in some places no sense can be made of it."

Pinkerton derides the statement, already established, that Grig freed the Church from servitude:

> Certain it is that St. Andrews had no title to be regarded as supreme church in Pikland, till erected into a bishopric. And there is reason to believe that this happened in the reign of Achy and Grig, 883–894. For Fordun and Winton say that Kellach, the first bishop, lived in the time of Grig, or their Gregory; and this agrees with the *Chron. Pict.* which mentions him as yet living under Constantine III., 909, or fifteen years after the expulsion of Achy and Grig. A singular passage of the Reg. St. And. in the reign of Grig also strengthens this: "*Et hic primus dedit libertatem ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, quæ sub servitute erat usque ad illud tempus, ex constitutione et more Pictorum.*" "He first gave freedom to the Scottish church, which till that time was in servitude, by the constitution and custom of the Piks." This surely refers to the subjection of the Pikish churches to Hyona; from which they were delivered, by erecting St. Andrews into a bishopric. Our clergy, in gratitude, gave much fabulous praise to Grig, as was their custom in such cases; and say that he conquered Ireland, and most of England.[1]

He concludes that with the exception of Macbeth's journey to Rome in 1050, there was no reason to suppose that the Pikish church paid any homage to Rome, and that Hyona, or Iona, was their religious centre until St. Andrews was erected into a bishopric by King Greg:

> Hence the abbot of Hyona was in effect primate of Scotland till the ninth century. When Hyona had been ravaged by the Danes, Dunkeld was the primatial see, till the reign of Grig and Achy, A.D. 883, from which time St. Andrews held that supremacy.[2]

In *Highlanders of Scotland*, Skene calls Pinkerton's versions of the *Albanic Duan* and the *Irish Annals* "dishonest." These are the two documents in which Pinkerton asserts there is no mention of King Greg, but as these documents have been reviewed in connection with Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Chapter IV., there is little need to refer to the matter here. Pinkerton was the first to state that "Achy and Grig were expelled the kingdom," though not a single old document records such an event, and Pinkerton gives no authority for it.

[1] *Enquiry into the History of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 268–9.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 271.

Briefly summing up Pinkerton's whole scheme, it appears to the writer that, as he found nothing new in the old documents, he considered this joint reign of Achy and Grig a "discovery" and endeavoured to make much out of it. With his desire to expatiate upon a subject he considered uncertain—an antiquarian characteristic—he followed the plan, adopted by many later writers, of reasoning out doubtful data in order to "establish a truth." There is no other apparent reason for his acceptance of the third part of the *Pictish Chronicle*.

No one has been able to locate Eochodius (or Achy) with any assurance. The "third daughter" of Kenneth is a comparatively recent invention. She "is married" to the king "*Ku*," "*Kun*," or "*Cu*," or "*Run*," a Strathclyde Briton, in order to give Eochodius (or Achy) a right to the throne of Scotland. Greg, as the son of Dungallus, and grandson of Selbach, both kings of Scotland by right of birth, would naturally have been crowned. As this document is at variance with all other well known and reliable documents, it seems unworthy of the exalted position to which Chalmers, Pinkerton and Skene have raised it.

Annals

OF THE

CALEDONIANS, PICTS, AND SCOTS;

AND OF

STRATHCLYDE, CUMBERLAND, GALLOWAY, AND MURRAY.

BY

JOSEPH RITSON, ESQ.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Antiquam exquirite matrem.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR W. AND D. LAING;

AND PAYNE AND FOSS, PALL-MALL, LONDON.

1828.

DCCCLXXXIII. Eochodius autem, filius Kun regis Britannorum, nepos Cinadei ex filia, regnavit annis undecim. Licet Ciricium filium alii dicunt hic regnasse, eo quod alumnus ordinatorque

Nomina regum, &c. "Het filius Kinet uno anno." *Cro. regum, &c.* "Da bliadhain Da brathari do Aodh flionus gothach," (*i. e.* Two years to his brother, to Hugh the fair-haired). *Duan.* "877. Aod Mac Cinaoth rex Pictorum à sociis suis occisus est." *An. Ul.* The Chronicle of Mailros places the death of Hed, the brother of Constantine, in the same year (*i. e.* 878).

"Ejusdem frater regnaverat Albipes [l. Alipes] Edhus,
Qui Grig Dofnalidæ saucius ense perit.
Hic postquam primum regni compleverat annum,
In Stratalum vitam vulnere finierat."
Chro. elegiacum.

Ulrim, Sir James Dalrymple takes to be a place in the county of Murray, near Burgie or Kinlos. See *Col.* p. 99. It is remarkable, if this be the true reading, that Malcolm I. was slain at the same place.

DCCCLXXXIII. Eochy, now, the son of Kun, king of the Britons, [and] grandson of Kenneth, by his daughter, reigned eleven years. Although others say, that his son Grig reigned here, for that he was foster-father and manager to Eochy. In whose second year Hugh the son of Niel died: and, in his ninth year, on the very day of St. Cyrick (or Cyriack) there was an eclipse of the sun. Eochy, with his foster-father, was now expelled from the kingdom.

Eochodio fiebat. Cujus secundo anno Aed filius Neil moritur;* ac, in nono anno, ipso die Cirici, eclipsis solis facta est.† Echodius cum alumno suo expulsus est nunc de regno.‡ 884. 891.

* Edan VI. son of Neal, called Finliat, king of Temoria, died in 879. Ware.

† If *die Cerici* mean the feast of *St. Cyriacus*, which is the *8th of August*, there was certainly an eclipse of the sun on that day in the year 891: but if they mean that of St. *Cyr*, or *Cyricus*, which is the 16*th of June*, there was no eclipse on this day subsequent to 885; though there actually was one on the 17*th* of that month, 893. See *L'art de verifier les dates*, &c.

‡ *Cro. Pic.* Neither this Eochy, nor his father Kun, is mentioned anywhere else. The *Nomina regum*, instead of him, have "Grig MacDunegal [the *Ciricius*, it would seem, of the Pictish chronicle] 12 an. Mortuus est in Dundum, et sepultus in Iona. Hic subjugavit sibi Hyberniam totam, et fere Angliam. Et hic primus dedit libertatem ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, quæ suo servitate erat illud tempus ex constitutione et more Pictorum." The *Cronica regum* has, also, "Grig fil. Dungal xii.;" and the *Chronicle of Mailros*, at 897, "Obiit Grig." He likewise appears in the *Chronicon elegiacum*; which evidently follows the *Nomina regum*:

> "Grig sua jura gerens annis deca rex fit et octo,
> In Dunduren probus morte retentus erat;
> Qui dedit ecclesiæ libertates Scoticanæ,
> Quæ sub Pictorum lege redacta fuit.
> Hujus ad imperium fuit Anglia tota peracta;
> Quod non leva dedit sors sibi bella terens"

This conqueror of almost all England is, however, totally unknown to the old English historians.

Ritson is one of the first well known writers to discredit this joint reign. He has read Innes's "Ku [sic]" as *Kun*. With this exception, the two are in unison in their treatment of the passage recording Greg's reign. As observed, Ritson has carefully explained in a footnote that "Neither this Eochy nor his father Kun is mentioned anywhere else." In the same footnote, he cites the various chronicles dealing with the subject, in which King Greg is properly recorded.[1]

Coming down to more recent writers, E. William Robertson discusses the subject as follows:

> Under the first year the Chronicle No. 3 places the death of Malsechnal, King of Ireland; and as that king died on Tuesday 20th November (A.F.M.), his death must have occurred in 863. The same chronicle records the death of Aodh MacNial, king of Ireland, which happened in 879, under the second year of Eocha and Cyric [Grig], thus placing their accession, and consequently the death of Constantine's brother Aodh, in 878.
>
> On the accession of Aodh, or Hugh, the surviving son of Kenneth, his pretensions were disputed by Cyric—or Grig—MacDungal, a chieftain whose residence at Dundurn, or Dunadeer, in the Garioch, marks his preeminence amongst the northern magnates whose allegiance had been transferred to Thorstein.[2]

In a footnote regarding *Cyric*, he states that "Cyric [or Ciric, the same as the French St. Cyr] was the original name, which has been corrupted into Grig, Girg, and Gregory the Great. It seems to be a different name from Gregor, which is apparently the Scandinavian Griotgar."

In the above Robertson calls Ethus by the name originally given to him, *Aodh*. As he immediately preceded King Greg there may have been some confusion in the names of *Aodh* and *Achy*, as the "translator was an ignorant scribe who did not know the Latin tongue." As to the Church of Greg, and that monarch's place of residence, Robertson states:

> Eccles Girg or Grig is the modern Cyruskirk. Dundurn or Dunadeer in the Garioch, appears long to have held the same place amongst the northern Picts as Dunfothir or Forteviot in the south, i.e. it was the capital of the leading province.[3]

Robertson's intentions to place King Greg where he be-

[1] *Supra.*, p. 342.
[2] *Scotland under Her Early Kings* (footnote), vol. i., pp. 48–49.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 49 (footnote).

longed are honest. Speaking of the contest for superiority between the Picts of the north and those of the south, he states that the decisive battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Strathallan, within the dominions of Aodh, apparently pointing to Cyric as the aggressor. When the victory fell to Cyric, or Greg, Aodh was carried as a wounded prisoner to Inverurie, where he shortly afterwards died of his injuries. This story by Robertson differs a little from other accounts. We are sure of but two facts in connection with this king—the shortness of his reign and the succession of King Greg. Robertson is not satisfied with the old accounts, if he read them, but follows the custom in vogue of accepting the *Pictish Chronicle as authority:*

> Either the victor was content with asserting his own independence, or policy may have prevented him from aspiring to the vacant throne; for he appears to have been satisfied with reviving the divided sovereignty of former times; and by associating in the government a scion of the royal race of Kenneth, Eocha of Strathclyde, a son of the British Prince Cu, he may have sought to propitiate the hostile chieftains of the south, whilst the real authority over both kingdoms must have remained with the conqueror of Strathallan.[1]

Robertson cites Innes, Fordun and the *Annals of Ulster* as authority, adding that "Eocha is described as the alumnus of Cyric, who was evidently the real king of Scotland for the time." The *Annals of Ulster*, it will be remembered, has no record of King Gregory's reign. Fordun has been reviewed very fully (p. 262) and does not even mention an Eochodius, so that Robertson has only the third part of the *Pictish Chronicle* to rely upon when he refers to Innes. He concludes his account of Greg's reign:

> Cyric died peacefully at Dunadeer after a reign of eighteen years, and it was left for the chroniclers of a later age to encircle his memory with a halo of fabulous glory.[2]

John Hill Burton follows many modern writers on the subject and seeks by the same means sarcastically to reduce the reign of King Gregory to a nonentity. In fact, while deriding the efforts of Chalmers, Robertson and others, to untangle this problem, he succeeds merely in proving his own perplexity:

[1] *Scotland Under Her Early Kings*, vol. i., p. 50.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

A glimpse has been obtained of incidents which look like matrimonial alliances between the royal families of Scottish Dalriada and Strathclyde, leading to peaceful adjustments of the governments of the two countries. A certain Eoch, indeed, son of a king of Strathclyde by his wife, a daughter of the king of Scots, makes his appearance as a joint ruler of the Scots along with Grig, who figures in the fabulous historians as Gregory the Great. But the whole affair is so fugitive and confused as to afford nothing but perplexity to those who have tried to unravel it.[1]

It will be noted that Burton prefers not to name the king of Strathclyde, whom the "third daughter of Kenneth" married. He will not permit himself to decide whether this unknown king was *Ku*, *Kun*, *Cu*, or *Run*. Burton himself was doubtlessly perplexed, and more particularly since he, too, caught but a "glimpse" of the basic evidence upon which this whole system of a "matrimonial alliance" may have rested. He indirectly accepts the doubtful part of the *Pictish Chronicle*, by admitting the views of Chalmers, Pinkerton and others. It is intensely interesting to follow Burton, since his own arguments prove the question beyond his solution:

There is some confusion in the subsequent destinies of the throne. Aodh, or Hugh, the brother of Constantine, appears as his immediate successor; but a certain Grig is found wielding the supreme power, *without any assigned genealogical title to the crown.* The affair is not made much clearer by the chroniclers assigning to him a partner in power named Eoch. He is already mentioned as a grandson of Kenneth by his daughter, the wife of a king of Strathclyde. To make up for the mystery and penury of such notices, the obsolete historians have made a hero and a favourite of Grig. In their hands he becomes Gregorious Magnus, or Gregory the Great, and in his person restores the true line of Scottish royalty, which had been perverted to serve the claims of powerful collaterals. He is the great hero—king of the age. He drives out the Danes, he humbles England, he conquers Ireland; but his magnanimity will permit him to take no more advantage of his success than to see that these two kingdoms are rightly governed, that they are rid of the northern invaders, and that their scepters are respectively wielded by the legitimate heir. All this is about as true as the story of the King of Scotland with five royal companions rowing the barge of King Edgar in the Dee. When the two countries afterward had their bitter quarrel, such inventions were the way in which the quarrel was fought in the cloister.[2]

It is surprising to find such an acknowledgment in a work by so prominent an author. Had Burton investigated the

[1] *History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 310.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 356.

numerous authorities for Scotland's early history of Greg's reign, he would not have been so eager to repudiate Greg's "genealogical title to the crown." He certainly does not appear to have analysed much of the ancient history of Scotland, despite his success in placing on the market eight ponderous volumes. If the rest of Burton's work is as unreliable as in the reign of King Greg, he also may soon be classed among the "obsolete."

THE

EARLY SCOTTISH CHURCH:

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

FROM

THE FIRST TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS M'LAUCHLAN, M.A., F.S.A.S.,

EDINBURGH.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.
LONDON: HAMILTON, ADAMS, & CO. DUBLIN: JOHN ROBERTSON & CO.

MDCCCLXV.

The Rev. Thomas McLauchlan has long been considered one of the foremost Celtic scholars of the nineteenth century, as well as one of the fairest men in dealing with the subjects he treats. He is altogether too forbearing in his treatment of the anti-Celtic writers, although he does not agree with them in many important particulars, as shown by the following facsimiles from his *Early Scottish Church:*

> Constantine is said by the best authorities to have reigned for eighteen years, his reign closing in 881, when, according to the Register of St. Andrews, he was killed fighting with the Northmen at a place called Merdo-fatha, or Werdo, probably the present Perth. His body was conveyed for sepulture to Iona (Inn. Ess. vol. ii., p. 801). The uneasy throne of Constantine was occupied by his brother Aodh or Hugh. The Gaelic bard gives him a reign of two years, which he characterises by *Bu daor a dhath,* 'sad their complexion.' Aodh was slain in a civil broil. Girg or Grig Mac Dungal was Maormor of Mar, the province extending from the Dee to the Spey. Grig became competitor with Aodh for the crown. A battle was fought between the rival candidates in Strathalan (Reg. Prior. of St. And.) where Aodh was slain. The Colbertine MS. places his death at Nrurin (Inverury), the account most likely to be accurate, as the Maormor of Mar was the rebel; but if so Strathalin is probably a mis-reading for Strathdon. Aodh was interred at Iona.
>
> Grig, Girg, or Grigor, as he is variously called, seized the sceptre of Aodh. By the writers of the St. Andrew's Register he is said to have reigned alone for twelve years, to have subdued Ireland and England, and to have been the first king to give liberty to the Pictish Church, which had hitherto been in a state of bondage in accordance with the constitution of the Pictish kingdom. Mr. Robertson understands this to mean the transference of the privileges of Dunkeld to St. Andrew's (Hist. vol. i., p. 50). He is said by this authority to have died at Dundurn or Durrisdeer in Aberdeenshire,[1] and to have

[1] There is a Dunearn, a place of note, on the banks of the Findhorn, above Forres which may be Dundurn.

been buried in Iona. The Colbertine MS. (Inn. Ess. 11, 784) states that, apparently to give some legality to his claim, he associated with him on the throne Ku, King of the Britons, a grandson of Kenneth Macalpine, along with whom he was finally expelled from his kingdom. Grig could hardly be destitute of all claim to the throne, as we find that from him is deduced by the seanachies one of the oldest and most powerful of the Scottish clans, the clan Gregor, who are traced through him up to King Alpin, and in virtue of this descent they claim connection with the royal line of Scotland. *Is rioghail mo dhream*, 'royal is my race,' is the ancient motto of this famous clan. If there be exaggeration in the praise bestowed on Grig by the St. Andrew's monks, there may be undue depreciation by the writer of the other account. Innes sets no value on the latter account, and seems in this to be more accurate than Chalmers, who does, but who is always glad to get a charge against Buchanan, who gives a laudatory account of the reign of Grig. Grig died in 897.

The chief point to be noted in the facsimiles from McLauchlan is found in the following passage:

Grig could hardly be destitute of all claim to the throne, as we find that from him is deduced by the seanachies one of the oldest and most powerful of the Scottish clans, the clan Gregor, who are traced through him up to King Alpin, and in virtue of this descent they claim connection with the royal line of Scotland. *Is rioghail mo dhream*, "royal is my race," is the ancient motto of this famous clan. If there be exaggeration in the praise bestowed on Grig by the St. Andrew's monks, there may be undue depreciation by the writer of the other account. Innes sets no value on the latter account, and seems in this to be more accurate than Chalmers, who does, but who is always glad to get a charge against Buchanan, who gives a laudatory account of the reign of Grig. Grig died in 897.

McLauchlan's fitness for deciding many of the important questions regarding the early periods in Scottish history has been recognised by the encyclopedias. He knew the proneness of the older writers to distort and exaggerate a question, in order to "get even" with a contemporary; yet with all the acrimony and bitterness with which these questions have been handled, there has been almost a uniformity in giving King Gregory's reign the same value as attached to it by Innes.

CELTIC SCOTLAND:

A HISTORY OF

Ancient Alban

BY

WILLIAM F. SKENE, D.C.L., LL.D.

HISTORIOGRAPHER-ROYAL FOR SCOTLAND.

VOLUME I.

HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY.

SECOND EDITION.

EDINBURGH: DAVID DOUGLAS

1886

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CHAPTER VIII

METHODS OF SKENE AND GRUB

Skene Discovers a "Blank"—Proofs of His Error—Reason for Omission of Greg from Duan Albanach—Discussion of Word "Ku"—Grub's So-called "Reprint" of Innes—Substitution of Skene's Appendix for Original—"Reprint" and Original Contrasted in Facsimile—Other Mistakes

After the death of John Hill Burton in 1881, Skene was appointed Historiographer Royal of Scotland. His first official publication, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*, appeared in 1886. An important misstatement in this work brings his treatment of documentary evidence once more under discussion. The point is made clear by an examination of his Note 106 in the facsimile on p. 354, which reads as follows:

> Eochodius autem filius Run regis Britannorum nepos Cinadel ex filia regnavit annis xi. Licet Ciricium filium alii dicunt hic regnasse; eo quod alumpus ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat.

In the text of the same facsimile Skene says: "The *Pictish Chronicle* calls him 'Ciricius,' but leaves a blank for his father's name."[1]

This is a most unfortunate statement by Skene. In the footnote on the facsimile, it will be noted that he actually left a space five eighths of an inch long, evidently thereby intending to convey to the reader the size of the blank in the original document. But the reader may satisfy himself as to this blank after the name of Ciricium by turning to the facsimile made from Skene's previous work, p. 223, or his own transliteration of the Latin from the original, p. 232, in neither of which is there any sign, or even mention, of a blank. The idea of the blank must evidently have occurred to the learned gentleman sometime between the appearance of the *Pictish Chronicle*, 1867, as given in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, and the publication of *Celtic Scotland*, nineteen years later.

[1] See facsimile on p. 354.

In his former work, *Chronicles of Picts and Scots*, reviewed in Chapters IV. and V., he discussed this important paragraph at considerable length, but made no reference whatever in the preface or the text to the existence of such a blank.

In order to verify this point, and avoid any possibility of error in the matter, the writer had photographs made of this "important" document from the King's Library in Paris, and found that no blank exists. As it is identical with the facsimile given on p. 223, however, it is not considered necessary to repeat it in this volume.

The following facsimiles from Skene's *Celtic Scotland* deal with the matter and period under discussion:

This is the first appearance in the Pictish Chronicle of the term 'Scotti' or Scots being applied to any portion of the inhabitants of Pictavia, and it seems to have been used with reference to those of the province of Fife in particular, but the Ulster Annals record the death of Constantin as king of the Picts.[104]

A.D. 877-878. Aedh, son of Kenneth, king of the Picts.

He was succeeded by his brother Aedh, who reigned only one year. The Pictish Chronicle says of him that the shortness of his reign left nothing memorable to record, but that he was slain in the town of Nrurim. St. Berchan says of him—

> He dies without bell, without communion,
> In the evening in a dangerous pass.

And the Ulster Annals record in 878 that Aedh, son of Cinador, king of the Picts, was slain by his own people.[105]

the concluding sentence alludes to it is impossible now to say. 'Paulo post ab eo bello in xiiij ejus facto in Dolair inter Danarios et Scottos. Occisi sunt Scotti co Ach Cochlam.' —*Pict. Chron.* The notice of Constantin's reign by St. Berchan is defective, a few lines being lost in the concluding part, but there are still preserved the last two lines, which are significant enough—

> On Thursday, in pools of blood,
> On the shore of Inbhirdubhroda.

The Chronicle of St. Andrews has 'Interfectus est a Norwegiensibus in bello Inverdufatha,' which is obviously the same name as Inbhirdubhroda: the one meaning the Inver of the black ford, the other, of the black road. A record of this battle seems preserved in a charter in the Chartulary of St. Andrews, p. 274, where mention is made of the 'congeries lapidum juxta viam de Inverdoveth versus Sanctum Andream.' By another chronicle it is corrupted to 'de Werdofatha,' and supposing that 'Wer' was meant for 'Wem,' a cave, the Chronicum Elegiacum translates it Nigra specus, and from this the story that king Constantin was killed in a cave seems to have arisen. But St. Berchan leaves no doubt that Inbhir is the first part of the word, and the ancient Tract on the wars of the Gaidhel with the Gaill is conclusive that Constantin was killed in battle. Cochlam is probably the place called Kathlock, Cathlok, Catholok, between Kilmany and Inverdovat.

[104] 876 Constantin mac Cinaeda rex Pictorum moritur.—*An. Ult.*

[105] Ejus etiam brevitas nil historie memorabile commendavit, sed in civitate Nrurim est occisus. 878 Aedh mac Cinador rex Pictorum a sociis suis occisus est.—*An. Ult.* The later chronicles say that he was slain in battle in Strathallan by his successor Grig; but though he may have been slain in battle, it is certainly inconsistent with the earlier notices that his successor should have slain him. In a pass in the heights which separate Strathallan from Glenartney is a place called Blairnroar. The word Blair

With Aedh died the last of Kenneth's sons, and thus far the succession of the kings of his race had not only followed the law of Tanistry, but did not vary from that modification of the Pictish law which had been already sanctioned among the southern Picts, and had admitted the sons of previous kings in a similar order to fill the Pictish throne; but now the two modes of royal succession were again in conflict. By the law of Tanistry the succession opened to Donald, son of Constantin and grandson of Kenneth by the Pictish law, when strictly observed, to Eocha, son of Run, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, whose mother was Constantin's sister. Both of these claimants to the throne appear to have been under age, and there had not yet been an instance of a lineal male descendant in the third generation being permitted to succeed to the Pictish throne. The great defeat and slaughter which befell the Scots under Constantin had probably, for the time, weakened the Scottish interest, while the heir, according to their law, had the additional disqualification of being too young to reign.

A.D. 878-889. Girig mac Dungaile and Eochodius, son of Run.

The Pictish party prevailed, and Eocha, the Briton, was placed on the throne, but as he appears also to have been too young to reign alone, another king was associated with him as his governor.[106] The Pictish Chronicle calls him 'Ciricius,' but leaves a blank for his father's name; but in the Irish version he is called Giric, son of Dungaile; and by Flann Mainistrech, Girg, son of Dungaile. In the Latin lists it is corrupted to Grig, but in the Chronicle of St. Andrews it appears as Carus. By the Albanic Duan he is omitted altogether, and the Ulster Annals do not mention

usually marks a battlefield, and here there are several upright stones and a cairn, in which several stone coffins were found.—*N.S.A.* vol. x. p. 326. The name is here misprinted Blairinroan.

[106] Eochodius autem filius Run regis Britannorum nepos Cinadei ex filia regnavit annis xi. Licet Ciricium filium alii dicunt hic regnasse; eo quod alumpnus ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat.—*Pict. Chron.* Arthgal, Eocha's grandfather, died in 872, and he could hardly have been born before 865. Donald could not have been born much before that date, if so early.

him, which leads to the suspicion that he was an intruder in the Scottish line, and was not of that race. His name is evidently the British name Curig, and under this form St. Ciricus, a martyr of Tarsus, was introduced into the British calendar, and has several churches in Wales dedicated to him. It was no doubt from Girig, son of Dungaile, being named after him that the eclipse on his day in the calendar is recorded as taking place during this reign. As governor to Eocha, and as bearing a British name, the presumption is that he was also a Briton, and the name of Dungaile, borne by his father, was the same name as that of Dunnagual, who appears in the Welsh Genealogies annexed to Nennius as the father of Arthgal and grandfather of Run; Girig was therefore in all probability Eocha's paternal granduncle.[107]

The Pictish Chronicle places the death of Aed, son of Neil, king of Ireland, in his second year, and Aed died on 8th November 879, and we are told that in his ninth year an eclipse of the sun took place on St. Ciricus's day. His day in the calendar is the 16th of June, and an eclipse of the sun actually took place on that day in the year 885. These notices give us sufficiently the true chronology of his reign, but the Pictish Chronicle records none of the events of it, and simply says that after a reign of eleven years Eochodius with his tutor is now expelled from the king-

[107] Chalmers announces without hesitation that Girig, or Grig as he calls him, was the Maormor of the extensive country between the Dee and Spey, and this has been repeated by most subsequent historians as if it were undoubted; but he gives no authority for it, and appears to have founded it upon the tradition that Gregory the Great, as he was called, died at Dunadeer in the Garioch. Such traditions, however, are the creation of our fabulous historians. The later chronicles give him a reign of twelve years, and add 'mortuus est in Dundeorn.' But one form of these chronicles extends his reign to eighteen years, and this is followed by Fordun, who changes Dundeorn to Donedoure, converted by tradition to Dunadeer. That the place meant was Dundurn on the Earn appears from St. Berchan, who calls him MacRath, or the son of Fortune, and says

> By him shall be attacked the powerful house,
> Ah! my heart! *on the banks of the Earn*,
> Red shall be the colour of the house before him.
> He shall fall by the men of Fortrenn.

> dom. The later chronicles supply this defect so far as to give us in general terms two events of his reign. The first is that he brought under subjection to himself the whole of Bernicia and part of Anglia; and there may possibly be some foundation for the statement, to a partial extent at least, when we consider the position in which the kingdom of Northumbria was placed during his reign, and the changes which apparently followed it.

Skene's reference to the omission of Greg's name from the *Albanic Duan* makes it necessary at this point to review that Chronicle. According to a footnote in *The Irish Version of Nennius*, edited with copious footnotes by Dr. James Henthorn Todd, Greg's name is said to have been omitted "perhaps designedly." As to the correctness of the modern edition of the *Duan Albanach*, Todd states that the poem was written by an unknown author and bears internal evidence of having been written about 1057. It is acknowledged by all authorities to have been of the utmost value in connecting the annals of the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland. Dr. Todd acknowledges that even the version of the elder Charles O'Connor is full of error, and he is frequently compelled in footnotes to call attention to those of Skene. He likewise notes the fact that while the poem ends with the stanza:

> Two kings over fifty, listen!
> To the sons of Donnchadh of royal countenance,
> Of the race of Erc, the noble, in the east,
> Obtained Alba, O ye learned.

there are in reality only forty-seven kings enumerated in the present text of the poem. It has been very seriously tampered with to suit the views of the times, as he explicitly says:

> The transposed kings are Dungal, changed from the twenty-second to the nineteenth place; and Alpin, changed from the thirty-third to the twentieth. The omitted kings are No. 19, Selvach; the three Eochaids . . . and 38, Gairig, or Gregory MacDungail.

As previously stated, it is my impression that a confusion in the names of *Achy* and *Aodh* gave rise to the paragraph concerning the joint reign. It may be that Todd also inclined to this view:

> There was probably some confusion made by an early copyist in the

Eochaidhs, for it is remarkable that the defects in the Duan all occur in connexion with a king of this name. Thus, for Sealbach and Eochaidh III., the Duan substitutes Dungal and Alpin; it omits Dungal and Eochaidh IV., who ought to come in between Muiredach and Aodh; and it also omits Eochaidh V. and Alpin, who ought to come in between Eoganan and Cionaeth or Kenneth MacAlpin. It is further remarkable that these errors are in each case double, arising from the original omission of two kings and the subsequent attempt to mend the defect by transposition.[1]

In the light of the above statement, it would not seem a matter of importance that the name of Greg was omitted from the *Duan Albanach*, nor that the omission of his father's name in the *Pictish Chronicle* tends to prove him unknown. The various documents showing his descent as the son of King Dungallus, or Dungaile, of the royal line, prove beyond a doubt that Gregory is entitled to recognition as king of Scotland, because of his inherent right, and that he was no tutor or associate of a person unknown to Scottish history save for the one mention in the *Pictish Chronicle.*

In the last facsimile given from *Celtic Scotland* Skene very inadvertently admits that "the later chronicles supply this defect so far as to give us in general terms two events of his reign. The first is that he brought under subjection to himself the whole of Bernicia and part of Anglia." His position with regard to the whole subject is incomprehensible. After carefully collecting and editing as trustworthy the various valuable documents in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, he repudiates nearly every one of them in so far as the reign of King Gregory is concerned, and in their place accepts without hesitation a document whose authorship is unknown, the date of whose compilation is a matter of conjecture, and whose whereabouts, from the time of its origin until its publication in 1729, is uncertain.

It will be observed that Skene says the derivation of the name is from "Curig," a British name, though he cites no authority for it. Greg's descent through the House of Loarn, as the grandson of Selbach and son of Dungallus is too well established by the various documents examined, to leave any doubt as to the manner in which he ascended the throne of Scotland—not as a Britisher, not as a tutor or governor to the son of a Britisher, but as the son of Dungallus, of a long line of Scottish kings.

[1] *Irish Version of Nennius*, p. 281.

Skene's only authority for the statement that Greg and Eocha were expelled from the kingdom is found in Pinkerton, who, as stated previously, cites no authority for it. There has been ample proof to show that Greg died a peaceful death in his Castle of Dunadeer, and some of the authorities state that he lived for four years after his duties as king of Scotland ceased. Skene nowhere makes mention of Innes's important note (*f*), which is repeated here for the sake of clearness:[1]

Translation of Innes's Note (*f*).

Those things, which are stated here with regard to the successor of King Ed or Aeth, are very obscure and altogether unheard of among the Scots, for nowhere is there mention of this Eochodius; and as well the extracts from our old annals as the old catalogues and all our writers unanimously relate that Gregory immediately succeeded King Aeth, and that he was celebrated on account of the victories which he had gained in England, and especially in Ireland. Whether for this reason this writer wished, by the obscure and confused narration, to detract from the glorious deeds of Gregory, let others judge. In the meantime his epitaph may be seen at the end of the chronicle of Maylrose with the other epitaphs of the kings, and those things which are related of him may be seen in the extracts from the Register of St. Andrews.

To my knowledge this is the first translation ever printed of this note. Even in the "reprint" edited by George Grub, the note was entirely omitted, as shown by the facsimiles reproduced from that work on pages 363–365.

The much disputed passage in the *Pictish Chronicle* is variously rendered:

Eochodius autem filius *Ku* (*sic*) regis . . . (Innes).[2]
Eochodius autem filius *Ku* regis . . . . . (Pinkerton).
Eochodius autem filius *Kun* regis . . . . . (Ritson).
Eochodius autem filius *Cu* regis . . . . . (Robertson).
Eochodius autem filius *Run* regis . . . . . (Skene).

Note (*f*) points beyond question to the fact that Innes made thorough search for further information before he asserted that "*nowhere else is there mention of this Eochodius.*"

E. W. Robertson[3] treats the reign of King Greg a little

[1] Cf. facsimile p. 217.

[2] No author of later date noticed Innes's *sic* after *Ku*, but without any hesitation rendered the word according to his individual opinion.

[3] *Scotland Under Her Early Kings*, vol. i., pp. 48–50.

differently from any other author consulted. He places the reign as follows:

Aodh (Hugh)	877 – 878
Eocha	878 – 889
Cyric (Grig)	878 – 896
Donald the second	889 – 900

On the accession of Aodh, or Hugh, the surviving son of Kenneth, his pretensions were disputed by Cyric—or Grig—MacDungal, a chieftain whose residence at Dundurn, or Dunadeer in the Garioch, marks his pre-eminence amongst the northern magnates whose allegiance had been transferred to Thorstein. . . . By associating in the government a scion of the royal race of Kenneth, Eocha of Strath Clyde, a son of the British *Cu*, he may have sought to propitiate the hostile chieftains of the south, whilst the real authority over both kingdoms must have remained with the conqueror of Strathallan.

In a footnote, regarding the last statement, Robertson says: "Eocha is described as the *alumnus* of Cyric, who was evidently the real king of Scotland for the time."

He states further that upon the death of Eocha, which happened after an eventless career of eleven years, Donald, the son of Constantine, assumed Eocha's place and shared the honors of the crown with Cyric, or Grig, apparently on the same terms as his British cousin Eocha.[1]

The few remaining years of the century passed away without events—none at least have been recorded—Cyric died peacefully at Dunadeer after a reign of eighteen years.

After an examination of the documents reviewed in the preceding pages, it will readily be seen that many writers of the modern school have apparently failed to examine the original documents in forming their conclusions. They seem to have followed blindly the lead of those more prominent historians to whom they have entrusted the shaping of historical data.

George Grub was apparently no exception to the rule, as shown by an examination of his so-called "reprint" of Innes's *Critical Essay:*

[1] Robertson is the only authority I have found for Donald reigning with Greg.

A Critical Essay

on the

Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain or Scotland

CONTAINING AN

ACCOUNT OF THE ROMANS, OF THE BRITAINS BETWIXT THE WALLS, OF THE CALEDONIANS OR PICTS, AND PARTICULARLY OF THE SCOTS.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT PIECES.

BY

THOMAS INNES, M.A.

REPRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION PUBLISHED IN 1729.
WITH A MEMOIR BY GEORGE GRUB, LL.D.

EDINBURGH: WILLIAM PATERSON.
1885.

Grub's Reprint of Innes forms vol. viii. of *The Historians of Scotland*. In the Memoir of Innes, which had appeared for the most part in Innes's *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, published by the Spalding Club, Grub says:

> Thomas Innes has hitherto been chiefly known by his *Critical Essay*, now reprinted, and on that work his fame will no doubt mainly continue to rest. Its merits have long been universally admitted. It has been well remarked, with particular reference to Pinkerton and Chalmers, that "authors who agree in nothing else have united to build on the foundation which Innes laid, and to extol his learning and accuracy, his candour and sagacity."[1]

The title page states that this edition is "Reprinted from the Original Edition published in 1729." Grub further states in the Memoir (p. xxvii.):

> The narrative—(of the Ecc. Hist.)—is founded on a careful examination of the best existing authorities. No such examination had been made by previous writers on the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. These writers were generally ignorant of the real source of authentic history, and made no proper use of what they did know.

Grub but voices the general estimate of Innes, a Catholic priest, whose work won the universal praise and confidence of Catholic and Protestant writers:

> But in spite of the strong party feeling which was paramount in his mind, he was of so temperate a nature and so honest withal, that no quotations or statements of fact, scarcely an argument or conclusion in his work, has ever been challenged.[2]

Those who have apparently never read his *original* edition, commend Innes because they think he affords them justification of their peculiar views. They accept the *Pictish Chronicle* as having his endorsement *in toto*. On the contrary, we have seen that he repudiated a part of it on account of the confusion in the reign of King Gregory. The following facsimiles reproduced from the *original* and from the *reprint*, show Grub's variation from Innes. In an inconspicuous footnote he endeavours to account for the conspicuous omission of Innes's important footnotes, and for some changes in the text of the Appendix from Innes:

> By permission of W. F. Skene, Esq., the ancient pieces in this Appendix

[1] *The Historians of Scotland*, vol. viii., p. xxvi.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxx.

have been printed from the corrected and enlarged texts contained in *The Chronicle of the Picts, Chronicle of the Scots*, and other early memorials of Scottish History, edited by that gentleman.[1]

As the Appendix in Innes's original edition forms one of the most important parts of his work, and as many contentions on various early subjects connected with Scottish history rest on these ancient pieces printed by Innes, the question naturally suggests itself as to why Grub deemed it necessary to print these ancient pieces from *Skene's* work, while giving to the public a work *supposed to be a "reprint from the original edition published in* 1729" from *Innes*.

The 5th paragraph in the following facsimile, taken from Innes's *original*, should be carefully compared with the corresponding paragraph in the facsimile on p. 365 taken from Grub's *reprint*. Out of *183* footnotes, important to Innes's appendix, only *19* are given in the "Reprint."

This one instance, in which he changes the "Ku (sic)" of Innes into Skene's interpretation of "Run" is sufficient to condemn the whole of Grub's "reprint," and his omission of the very valuable footnote (*f*) renders the whole paragraph an actual misrepresentation of Innes's original. The translation of this important note is found in my review of the subject on p. 217.

[1] *Historians of Scotland*, vol. viii., p. 409.

3. CONSTANTINUS fil. Kinadi regnavit annis XVI. Primo ejus anno (*a*) Mael Sechnaill rex Hybernenſium obiit & Aed (*b*) fil. Niel tenuit regnum: & poſt duos annos vaſtavit (*c*) Amlaib cum gentibus ſuis Pictaviam & habitantes eam a kal. Januar. uſque ad feſtum S. Patricii. Tertio iterum anno Amlaib trahens cetum (*d*) (*ſic*) a Conſtantino occiſus eſt paulo poſt ab eo bello in XIV ejus facto in Dolair inter Danarios & Scottos: occiſi Scotti in Coach-cochlum (*ſic*): Normanni annum integrum degerunt in Pictavia.

4. EDUS tenuit idem uno anno. Ejus autem brevitas nil hiſtoriæ memoriæ commendavit: ſed in civitate nrurin (*e*) eſt occiſus.

5. (*f*) EOCHODIUS autem filius Ku (*ſic*) regis Britannorum nepos Kinadi ac fil. regn. an XI. Licet

(*a*) Mael-ſeacluin rex Hyberniæ, *Obiit A. D* 863. *ſucceſſit ei.*

(*b*) Aodh-finliath fil. Niel.

(*c*) *Hic eſt ille Anlaphus Danas de quo in ſcriptoribus Scotiæ, Angliæ & Hyberniæ.*

(*d*) F. cœtum, i.e. exercitum.

(*e*) F. Inruri.

(*f*) *Quæ hic habentur de ſucceſſore regis Edi ſive Æthi obſcura admodum ſunt & apud Scotos omnino inaudita: nuſquam enim mentio hujus Eochodii: & tam vetuſtorum excerpta annalium noſtrorum, quam catalogi veteres & omnes noſtri ſcriptores unanimi ſententia referunt Gregorum immediatè Æthо regi ſucceſſiſſe & cele-*

Facsimile from Innes's *Original*

Licet *Giricium* (*a*) fil. alii dicunt hic regnaſſe eo quod alumpnus, ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat. Cujus ſecundo anno Aed fil. Niel moritur, ac in nono anno ipſo die cirici eclipſis ſolis facta eſt. Eochodius cum alumno ſuo expulſus eſt nunc de regno.

6. DONEVALDUS fil. Conſtantini tenuit regnum XI annis. Normanni tunc (*b*) vaſtaverun Pictaviam in hujus regno bellum fuit (*c*) *inuifib collan* (*ſic*) inter Danarios & Scottos. Scotti habuerunt victoriam opidum (*d*) Fother occiſum eſt a gentibus (*ſic*).

7. CONSTANTINUS fil. Edii tenuit regnum XL annis: cujus tertio anno Normanni prædaverunt Duncalden omnemque Albaniam: in ſequenti utique anno Conſtantinus rex & (*e*) Kellachus epiſcopus leges, diſciplinaſque fidei, atque jura eccleſiarum, evangeliorumque pariter cum Scottis in

& celebrem fuiſſe ob victorias reportatas in Anglia, ſed præcipuè in Hybernia. An hanc ob cauſam ſcriptor hic rebus a Gregorio præclarè geſtis, obſcura hac & incondita narratione, detrahere voluerit, alii judicent. Videatur interea epitaphium ipſius ad calcem chronici Maylroſſenſis cum reliquis regum epitaphiis, editum, & quæ de eo narrantur in excerptis ex regiſtro S. Andreæ infra num. 5.

(*a*) F. Giric. Girgh. i. e. Grigor.

(*b*) t. MS.

(*c*) F. in urbe Cullen.

(*d*) L. Fones occiſus eſt.

(*e*) Kellach Epiſcopus S. Andreæ. *Vide quæ diximus ſupra, p.* 588, *de concilio Scotico ſub hoc rege Conſtantino & Kellacho epiſcopo.*

Facsimile from Innes's *Original*

III.—Excerpta ex veteri Chronico de Regibus Scottorum a Kenetho Mac-Alpin ad Mac-Malcolm. *Vide supra*, p. 328.

(MS. Colb. Bib. Imp. Paris, 4126.)

Kinadius igitur filius Alpini, primus Scottorum, rexit feliciter istam annis xvi. Pictaviam. Pictavia autem a Pictis est nominata, quos, ut diximus, Cinadius delevit. Deus enim eos pro merito sue malitie

alienos ac octiosos hereditate dignatus est facere: quia illi non solum Domini missam ac preceptum spreverunt; sed et in jure equitatis aliis equi parari noluerunt. Iste vero, biennio antequam veniret Pictaviam, Dalriete regnum suscepit. Septimo anno regni sui, reliquias Sancti Columbe transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit, et invasit sexies Saxoniam; et concremavit Dunbarre atque Marlos usurpata. Britanni autem concremaverunt Dubblain, atque Danari vastaverunt Pictaviam, ad Cluanan et Duncalden. Mortuus est tandem tumore ani, idus Februarii feria tertia in palacio Fothuirtabaicht.

Dunevaldus, frater ejus, tenuit idem regnum iiij. annis. In hujus tempore, jura ac leges regni Edi filii Ecdach fecerunt Goedeli cum rege suo in Fothiurthabaicth. Obiit in palacio Cin Belachoir idus Aprilis.

Constantinus filius Cinadi regnavit annis xvi. Primo ejus anno Maelsechnaill rex Hibernensium obiit; et Aed filius Niel tenuit regnum; ac post duos annos vastavit Amlaib, cum gentibus suis, Pictaviam, et habitauit eam, a kalendis Januarii usque ad festum Sancti Patricii. Tertio iterum anno Amlaib, trahens centum, a Constantino occisus est. Paulo post ab eo bello in xiiij. ejus facto in Dolair inter Danarios et Scottos, occisi sunt Scoti co Achcochlam. Normanni annum integrum degerunt in Pictavia.

Edus tenuit idem i. anno. Ejus etiam brevitas nil historie memorabile commendavit; sed in civitate Nrurim est occisus.

Eochodius autem filius Run regis Britannorum, nepos Cinadei ex filia, regnavit annis xi. Licit Ciricium filium alii dicunt hic regnasse; eo quod alumpnus ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat. Cujus secundo anno Aed filius Neil moritur; ac in ix. ejus anno, in ipso die Cirici, eclipsis solis facta est. Eochodius, cum alumpno suo, expulsus est nunc de regno.

Donivaldus filius Constantini tenuit regnum xi. annos. Normanni tunc vastaverunt Pictaviam. In hujus regno bellum est factum Innisibsolian, inter Danarios et Scottos: Scotti habuerunt victoriam. Opidum Fother occisum est a gentibus.

Constantinus filius Edii tenuit regnum xl. annos. Cujus tertio anno Normanni predaverunt Duncalden, omnemque Albaniam. In sequenti utique anno occisi sunt in Straithh'erne Normanni, ac in vi. anno Constantinus rex, et Cellachus episcopus, leges disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis in colle credulitatis, prope regali civitati Sçoan devoverunt custodiri. Ab hoc die collis hoc meruit nomen, id est, collis credulitatis. Et in suo octavo anno cecidit excelsissimus rex Hibernensium et archiepiscopus, apud Laignechos, id est, Cormace filius Culennan. Et mortui sunt in tempore hujus, Doneualdus rex Britannorum, et Duuenaldus filius Ede rex eligitur; et Flann filius Maelsethnaill, et Niall filius Ede, qui regnavit tribus annis post Flann, etc. Bellum Tinemore factum est in xviii. anno inter Constantinum et Regnall, et Scotti habuerunt victoriam. Et bellum Duinbrunde in xxxiiij. ejus anno ubi cecidit filius Indrechtaig, mormair Oengusa. Adalstan filius Advar rig Saxan, et Eochaid filius Alpini, mortui sunt. Et in senectute decrepitus baculum cepit, et Domino servivit: et regnum mandavit Mael filio Domnail.

Facsimile from Grub's *Reprint* of Innes.

(a) NUM. II.

Cronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum (b).

Ex eodem Cod. MS. Bibl. Colbertin. *V. Supra, p. 105.*

PICTI propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore eo quod aculeis ferreis cum atramento variarum figurarum (c) Stiugmate (*sic*) annotantur. Scotti qui nunc corruptè vocantur Hibernienſes, quaſi Sciti quia a Scithia regione venerunt, & inde originem duxerunt, ſive a Scotta filia Pharaonis regis Ægypti, quæ fuit, ut fertur, regina Scot. (d).

SCIENDUM eſt quod Britones in tertia mundi ætate ad Britanniam venerunt. Scitæ autem, 1.

(a) *Quod ſpectat ad diſcrepantiam inter hoc vetus chronicon Pictorum & catalogos regum Pictorum (qui habentur apud ſcriptores Scotos) quoad nomina, numerum, chronologiam, &c. Vide quæ diximus, p.* 124, *&c.* 129, *&c. ſupra.*

(b) *Fragmentum hoc ſive excerptum ex chronicis Pictorum hic exhibemus quale extat in Cod MS. nihil addito, dempto aut immutato præter titulos primæ & ſecundæ partis & numerales notas regum, quas majoris claritatis gratia, diverſo charactere, adjecimus.* Vid. Supra, p. 002.

(c) L. Stigmate.

(d) L. Scociæ vel Scotorum.

Facsimile from Innes's *Original.*

Scotti in quarta ætate Scociam ſive Hiberniam obtinuerunt. Gentes Scitiæ albo crine naſcuntur ab aſſiduis nivibus: & ipſius capilli color genti nomen dedit; & inde dicuntur Albani: de quibus originem duxerunt Scotti & Picti. Horum glauca oculis, 1. picta ineſt pupilla, adeo ut nocte pluſquam die cernant. Albani autem vicini Amazonibus fuerunt: Gothi a Magog filio Japheth nominati putantur de ſimilitudine ultimæ ſyllabæ: quos veteres Græci magis Gethas quam Gothos vocaverunt. Gens fortis & potentiſſima, corporum mole ardua, armorum genere terribilis. De quibus Lucanus,

Hinc Dacus premat, inde Gethis incurrat Hiberis.

(*a*) Daciam Gothorum ſoboles fuerunt & dictos putant Dacos quaſi Dagos, quia de Gothorum ſtirpe ſunt: de quibus ille,

Ibis Arcos procul uſque Dacos.

Scithæ & Gothi a Magog originem traxerunt (*b*). Scithia quoque & Gothia ab eodem Magog Japhet fertur cognominata; cujus terra olim ingens fuit: nam ab oriente in die (*c*) a ſeptentrione per pa-

(*a*) L. Daci.
(*b*) *Iſidor. Hiſpal. p.* 120.
(*c*) L. Indiæ.

Facsimile from Innes's *Original*.

II.—Cronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum. *Vide supra*, p. 74.

(MS. Colb. Bib. Imp. Paris, 4126.)

Picti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore; eo quod, aculeis ferreis cum atramento, variarum figurarum stingmate annotantur. Scotti qui nunc corrupte vocantur Hibernienses quasi Sciti, quia a Scithia regione venerunt, et inde originem duxerunt; siue a Scotta filia Pharaonis regis Egypti, que fuit ut fertur regina Scottorum. Sciendum vero est quod Britones in tertia mundi etate ad Britanniam venerunt. Scite autem, id est, Scotti, in quarta etate Scociam, siue Hiberniam obtinuerunt. Gentes Scitie albo crine nascuntur ab assiduis nivibus; et ipsius capilli color genti nomen dedit, et inde dicuntur Albani: de quibus originem duxerunt Scoti et Picti. Horum glauca oculis, id est, picta in est pupilla, adeo ut nocte plusquam die cernant. Albani autem vicini Amazonibus fuerunt. Gothi a Magog filio Japheth nominati putantur, de similitudine ultime sillabe; quos veteres Greci magis Gethas, quam Gothos, vocaverunt. Gens fortis et potentissima, corporum mole ardua, armorum genere terribilis. De quibus Lucanus:

'Hinc Dacus premat, inde Gethi incurrant Hiberis.'

Daci autem Gottorum soboles fuerunt: et dictos putant Dacos quasi Dagos, quia de Gottorum stirpe creati sunt: de quibus ille,

'Ibis arcos procul usque Dacos.'

Scithe et Gothi a Magog originem traxerunt. Scithia, quoque et Gothia, ab eodem Magog filio Japhet fertur congnominata: cujus terra olim ingens fuit; nam ab oriente Indie, a septentrione, per paludes Meotidas, inter Danubium et oceanum, usque ad Germanie fines porrigebatur. Postea minor effecta est a dextra orientis parte qui oceanus Siricus conditur, usque ad mare Caspium, quod est ad occasum. De hinc a meridie usque ad Caucasi jugum deducta est; cui subjacet Hircania ab occasu: habens pariter gentes multas, propter terrarum infecunditatem, late vagantes, ex quibus quedam

Facsimile from Grub's *Reprint* of Innes.

agros incolunt; quedam portentuose ac truces, carnibus humanis, et eorum sanguine, vivunt. Scithie plures terre sunt locupletes, inhabitabiles tum plures. Namque in plerisque locis auro et gemmis affluant; griphorum immanitate accessus hominum rarus est. Smaragdis autem optimus hec patria est. Cianeus quoque lapis, et cristallus purissimus Scithie est. Habent et flumina magna, Oscorim, Fasidem, et Araxen. Prima Europe regio Scithia inferiorum, que e Meotidis paludibus incipiens inter Danubium et oceanum septentrionalem, usque ad Germaniam porrigitur: que terra generaliter propter barbaras gentes quibus inhabitata barbarica dicitur. Hujus pars prima Alania est, que ad Meotidas paludes pertingit. Post hanc Dacia, ubi et Gothia. Deinde Germania, ubi plurimam partem Suevi incoluerunt. In partes Asiatice Scithie sunt gentes que posteros se Jasonis credunt: albo crine nascuntur ab assiduis nivibus. De his ista sufficiunt.

Cruidne filius Cinge, pater Pictorum habitantium in hac insula, c. annis regnavit. Vij. filios habuit. Hec sunt nomina eorum: Fib, Fidach, Floclaid, Fortrenn, Got, Ce, Circinn.

Circin lx. regnavit.
Fidaich xl.
Fortrenn lxx.
Floclaid xxx.
Got xij.
Ce xv.
Fibaid xxiiij.
Gede olgudach lxxx.
Denbecan c.
Olfinecta lx.
Guidid gaed brechach l.
Gest gurcich xl.
Wurgest xxx.

Brude bont, a quo xxx. Brude regnaverunt Hiberniam et Albaniam per centum l. annorum spacium, xlviij. annis regnavit. Id est.

Brude pant.
Brude urpant.
Brude leo.
Brude uleo.
Brude gant.
Brude urgant.
Brude gnith.
Brude urgnith.
Brude fecir.
Brude urfecir.
Brude cal.
Brude urcal.
Brude cint.
Brude urcint.
Brude fet.
Brude urfet.

Facsimile from Grub's *Reprint* of Innes.

ludes Mæotides inter Danubium & oceanum uſque ad Germaniæ fines porrigebatur. Poſtea minor effecta eſt a dextra orientis parte quæ oceanus Sciticus conditur (*ſic*) uſque ad mare Caſpium quod eſt ad occaſum: de hinc a meridie uſque ad Caucaſum jugum deducta eſt, cui ſubjacet Hircania ab occaſu: habens pariter gentes multas propter inſœcunditatem latè vagantes: ex quibus quædam agros incolunt, quidam (*ſic*) portentuoſæ ac truces, carnibus humanis & eorum ſanguine vivunt.

SCITHIÆ plures terræ ſunt locupletes, & inhabitabiles etiam plures. Nam quæ in pleriſque locis auro & gemmis affluant, Griphorum immanitate acceſſus hominum rarus eſt. Smaragdis autem optimis hæc patria eſt. Cianeus quoque lapis & chryſtallus puriſſimus Scithiæ eſt (*a*). Habet & flumina magna Oſcorim, Faſidem, & Araxen. Prima Europæ regio Scythiæ inferior quæ a Mæotidis paludibus incipiens inter Danubium & oceanum ſeptentrionalem uſque ad Germaniam porrigitur, quæ terra generaliter propter barbaras gentes quibus inhabitatur, Barbarica dicitur. Hujus pars prima Alania eſt quæ ad Mæotidas paludes pertingit. Poſt hanc Dacia, ubi & Gothia: deinde Germania: ubi plurimam partem Suevi incoluerunt. In partes Aſiaticæ Scithiæ ſunt gentes quæ poſteros ſe Jaſonis credunt (*b*): albo crine noſcuntur ab aſſiduis nivibus. De his iſta ſufficiunt.

(*a*) *Iſidor. p.* 121.
(*b*) *Ibid. p.* 74.

Facsimile from Innes's *Original.*

Prima pars Chronici ſive Catalogi Regum Pictorum.

1 CRUIDNE filius Cinge pater Pictorum habitancium in hac inſula c annis regnavit. Septem (*a*) filios habuit. Hæc ſunt nomina eorum: Fib, Fidach, Floclaid, Fortreim, Got, Cecircum, Circui.

2 Circui lx annis regn.

3 Fidaich xl.

4 Forteim lxx.

5 Floclaid xxx.

6 Got xii.

7 Ce xv.

8 Fibaid xxiv.

9 Gedeolgudach lxxx.

10 Denbacan c.

11 Olfinecta lx.

12 Guididgaedbrecach l.

13 Geſtgurtich xl.

14 Wurgeſt xl.

15 Brude-bout, a quo xxx Brude regnaverunt Hyberniam (*b*) & Albaniam per cl. annorum ſpatium, xlviii an. regnavit. Id eſt, Brude-pant, Brude-urpant, Brude-leo, Brude-uleo, Brude-gant, Brude-urgant, Brude-guith,

(*a*) *Vide n.* 5. *de ſitu Albaniæ, ſupra in append. n.* 1 *de diviſione Albaniæ in* vii *partes.*

(*b*) *Hinc apparet Pictorum aliquos in Hyberniam penetraſſe & ibidem regnaſſe.*

Brude-urguith, Brude-fecir, Brude-urfecir, Brude-cal, Brude-urcal, Brude-cuit, Brude-urcuit, Brade-fec, Brade-urfec, Brade-ru, Brude-eru, Brude-gart, Brude-urgart, Brude-cinit, Brude-urcinit, Brude-inp, Brude-urinp, Brude-grid, Brude-urgrid, Brude-mund, Brude-urmund.

16 Gilgidi ci an. regn.
17 Tharan c.
18 Morleo xv.
19 Deocilunon xl.
20 Cimoiod filius Arcois vii.
21 Deoord l.
22 Bliciblitirth v.
23 Dectoteric frater Diu xl.
24 Uſconbuts xxx.
25 Carvorſt xl.
26 Deoartavois xx.
27 Uiſt l.
28 Ru c.
29 Gartnoithboc, a quo Garnait, iv regn.
30 Vere ix an. regn.
31 Breth filius Buthut vii.
32 Vipoignamet xxx an. regn.
33 Canutulachama iv an. regn.
34 Wradech vechla ii an. regn.
35 Garnaichdi uber lx. an. regn.
36 Talore filius Achivir lxxv an. regn.

Facsimile from Innes's *Original.*

Secunda pars.

37 Druſt filius Erp c (*a*) an. regn. & c bella peregit xix anno regni ejus Patricius epiſcopus ſanctus ad Hyberniam pervenit inſulam.

38 Talore filius Aniel iv an. regn.

39 Necton Morbet filius Erp xxv an. regn. tertio (*b*) anno regni ejus Darlugdach Abbatiſſa Cillæ Darade Hibernia exulat proxime ad Britanniam. Secundo anno adventus ſui immolavit Nectonius Aburnethige Deo & ſanctæ Brigidæ præſente Dairlugtach, quæ cantavit Alleluja ſuper iſtam hoſtiam. Optulit igitur Nectonius magnus filius Urup rex omnium provinciarum Pictorum Apurnethige ſanctæ Brigidæ uſque ad diem judicii cum ſuis finibus quæ poſitæ ſunt *(ſic)* a lapide in Apurfeirt uſque ad lapidem juxta Cairfuil, id eſt, Lethfoſs; & inde in altum uſque ad Athan. Cauſa autem oblacionis hæc eſt. Nectonius in (*c*) uite iulie manens, *fratre* ſuo Druſto expulſante ſe uſque ad

(*a*) Regnavit *ſeu* rexit *hic ponitur pro* vixit: *nam liber Paſlatenſis tribuit illi tantum* 48 *annos regni. Vide ſupra, p.* 136.

(*b*) *Prolixior hæc narratio fundationis celebris eccleſiæ de Abirnethy innuere videtur. Chronicon hoc breve extractum fuiſſe ex vetuſto aliquo chronico ab alumnis eccleſiæ illius veteris de Abirnethy olim ſcripto.*

(*c*) F. in exilio manens, *fratre.*

Hiberniam, Brigidam ſanctam petivit, ut (*a*) poſtulaſſet Deum pro ſe. Orans autem pro illo, dixit (*b*). Si pervenies ad patriam tuam, Dominus miſerebitur tui, regnum Pictorum in pace poſſidebis (*c*).

40 Dreſt Gurthinmoch xxx an. regn.

41 Galanau Etelich xii an. regn.

42 Dadreſt i.

43 Dreſt filius Gyrom i. Dreſt filius Udroſt v. an. conregnaverant. Dreſt filius Gyrom ſolus v an. regn.

44 Gartnach filius Gyrom vii an. regn.

45 Cealtraim filius Gyrom i an. regn.

46 Talorg filius Muircholaich xi an. regn.

47 Dreſt filius Munait i an. regn.

48 Galam cum Aleph i an. regn.
cum Briduo i an.

49 Brides (*d*) filius Mailcom xxx an. regn. In

(*a*) L. poſtularet ſive oraret.

(*b*) *Id eſt*, certe pervenies.

(*c*) *Ex Colgano de vitis SS. Hiberniæ patet Darlugdacham (de qua hic fit mentio) fuiſſe diſcipulam S. Brigidæ. Cæterum de antiqua hac eccleſia de Abirnethy hæc habentur in libro Paſlet. deſumpta, ut videtur ex chronico de Abirnethy.* In illa eccleſia [*de Abirnethy*] fuerunt tres electiones factæ, quando non fuit niſi unus ſolus epiſcopus in Scocia. Tunc enim fuit ille locus principalis regalis & pontificalis per aliqua tempora tocius regni Pictorum.

(*d*) *Hic ille eſt Brudeus rex, de quo Beda, lib.* 3. *cap.* 4. *De varietate ſeu diſcrepantia quæ reperitur in pronunciandis ſeu ſcribendis vetuſtis regum Pictorum & Scotorum nominibus.* Vide quæ dicta ſunt ſupra, p. 129, &c.

viii (*a*) an. regni ejus baptizatus eſt a S. Columba.

50 Gartnaich filius Domelch xi an. regn.
51 Nectu nepos Verb xx an. regn.
52 Cineoch filius Luthrin xi an. regn.
53 Garnard filius Wid. iv an. regn.
54 Bridei filius Wid. v an. regn.
55 Talore frater eorum xii an. regn.
56 Talorcon filius Enfret iv an. regn.
57 Gartnait filius Donnell. vi an. regn. & dimid.
58 Dreſt frater ejus vii an. regn.
59 Bredei filius Bili (*b*) xxi an. regn.
60 Taran filius Entifidich iv an. regn.
61 Bredei filius Dereli xi an. regn.
62 Nechton filius Dereli (*c*) xv an. regn.
63 Dreſt & Alpin conregnaverunt v an.
64 Onnuſt (*d*) filius Urguſt xxx an. regn.
65 Bredei filius Wirguſt ii an. regn.
66 Ciniod (*e*) filius Wirdech xii an. regn.
67 Elpin filius Wroid iii an. & dimid.
68 Dreſt filius Talorgan iv vel v an. regn.
69 Talorgan filius Onnuſt ii an. cum dimidio.
70 Canaul filius Tarla v an. regn (*f*).

(*a*) *Deeſſe hic videtur literula ſeu num.* i. *ut fiat* viiii. *errore ſcribæ.*

(*b*) *De hoc rege.* V. ſupra, p. 111.

(*c*) V. p. 112, ſupra.

(*d*) V. p. 113, ſupra.

(*e*) V. p. 114, ſupra.

(*f*) *Hi ſunt ſeptuaginta illi reges Pictorum uſque ad Conſtantinum, de quibus* ſupra, p. 102, &c.

Brude ru.
Brude eru.
Brude gart et urgart.
Brude cinid.
Brude urcnid.
Brude uip.
Brude uruip.
Brude grid.
Brude urgrid.
Brude mund.
Brude urmund.
Gilgidi c. l. annis regnavit.
Tharain c.
Morleo xv.
Deocilunon xl.
Cimoiod filius Arcois vij.
Deoord l.
Bliesblituth v.
Dectotr'ic frater Diu xl.
Usconbuts xxx.
Carvorst xl.
Deo ardivois xx.
Vist l.
Ru c.
Gartnaith loc, a quo Garnart iiij. regnavere, ix. annis regnavit.
Breth filius Buthut vij.
Vipoig namet xxx. annis regnavit.
Canutulachama iiij. annis regnavit.
Wradech uecla ii. annis. regnavit.
Gartnaich diuberr lx. annis regnavit.
Talore filius Achivir lxxv. annis regnavit.

Drust filius Erp c. annis regnavit et c. bella peregit; ix. decimo anno regi ejus Patricius episcopus sanctus ad Hiberniam pervenit insulam.

Talore filius Aniel iiij. annis regnavit.

Necton morbet filius Erip xxiiij. regnavit. Tertio anno regni ejus Darlugdach abbatissa Cilledara de Hibernia exulat pro Christo ad Britanniam. Secundo anno adventus sui immolavit Nectonius Aburnethige Deo et Sancte Brigide presente Dairlugdach que cantavit alleluia super istam hostiam.

Optulit igitur Nectonius magnus filius Wirp, rex omnium provinciarum Pictorum, Apurnethige Sancte Brigide, usque ad diem judicii, cum suis finibus, que posite sunt a lapide in Apurfeirt usque ad lapidem juxta Ceirfuill, id est, Lethfoss, et inde in altum usque ad Athan. Causa autem oblationis hec est. Nectonius in vita julie manens fratre suo Drusto expulsante se usque ad Hiberniam Brigidam sanctam petivit ut postulasset Deum pro se. Orans autem pro illo dixit: Si pervenies ad patriam tuam Dominus miserebitur tui: regnum Pictorum in pace possidebis.

Drest Gurthinmoch xxx. annis regnavit.

Facsimile of Grub's *Reprint* of Innes.

Galanan erilich xij. annis regnavit.
Da drest, id est, Drest filius Gyrom, id est, Drest filius Wdrost v. annis conregnaverunt. Drest filius Girom solus v. annis regnavit.
Garthnach filius Girom vij. annis regnavit.
Cáiltram filius Girom uno anno regnavit.
Talorg filius Muircholaich xi. annis regnavit.
Drest filius Munait uno anno regnavit.
Galam cennaleph uno anno regnavit.
Cum Briduo i. anno.
Bridei filius Mailcon xxx. annis regnavit. In octavo anno regni ejus baptizatus est sancto a Columba.
Gartnart filius Domelch xi. annis regnavit.
Nectu nepos Uerd xx. annis regnavit.
Cinioch filius Lutrin xix. annis regnavit.
Garnard filius Wid iiij. annis regnavit.
Breidei filius Wid v. annis regnavit.
Talore frater eorum xii. annis regnavit.
Tallorcen filius Enfret iiij. annis regnavit.
Gartnait filius Donnel vj. annis regnavit et dimidium.
Drest frater ejus vij. annis regnavit.
Bredei filius Bili xxi. annis regnavit.
Taran filius Entifidich iiij. annis regnavit.
Bredei filius Derelei xi. annis regnavit.
Necthon filius Derelei xv. annis regnavit.
Drest et Elpin congregaverunt v. annis.
Onnist filius Urguist xxx. regnavit.
Bredei filius Wirguist ij. annis regnavit.
Ciniod filius Wredech xij. annis regnavit.
Elpin filius Wroid iiij. annis regnavit et dimidium.
Drest filius Talorgen iiij. vel v. annis regnavit.
Talorgen filius Onnist. ij. annis et dimidium regnavit.
Canaul filius Tarl'a v. annis regnavit.
Castantin filius Wrguist xxxv. annis regnavit.
Unuist filius Wrguist xij. annis regnavit.
Drest filius Constantini, et Talorgen filius Wthoil iij. annis conregnaverunt.
Uven filius Vnuist iij. annis regnavit.
Wrad filius Bargoit iii. et,
Bred uno anno regnaverunt.

Facsimile of Grub's *Reprint* of Innes.

In the few preceding facsimiles, the lack of footnotes will prove my contention that Grub's "reprint" is not taken from Innes's *original*, so far as the Appendix is concerned, and is not, therefore, an actual "reprint." Among the many noticeable omissions from his work, all of which were considered important to his interpretation of these ancient chronicles by Innes, may be found the following:

Innes's Appendix, vol. 2, p. 768, reads "*No. I. De Situ Albiniæ quæ in se figuram hominis habet.*" In this Chronicle there are *eleven* footnotes in the *original* edition—all of which are omitted by Grub in the *reprint.*

Innes's Appendix, vol. 2, reads "*No. II. Cronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum.*" Innes divided this Chronicle into parts 1 and 2, but Grub prints both parts in one and omits *twenty-four notes* given by Innes in the *original*, as is seen by an examination of the facsimiles found on pages 366 to 377 of the present work.

Innes gives his "*No. III. Excerpta ex veteri Chronico de regibus Scotorum a Kenetho Mac-Alpin ad Mac-Malcolm*" beginning with "Kinadius igitur filius Alpin" (Kenneth MacAlpin, G.) and running to King "Cinadius filius Maelcolain." (See page 212 *et seq.* of present work for Innes's original.)

This is the *Part 3* in which *Eochodius* first appears and which Innes condemned in his footnote marked (*f*).[1] In this particular chronicle, by omitting all of the *forty footnotes*, Grub *entirely changes* the text of Innes's original so far as the latter's interpretation is concerned.

Innes's Appendix, Num. IV., reads "*Cronica Regum Scottorum,*" and has *thirty-four* notes, all of which Grub *omits* in the *reprint.* Among the Scottish kings named in this Part No. 4 are "Grig filius Dunegal," and "Chinet filius Duf," as well as Macbeth and Lulac.

Innes's Appendix, Num. V., entitled "*Nomina Regum Scottorum et Pictorum,*" gives a list of Scottish kings from Fergus MacErc to Alpin; it also gives the Pictish kings from Cruithne to Alexander. Both of these lists with their fourteen footnotes are correctly given in Grub's reprint. In the text as well as in the footnote reference is made to Gregory's deliverance of the Scottish Church from the servitude of the Picts.

[1] *Supra.* pp. 216, 217.

Innes's Appendix Num. VI., entitled "*Breve Chronicon Scotorum*," contains in the *original* edition *sixty* explanatory footnotes. Only *five* of these are given in *Grub's reprint*. In spite of the statement on the title page that the work is "Reprinted from the Original Edition published in 1729," the body of the work alone is a reprint of the original. The Appendix, in many ways the most valuable part of the *Critical Essay*, is a reprint of some documents taken from Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*. Grub's footnote explanatory of this is in no sense satisfactory. Skene's documents as printed contain none of the material in Innes's valuable footnotes, and Grub's substitution of Skene's version for that of Innes is obvious.

Grub's work is, therefore, of no value to any one wishing to examine the original Appendix of Innes's *Critical Essay*. The views of Skene have already been shown to be diametrically opposed to those of Innes, so that the failure to mention this fact in the title page does a great injustice to the writer of the original *Critical Essay*, and practically nullifies the value of the *reprint* as a *copy* of Innes's work. The footnotes of the original, omitted by Grub's substitution of Skene's version of the documents, are of particular interest in the present work, for the reason that they refer to the reigns of Gregory the Great; Greg, Kenneth IV.; Macbeth and Lulac. Every footnote relating to King Greg, with one exception, has been omitted in Grub's reprint. I wish to emphasize this fact, because this omission is very important to all descendants of King Gregory. The footnotes show clearly and emphatically that Innes condemned *Part 3* of the *Pictish Chronicle*, though this fact is lost sight of in Grub's *reprint* of Innes. As this change was made with the consent of Skene, who, for some unknown reason, seems to have been the arch historical enemy of the entire MacGregor clan and name, the substitution of his version of the Chronicles for that of Innes may be more easily understood. Skene and Grub were evidently well agreed, as graduates of the same school.

CHAPTER IX

COLLECTANEA DE REBUS ALBANICIS

History Uncertain—When and How "Discovered"—Genealogy of Highland Clans—Of the Clan Gregor—Skene's "Chain of Reasoning"—Making History by Deductions and Approximations—Origin of Clan Names—Highlander Descent Uncertain—Realisation of Skene's Errors—Variations in Modern Editions of Britannica.

THE much vaunted *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* is an old Chronicle in the Advocates Library, known also as the "MacLachlan Chronicle," and the "MS. of 1450." In the facsimile given from Skene's *Notes to Genealogies of the Highland Clans* lies the only known account of this document.[1] His explanation seems a meagre foundation upon which to base either the date or the origin of the MS. We are not told who MacLachlan was, nor why Skene decided that it was written about 1450, except for the statement that 1467 appears on one of the leaves. Skene accepts it as next in importance to the *Pictish Chronicle, Colbertine.* He asserts that it is the oldest document of genealogical records in existence, and "consists of eight parchment leaves, the last of which is covered with genealogies, written in the old Irish character, but so much faded by time as to be read with great difficulty, and, in many instances, to be altogether illegible." With an assurance which seems to brook no denial, he further asserts: "Of the authenticity of the MS. there can be no doubt, and a strict comparison of all the genealogies contained in it has satisfied the editor of its general accuracy."

Since Skene found the date, 1467, scribbled upon one of the leaves of the document, though apparently without any connection with the text, he used it as a verification of his first "guess" of 1450. In the same way he attributed its authorship to a certain *MacLachlan*, for the reason that his name was found upon one of the leaves, and his clan, Clanlachlan, was given a

[1] *Infra*, p. 382.

Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis,

CONSISTING OF

ORIGINAL PAPERS AND DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE

HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS

OF

SCOTLAND.

EDITED BY THE IONA CLUB.

ANTIQUARIAN & HISTORICAL BOOKSELLER

EDINBURGH:
THOMAS G. STEVENSON,
87. PRINCE'S STREET.
M.DCCC.XLVII.

NOTES

TO GENEALOGIES OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

1 From the peculiar condition of society among the Highlanders, the investigation of family history becomes an important instrument in ascertaining and illustrating the leading facts of their origin and history. The attention of the Club will, consequently, be in a considerable degree directed to this object; and it is proposed to include in the Collectanea, a series of the Genealogies of Highland Clans which are still to be found in ancient MSS. In the present number, the series commences with the contents of the most ancient Genealogical MS. now known to exist. It was discovered, accidentally, in the Advocate's Library last year, and consists of eight parchment leaves, the last of which is covered with genealogies, written in the old Irish character, but so very much faded by time as to be read with great difficulty, and, in many instances, to be altogether illegible. Of the authenticity of the MS. there can be no doubt, and a strict comparison of all the genealogies contained in it has satisfied the editor of its general accuracy. The same careful examination shows that it must have been written about the year 1450, and this conclusion, with respect to its date, was afterwards corroborated, by discovering the date 1467 written upon one of the leaves. The author of the MS. appears to have been a person of the name of Maclachlan, as the genealogy of the Clanlachlan is given with much greater minuteness than that of any of the other clans; and the various intermarriages of that clan alone are given. From this it seems probable that it once formed a part of the well-known Kilbride Collection, which was so long preserved by the family of *M'Lachlan* of Kilbride. Although a greater proportion of the contents of this MS. has been deciphered than was at first anticipated, a considerable portion still remains, so much obliterated by age and exposure as to be in a great degree illegible. Should any further progress be made in reading these parts of the MS., the result will be communicated to the Club, on a future occasion. It would occupy too much space here to enter into any detail of the very important effects which this MS. must produce upon the question of the origin of the Highland clans; it will be sufficient to state that it seems to establish three very remarkable facts—1*st*, The existence, at a very early period, of a tradition in the Highlands of the common origin of almost all the Highland clans; 2*dly*, The comparatively late invention of many of the traditionary origins of the different clans at present believed; and, 3*dly*, The mutual relationship of various clans which have hitherto been supposed to be altogether unconnected. It will be altogether impossible, in the limits of this branch of the Collectanea, to illustrate these curious genealogies as we could wish, or to do more than occasionally point out where the MS. is corroborated by record or history.

2 It will be observed that the MS. commences with a long genealogy of the kings of Scotland from David I. It has not been thought necessary to translate this genealogy; but, in order to show the accuracy of the MS., the genealogy of these kings, contained in the Chronicon regum, *Innes App. No. IV.*, (*as collated with the original MS. in Pinkerton's Enquiry, I.* 479.) has been annexed.

3 This very curious genealogy appears to be that of the ancient Maormors or Earls of Moray. The following notices from the Irish Annals will establish its accuracy.

1085. *Maelsnectai* mac *Lulaigh* ri Muireb suam vitam infeliciter finierit. *Annales Ultonienses.*

1058. *Lulach* mac *Gilcomgain* ardri Alban. *Ibid.*

1032. *Gilcomgan* mac *Macbrig* Maormor *Murebe.* *Ibid.*

1029. Malcolm mac *Maolbrigde* mac *Ruairi* mortuus est. *Tighernac.*

4 1058. *Macbetad mac Findlai* Ardri Alban do marbhe. *Tigh.*

1020. *Finlaec mac Ruairi* Maormor mhic croeb a filiis fratris sui *Malbrigdi* occisus est. *Tigh.*

5 Maurice Macnaughton had a charter from Colin Campbell of Lochow of sundrie lands in over Lochow, Argyle. *Robertson's Index.* Gilchrist Mac-

nauhton had a grant from King Alexander III. of the custody of the castle and island of Fraochelan in Lochow.—*Doug. Baronage.*

6 It will be observed that the M'Intoshes are here made a part of the clan Chattan, and their origin deduced from Gilecattan mor, the well-known founder of that clan, a much more credible story than the improbable fiction of their descent from Macduff, Thane of Fife.

7 "On a rocky point on the coast of Lochfine, about a mile below the church of Kilfinan, is to be seen the vestige of a building called Calsteal mhic Eoghuin or M'Ewen's castle. This *M'Ewen* was the chief of a clan and proprietor of *Otter*."—*Stat. Acct. vol.* 14, *p.* 259. From the genealogy, this tribe seems to have been a branch of the clan Lauchlan.

8 Kermac [Kenach] MacMaghan of the Earldom of Ross is mentioned in the public accounts of Lawrence le Grant, Sheriff of Inverness (then comprehending that Earldom) cir. 1263 in the reign of Alexander the third. The &c^a. at the end of any genealogy, implies that its conclusion is to be sought for in that immediately preceding.

9 The descent of this tribe from one *Kry-cul* (the *Gregall* of the MS.) is corroborated by the tradition of the country, as stated in the account of the parish of Eddirachylis.—*Stat. Acc.* vol. vi. p. 278.

10 Paul Mactyre had a charter from William Earl of Ross, Lord of Sky, of the lands of Gerloch, 1366. Clan Andres is the Gaelic appellation of the surname of Ross in Ross-shire to the present day.

11 This seems to be the genealogy of the Mackays of Kintyre, and differs totally from the most authentic genealogies of the Mackays of Strathnaver, who are in Gaelic called clan Mhorgan.

12 Donald M'Duffee witnessed a charter by John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, dated at the Earl's castle of Dingwall, 12th April 1463.—*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, lib. vi. No. 17.

13 Here it has been found necessary to omit an entire column of MS., of which only a few detached words can at present be read.

14 It will be remarked that this is the genealogy of the Macdougals of Lorn. "John Macalan of Lorn, called Macdougal," had from John Stewart, fourth Lord Lorn of that family, a charter dated in 1451, of the lands of Dunolly, the Isle of Kerrera, &c.—*Argyle Writs.*

15 There appears to be some confusion, caused probably by an accidental blunder, in this genealogy, which the reader will please to bear in mind. The *Eoin bacach* of this genealogy is clearly the *John son of Duncan son of Dugall* of that immediately preceding:—and the two form properly one genealogy under the general head of *Clan Sorly.*

16 The words inserted within brackets in the translation, have *evidently* been omitted in the original MS.; and the editor has therefore ventured to give them a place, in order to prevent the confounding of two distinct genealogies.

17 Instead of translating from the MS. the genealogy of the Macdonalds prior to Somerled, the editor has preferred placing beside it Dean Monro's edition of the same genealogy, dated more than a century later, in order that the two may be compared. But the reader will bear in mind that the Dean's MS., to which the editor never had access, has been most inaccurately printed. In the MS. of 1450, the genealogy is carried up through the Milesian Kings of Ireland to Adam. This part of the genealogy, however, the editor will be pardoned for having omitted.

Where this mark * occurs on the margin of the Gaelic, it indicates the commencement of a column in the original MS.

more minute genealogy than other clans. In the *Highlanders of Scotland*, Skene says:

On a MS. genealogy written in the year 1512, I find that the MacGregors are brought in a direct line from Kenneth MacAlpin, a hero famed in fabulous history as the exterminator of the whole Pictish nation; whereas in the MS. of 1450, we have seen that their origin is very different.[1]

From the "MS. of 1450," or *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.

The Genealogy of the clan Gregor.—Malcolm son of Patrick son of John son of Gregor son of Duncan son of Malcolm son of Gilchrist son of Ferchar son of Murdoch son of Andrew son of Cormac son of Orbertaigh son of Ferchar son of Ferchar fada son of Feredach the white.

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. . . . .[3] son of Maelsnectan son of Lulach son of Gilcomgin son of Melbride son of Roderick son of Donald son of Morgan son of Donald son of Catmel son of Roderick son of Aircellach son of Ferchar the long, son of Feredach son of Fergus son of Sneachtan son of Colman son of Buadan son of Hector son of Murdoch son of Lorn the great, son of Erc son of Eocha muinreamhar.

Macbeth[4] son of Finlay son of Roderick son of Donald son of Morgan.

In all the documents constituting Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, given in facsimile whenever advisable, the names of Lulach, MacBeth, Kenneth IV., and in some cases the name of Lulach's son, Malsnechtan, have become familiar to the reader as the line through which the crown of Scotland descended from the royal Alpin house. Referring to the Genealogy of the Clan Gregor, Skene says:

This very curious genealogy appears to be that of the ancient Maormors or Earls of Moray. The following notices from the Irish Annals will establish its accuracy.

1085. *Malsnectai* mac *Lulaigh* ri muireb suam vitam infeliciter finierit. *Annales Ultonienses.*

1058. *Lulach* mac *Gilcomgain* ardri Alban. *Ibid.*

1032. *Gilcomgain* mac *Mebrig* Maormor Murebe. *Ibid.*

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1020. *Finlaec* mac *Ruairi* Maormor mhic croeb a filiis fratis sui Malbrigdi occisus est. *Tigh.*

[1] In calling Kenneth MacAlpin a "hero famed in fabulous history," Skene stands alone, Kenneth's record being too clearly given in old documents to need discussion of the matter.

Skene does not credit the "MS. of 1450" in its entirety, however, for he states "there is every reason to think that the genealogies contained in the MS. are perfectly authentic for the last fourteen generations, or as far back as the year 1000 A.C., but that previous to that date they are to be regarded as altogether fabulous."

The result of his strict comparison of the "MS. of 1450" with other documents, considered by him authentic, is summed up in the following conclusion: "That previous to the eleventh century, the MS. of 1450 and the Irish genealogies of the Highland clans are of no authority whatever."

In the above, he rejects the "MS. of 1450" and the Irish authorities before the year 1000, finding them of no authority previous to that time. How can Skene quote any document, old or new, spurious or authentic, with the assurance that certain parts of it are true, while other parts must be discredited? Taken as a whole, the "MS. of 1450" seems to be as untrustworthy a document as the *Pictish Chronicle*, *Colbertine*, both as to date and origin. No other question, whether historical, legal, commercial or scientific, could be settled in the arbitrary manner in which Skene has endeavoured to determine the descent of the clans of Scotland by the use of his "MS. of 1450."

Despite the fact that Skene, for some unknown cause, was the historical enemy of the Greg, MacGregor and Gregory families of Scotland, he has, in his "find" of the so-called "Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis" brought to light evidence in their favour, particularly in the accounts of MacBeth, Lulach and Malsnechtan, of the royal family of Scotland.

THE

HIGHLANDERS

OF

SCOTLAND,

THEIR

ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND ANTIQUITIES;

WITH

A SKETCH OF THEIR

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,

AND

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CLANS INTO WHICH THEY WERE DIVIDED, AND OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY WHICH EXISTED AMONG THEM.

BY WILLIAM F. SKENE, F.S.A. Scot.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
MDCCCXXXVII.

In 1837, Skene's first work, *Highlanders of Scotland*, won for him a prize offered by a London Society for the best essay on that subject. In it he undertook to account for the genealogy of the MacGregors in the following manner:

> The publication of the history of Fordun, and the chronicle of Winton, had given a great popular celebrity to the heroes of Scottish history, and some of the Highland sennachies, finding a tribe of the MacGregors termed Macalpins, probably took advantage of that circumstance to claim a descent from the great hero of that name. The same cause apparently induced them afterwards to desert their supposed progenitor Kenneth, and to substitute in his place Gregory the Great, a more mysterious, and therefore, perhaps, in their idea, a greater hero than Kenneth.[1]

The above "genealogy" is typical of many of those found in the *Highlanders of Scotland*. This work, unfortunately, has been accepted by many of the modern writers as the basis of Scottish genealogy, largely because of Skene's later prominence as the Historiographer Royal of Scotland. He has given us nowhere any further enlightenment as to this supposed "finding of a tribe of the MacGregors termed Macalpins," nor does he cite any authority for such action on the part of the MacGregors and MacAlpins, other than "they *probably* took advantage of that circumstance to claim descent from the great hero of that name." Where and when did this meeting occur, and if it did really occur, from what source did he get his information? It would be of inestimable value to the whole race of descendants to have this information—but the only authority so far given is one of Skene's "guesses." Not content with the statement that such a meeting took place, he goes a little further and says, "The same cause *apparently* induced them afterwards to desert their supposed progenitor Kenneth, and to substitute in his place Gregory the Great, a more mysterious, and therefore, perhaps, in their idea, a greater hero than Kenneth."

According to Skene, the MacGregors roamed at will, in a vain search for a progenitor, until they found a tribe of MacAlpins; then, just as recklessly and voluntarily, deserted such ancestry in favour of one they considered of greater power and influence. Was there ever such a stupid analysis of the descent of a Highland clan? He says they "*probably* took advantage;" also that the "same cause *apparently* induced them;" ending with his

[1] *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 12.

conclusion that Gregory the Great was "therefore, *perhaps*, in their idea, a greater hero than Kenneth."

If Skene's analysis of the descent of other clans of Scotland is based upon no more sure a foundation than in the case of the MacGregors, his work does not merit the attention it has received at the hands of the reading and thinking public. His theories would not for a moment be credited outside pro-English antiquarian circles. Skene, being of the legal fraternity, should have given us a "bill of particulars," for this *finding of a tribe of the MacAlpins* by which he seeks to destroy the previously accepted descent of one of the most numerous and influential clans in Scotland. He has, in addition to discrediting the genealogy of the MacGregors and their allied families, attacked the descent of several other important clans, for which he has been sharply called to account. The *Highlanders of Scotland*, having been written for a London Highland Society, partly explains many otherwise unintelligible statements.

The work is, of course, an effort to promulgate his new and peculiar views regarding the descent of the Highlanders from the Picts, rather than from the Irish-Scots. This he does in the face of all legendary, traditional and written knowledge of the people of Scotland up to the time in which he published his *Highlanders of Scotland*. Nor has he taken into account the fact that from time immemorial the language of the Highlanders has been, and still is, that of the *Irish*, as it was generally called down to the nineteenth century, and that the generic names of the Highland clans are nearly all of pure Scotch-Irish origin. Skene and a few of his followers stand alone in their contention that Pictish names predominate. This is easily controverted by an examination of any literature of ancient Irish and Scottish origin, in which few Pictish names are found, while Scottish proper names are very numerous.

The heredity of names plays a very important part in this question, but Skene has given no weight to it. He is aware, however, that his method is open to proper and fair criticism, for he paves the way for its acceptation as follows:

> In presenting this work to the public it will be necessary to say a few words regarding the system of history developed in it. A glance at the Table of Contents will show that that system is entirely new; that it is diametrically opposed to all the generally received opinions on the subject,

and that it is in itself of a nature so startling as to require a very rigid and attentive examination before it can be received. The Author had, from a very early period, been convinced that the present system was erroneous, and that there was in it some fundamental error, which prevented the elucidation of the truth. Accordingly, after a long and attentive examination of the early authorities in Scottish history, together with a thorough investigation of two new and most valuable sources,—viz., the Icelandic *Sagas* in their original language and the Irish *Annals*,—he came to the conclusion that that fundamental error was the supposed descent of the Highlanders from the Dalriadic Scots, and that the Scottish conquest in the ninth century did not include the Highlands. Proceeding upon this basis, the system of history developed in the following pages naturally emerged; and in it will be found the first attempt to trace the Highlanders, and to prove their descent, step by step, from the Caledonians—an attempt which the incontrovertible Irish origin of the Dalriadic Scots has hitherto rendered altogether unsuccessful.[1]

A perusal of this "chain of reasoning," with no basis of historical facts, necessitates the agreement with Skene of the present writer that his "system is wild and visionary." In the writer's opinion, Skene has shown very little documentary evidence for his theory, and has relied almost wholly upon his own peculiar method of argument. He has drawn mainly from Fordun, Wyntown, Major and Boece, finding nothing new except his "discovery" of the "MS. of 1450."

This he considered of inestimable value as establishing the descent of the Highlanders from the Caledonian Picts rather than the Dalriadic Scots. After reviewing the condition of the two nations in the years preceding the ninth century, and while still asserting that they are rather the descendants of the Picts than of the Scots, he makes this very remarkable statement:

> In the ninth century, we find the state of Scotland very different; the whole country was then united under the government of one monarch, hereditary succession was firmly established, the once formidable name of Picti gradually disappearing, and the name of Scotia and Scotti, formerly confined to so small a portion of the Island, rapidly spreading over the whole country. It must unquestionably have been a series of events of no small importance which could have given rise to a revolution so remarkable.[2]

Skene alludes, of course, to the union of the two nations under Kenneth MacAlpin, A.D. 843, yet it would seem inconsistent that the name of the Picts should so rapidly disappear,

[1] *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. ix–x.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 45.

and that of the Scots so widely spread over the whole country, if the Highlanders were rather the descendants of the Picts than of the Scots. In trying to ascertain the cause of so remarkable a revolution, Skene concludes that in the ninth century we are "unfortunately deprived of the usual mode of ascertaining an historical point, as the silence of the best authorities for the history of this period, and the fables of the other historians have left us no distinct authority for the nature of the event." In this he entirely disregards the historical accounts of Fordun, Wyntown and others:

> It is still possible, however, in a point of this nature, to make a considerable approximation to the truth, by reasoning as well from the natural consequences of the events which we know to have happened previously to the revolution, as from the condition of the country after it.[1]

Thus Skene appropriates to himself the right to make an "approximation to the truth," while condemning the same procedure in such writers as Fordun, Wyntown and others, who "approximated the truth" in regard to the revolution by giving a clear outline of the careers of Alpin and his son Kenneth. He certainly could not have been ignorant of all the facts leading up to the revolution, yet he states that "we are unfortunately deprived of the usual mode of ascertaining an historical point," and again concludes, that if we have no documentary evidence upon which to base historical facts, we must *make* history without it.

He is not ignorant of the careers of Alpin and his son Kenneth, as evidenced by the statement that "The two lines of kings reigning at the same time in Dalriada unite, as we have seen, in the person of Eoganan, whose reign in the Latin lists is made to extend to thirty years, and in the Albanic Duan to only thirteen. He would appear, consequently, to have been one of the kings of Dalriada, of the Scottish line, and to have recovered possession of the territories which had been wrested from his ancestors by Angus in 736."

Skene is here discussing the career of Eoganan, also called Achaius, Achy, Eocha and Eogan, who was the father of Alpin by the Princess Fergusia, sister to Angus mac Fergus, king of the Picts. Their progeny naturally ascended the throne when the two nations, the Picts and the Scots, were united in 843 A.D.

[1] *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 46.

After a very lengthy discussion as to the division of the Picts into the northern and the southern, he concludes that the supremacy of Kenneth MacAlpin was probably the result of quarrels between these two divisions, and that the "conquest by the Dalriadic Scots was confined exclusively to the Piccardach or southern Picts—that the Scots were assisted in that conquest by the Cruithne or northern Picts—and that after the conquest the northern Picts, although they owed a nominal submission to the kings of the Scottish line, yet remained in fact independent and still retained their ancient territories and peculiar designation." This is doubtless very good argument, which may or may not be correct. In the absence of what he considers "the usual mode of ascertaining an historical point" in the history of the period in question—[A.D. 731 to 843]—there is no good reason for accepting Skene's arguments and rejecting those of Fordun and Wyntown, especially as he has produced no important documentary evidence to prove his contention. If we are compelled to rely upon "deductions" and "approximations" in establishing the history of Scotland during that period, we are safer in following those writers who have not found it necessary to "develop a system which is diametrically opposed to all the generally received opinions on the subject," and which is, in itself, "of a nature so startling as to require a very rigid and attentive examination before it can be received."

Allusion has been made to the predominance of the Scottish names in Scotland over those of Pictish origin. In this connection a short list of each is given, together with some of the more prominent clan names. The Pictish list is taken from Innes's *Critical Essay*, the Dalriadic list from the various *Annals* relating to the Scottish kings, while the clan names are taken from Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland:*

Pictish List	*Dalriadic List*	*Clan Names*	
Cruidne	Eochod	Rory	MacIntosh
Circui	Kinet Kier	Donald	Nachtan
Fidaich	Fercar	Dugald	Gilleon
Fortrein	Donal Brec	Neill	O'Cuinn
Floclaid	Malduin	Lachlan	MacLean
Got	Fercar Fada	Ewen	Nathan
Ce	Eochod Rinneval	Lamond	Atholl
Fivaid	Arrmkelleth	Gillemhaol	Quarrie
Gedeolgudach	Edgen	Gregor	Donnachie

Pictish List	*Dalriadic List*	*Clan Names*	
Denbecan	Murdac	Grant	Pharlan
Olfinecta	Eogan	Fingon	MacPherson
Guidid Gaedbrec-hach	Ed Fin	Anaba	Mackenzie
Gestgurtich	Fergus	Auley	Macauley
Wurgust	Selbach	Nichail	Duffie
Brude	Eochoid	MacGregor	MacQuarrie
Gilgidi	Dunegal	MacDonald	MacFarlane
Thram	Alpin		
Morlec	Kenneth		

A brief examination of the above lists will prove Skene's contention incorrect, since it will be clearly seen that the clan names are certainly derived from Dalriadic, rather than Pictish, origin. The word *Mac*, signifying in Celtic *son of*, is prefixed to many of the clan names among the Highlanders.[1] This fact alone would seem sufficient to explode Skene's theory. Did the Highlanders, in their descent from the Picts, as claimed by Skene, derive their Celtic language from the Picts? If not, from what source, other than the Irish-Scots? The context itself, of Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, settles the question. As late as 1867, Skene was of the same opinion:

> There is no more obscure period in the annals of the northern kingdoms than the latter part of the eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries, and no more difficult question than to ascertain the nature and true character of that revolution which placed a Scottish race in possession of the kingdom of Scone.[2]

The question is difficult to him merely because of his efforts to revolutionise the history of that early period, and because his "system is wild and visionary and diametrically opposed to all the generally accepted opinions on the subject." While other historians have likewise found that period "obscure," they have not considered the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin a "difficult question in trying to ascertain the nature and true character of that revolution which placed a Scottish race in possession of the kingdom of Scone."

Even though the question of that revolution, which placed a Scot on a Pictish throne, remains a debatable one to this day, it is recorded in all histories written subsequent to those rebellions, that from the mountains of Scotland came an inexhaustible

[1] See Appendix, p. 553. Lower's *Dictionary of Family Names.*

[2] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 314.

supply of the best soldiers in Europe. The government was not slow to avail itself of a resource so invaluable:

> Those who represented the exiled chiefs from the period of their forfeiture of their estates, until the act of grace restored their lands and permitted them to return to their country, with that hereditary authority which could not, while the spirit of clanship animated the people, be dissolved or impaired, many of them, without any other income than what was supplied by the benevolence of the clan, were able to raise numerous battalions, with whom they gloriously fought in support of that constitution which a principle of honour, mistaken loyalty, and the intrigues of France, had so lately led them to endeavour to subvert.[1]

James Logan considers the Highlanders unquestionably descended from the Celts, and gives many reasons for his assertion. Even Skene himself, although in many of his works denying the Highlanders a Celtic origin, admits the indomitable spirit which characterised them:

> The great peculiarity which distinguishes the form of government and society among the nations of Celtic origin from that of all other European nations, is certainly the existence among these tribes of what is generally termed the patriarchal system of government . . . it was community of interest which constituted the simple tie that united the Celtic tribe with its chief . . . the Celtic chief was the hereditary lord of all who were descended of the same stock with himself. . . . In no Celtic nation in which the patriarchal system has remained, is this property of that system so very remarkable as in the case of the Highlanders of Scotland.[2]

But Skene's whole theory as to the descent of the Highlanders is summed up in the following passage:

> In order to explain the nature of the arrangement in which the clans have been placed, it will be necessary to recall to the recollection of the reader that one great feature of the system established in this Work is, that previous to the thirteenth century the Highlanders of Scotland were divided into a few great tribes, which exactly corresponded with the ancient earldoms, and that from one or other of these tribes all the Highlanders are descended. Accordingly, the different clans will be found under the name of the ancient earldoms, or tribes, of which they originally formed a part; and, throughout, the relation of the different clans to each other will be accurately maintained.[3]

In the above statement Skene is in error, for the clans, or important families, who were banded together for mutual sup.

[1] *The Scottish Gael*, Int., pp. 8–9.
[2] *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol i., pp. 152–3.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii , p. 4.

port and protection against outside enemies, were in existence long before the creation of earldoms. He further elucidates the theory of descent:

> In the early part of this Work it has been demonstrated, so far as a fact of that nature is capable of demonstration, that the modern Highlanders are the same people with those who inhabited the Highlands of Scotland in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that these inhabitants were not Scots, as is generally supposed, *but were the descendants of the great northern division of the Pictish nation*, who were altogether unaffected by the Scottish conquest of the Lowlands in 843, and who in a great measure maintained their independence of the kings of that race. It has also been shown that these Northern Picts were a part of the Caledonians, the most ancient inhabitants of the country, and that they spoke the same language, bore the same national appellation, with the present Highlanders. Now, to this idea, it may be said that the traditionary origins at present existing among the clans are radically opposed, and that it is difficult to believe that, if such was their real origin, a tradition of an opposite nature could exist among them. At first sight this objection will appear a serious one; but that arises, in a great measure, from not duly investigating the nature and history of the Highland traditions.
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> . . . . . .
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> Among so many conflicting traditions and systems, he will probably feel himself in considerable uncertainty, and the presumption which naturally arises in his mind is that all these traditions and systems are equally false, and that the true origin of the Highlanders is yet to be discovered.[1]

If admissible in writing history, this is certainly a very easy way to dispose of a troublesome question, but I have never found such a method in any other work, and certainly not upon a question which so vitally concerns many of the prominent families of Scotland. He continues:

> The immediate effect of the Scottish conquest,[2] in 843, was the overthrow of the civilisation and learning of the country. The Southern Picts, a people comparatively civilised, and who possessed in some degree the monkish learning of the age, were overrun by the still barbarous Scottish hordes, assisted by the equally barbarous Pictish tribes of the mountains. After this event, succeeded a period of confusion and civil war, arising from the struggles between the races of the Scots and the Northern Picts, for pre-eminence on the one part, and independence on the other; and when order and learning once more lifted up their heads amongst the contending tribes, a race of kings of Scottish lineage were firmly established on the throne, and the name of Scot and Scotland had spread over the whole

[1] *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 5–6.

[2] By Kenneth MacAlpin.

country. A knowledge of the real origin of the Highland clans was lost in the confusion.[1]

In the above reference to a "race of kings of Scottish lineage," Skene no doubt refers to the Alpin line. Considering the fact that hostility existed for several centuries between Highland and Lowland clans, and that the historians of Scotland were almost exclusively of Lowland descent, impartial accounts could scarcely have been expected. Until intelligent readers can free themselves from the distorted and unfair accounts of partisan writers, and rely more upon the facts related in the ancient documents than upon individual opinions of modern writers, they can never clearly understand the subject. The great ignorance and prejudice of some modern historians regarding the Highlanders is entirely due to their own anti-Celtic attitude. The Scottish people are awakening to the fact that only the writing of a true history by a non-partisan can remove the prejudice of the people of England, and of even their own Lowlanders. The present attitude has long worked a great injustice to some of the noblest Highland families of Scotland. This awakening to the indifference regarding their true descent began soon after the union of England and Scotland, when everything pertaining to the northern part of the island became an object of special interest. The rebellions of 1715 and 1745 imposed on the government the necessity of paying more attention to that part of the kingdom from which the best soldiers were drawn, and, even at that late period, its inhabitants were deemed unworthy of regard, "no laws being thought applicable to them on the suppression of the rebellion but those which were given by a brigade."

During the time of which Skene writes, just prior to the union of the two nations under Kenneth MacAlpin, the Picts of the north were in a barbarous condition, if the documents treating of the subject are reliable. It would naturally have been a period of confusion and civil war, as in the formative period of all countries. Reliable evidence refutes the assertion that the Scots were still in a condition of "barbarous hordes." There is documentary proof that the tribes of Scots brought the learning and culture of the time into Caledonia from Hibernia, and that the conquest of Kenneth MacAlpin was due entirely to the

[1] *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 6–7.

superior knowledge and refining influence of the new inhabitants. As a result a "race of kings of Scottish lineage was firmly established on the throne, and the name of Scot and Scotland spread over the whole country."

In establishing a race of kings of Scottish lineage *firmly* on the throne of Scotland in A.D. 843, how does Skene account for the reign in A.D. 875 of "Eochodius autem filius Run," a Strathclyde Briton, to the utter exclusion of King Greg, descended from the long line of Scottish kings? He "deducts" the fact that the "natural result of the pre-eminence of the Scottish name in the country was a gradual belief in the Scottish origin of the Highland clans." His deduction is diametrically opposed to the whole history of the country previously written, for the only learning among the Picts was that brought from Ireland by the Scottish monks and priests. After the conquest, the Scots assimilated the Picts by reason of the superiority of education and refinement over ignorance and barbarism. Skene admits that there was an advance in learning and not a decline. If the Scottish names prevailed, it would be a most natural conclusion that the people who bore those names were the descendants of Scottish, and not Pictish, forefathers, even though they came from Ireland three or four hundred years previously.

Here and there we find a writer of note who has begun to investigate more carefully the views of the modern anti-Celtic writers. Prominent among them is Dugald Mitchell, who deals with Skene's contention that spurious kings were inserted in the early chronicles:

> With a simpler, less far-reaching interpretation of facts, and with somewhat more faith in the honesty of our early chroniclers and historians than Dr. Skene displays, our aim will be rather to endeavour to satisfactorily account for, and so far, reconcile the divergent lists of kings, for we cannot believe that deception has been practised by either class of authorities. To us it seems extremely unreasonable to suppose that within the monasteries of Scotland there should have been deliberately invented a whole series of spurious kings—kings whose place is within comparatively recent historic times, and who occupy niches later in date than so many of those that are acknowledged to be genuine. Nor, on the other hand, can we believe that the Irish lists were framed without there being some really satisfactory foundation for what they contain.[1]

The above statement is one of the fairest in any modern

[1] *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, p. 117.

work, and agrees perfectly with the views of the present writer. There has been altogether too much argument and too many deductions drawn by such arguments in the efforts of recent writers to upset the previously accepted history of Scotland. Mitchell further states:

> Skene gets over the very evident difficulty which arises from the fact that our native chroniclers furnish us with a complete list of Dalriadic kings as opposed to Pictish rulers, by making the grave charge that the century of Dalriadic history which follows the death of Alpin "in 741 is suppressed, and his reign (i.e., Alpin's) is brought down to the end of the century by the insertion of spurious kings;" and this he does in spite of the fact, acknowledged by himself, that in the *Annals of Ulster* two of the kings in the series given by the Scottish chroniclers are referred to as kings of Dalriada. One of them reigned for a long period of thirty years, and was, in fact, in a position to fight with the Picts, in 768, an apparently drawn battle.[1]

The method of late writers in surmounting a difficulty in Scottish history seems to lie in the assertion that this or that century was "buried in oblivion" by reason of the "absence of documentary evidence;" or that on account of "confusion" following civil wars, nothing certain is known of such periods:

> Whence Kenneth came in the year 851 Dr. Skene has no difficulty in determining. He says: "Kenneth emerged from Galloway where the last remnant of the Scots of Dalriada disappear from history nearly a century before." If so, a most marvellous resurrection must now have occurred; and, besides, it seems not a little wonderful that the entire subjugation of a nation could have been effected without its being definitely referred to by any early writer. But, indeed, Skene's contention raises many more difficulties than it solves. To bring the Scots into Galloway in 741 in an invasion of despair, and that without the authority of any record of such an invasion at that time; to leave them there, though their king had been killed in the contest; to consign them for wellnigh a hundred years to exile in that district in spite of the statements in the native and other chronicles which point to very different conclusions, and then to bring them forward, after all these quiet years, in 834 out of Galloway as invaders of Fifeshire, rather than into Galloway as invaders of that district, as asserted in the chronicles, has not much to commend it to the ordinary reader.[2]

Mitchell seems to have discovered that Skene does not need facts upon which to build his arguments, many of which are fanciful and without foundation. As he says, "Skene's contention raises many more difficulties than it solves."

[1] *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, pp. 118–9.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

Of the reign of Greg, and of the strength of his character, Mitchell says:

> The vigour of Grig's character is recognised by tradition, which has assigned to him the title of Gregory the Great, and made him the hero of many fights. In the *Registry of the Priory of St. Andrews of 1251*, he is said to have conquered Ireland and the greater part of England. That his reign was vigorous and successful there can be no doubt, and in connection with it two important events are recorded. The first is an invasion of Northumbria, as the result of which, according to the chronicles, the whole of Bernicia and a part of Anglia were brought under subjection. . . .
>
> The second event, and one which was of much importance to the Church, was its liberation from those secular exactions and services to which the clergy of most Churches were at this time subjected. The words of the Chronicle are: "He [Gregory] was the first who gave freedom to the Scottish Church, which had been in bondage till that time, according to the rule and custom of the Picts." In this quotation we find for the first time the term "Scottish Church" employed. We may take it as pointing to the speedy application of the name "Scotland" to the country generally.[1]

The record of the *Registry of St. Andrews*, which sets forth so clearly the conquests of King Greg has been discredited by some of the later writers, though Fordun and the earlier historians considered it authentic and valued it highly. Had Greg been merely tutor to another, as Skene has endeavoured to prove, he could hardly have had such complete sway over the destinies of his own and other countries. Of the reigns of the kings between the death of Gregory and the succession of Grim, son of Dubh (Kenneth IV.), Mitchell gives very little information not already obtained through our review of the work of Matthew Duncan.[2] The next mention by Mitchell of the descendants of Greg (Kenneth IV.), or, as termed by Mitchell, "Kenneth Grim," is found in 1130, when Angus, Earl of Moray, was slain in a battle waged against King David:

> His mother was a daughter of that Lulach who, for a few months nominally reigned as king of Alban after the death of Macbeth, and his father seems to have been that Head, Hed, Ed or Heth, whose name we have seen adhibited to a charter in the reign of Alexander I.[3]

With this attempt on the part of Angus, the grandson of Lulach, to seize the throne, the line of Greg may be said to ter-

[1] *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, pp. 149–150.

[2] *Supra*, p. 306 *et seq.*

[3] *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, p. 203.

minate as rulers of Scotland, and until the reign of Robert the Bruce the earldom of Moray was vacant. Mitchell adds:

After the battle at Stracathro (1130 A.D., G.), all the territory of Moray was forfeited to the Crown. To the Normans it was a very convenient circumstance, and doubtless a source of much gratification, for it enabled David to find room for several of these highly favoured knights. To them he made large grants of territory, as well as to some native Scots further south, on whom he could rely; and thus feudalism, with its sheep-skin titles, as the charters were sneeringly called, was extended for the first time into that northern province.

Following Mitchell's account of the history of Scotland to more modern times, we find in the fourteenth century a method adopted by the government to suppress such outrages as were common at the time:

As the fourteenth century drew to a close, the behaviour of the Highlanders arrested the attention of the Government of the day, and the very year after the completion of *Fordun's Chronicle*, an act was passed for the suppression of masterful plunderers, who, in the statute, are further designated by their Highland name of *Caterans*. Such persons were to be very summarily, though very unwisely, dealt with, for they might be seized by any one and hailed before the sheriff, and if they resisted and refused to go, the captors might kill them without having to answer for the act—not a way calculated, we should say, to ensure respect for the law, but a method of procedure eminently fitted to create more feuds than it was helpful in quelling.

Some of the leaders in the most serious outrages of that time seem, however, to have been of Norman blood, and in no way allied to the Celtic tribes. Mitchell states that their leader appears to have been one Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, known, from the ferocity of his disposition, as the *Wolf of Badenoch*. He adds:

Such considerations, however, have no weight with historians like Hill Burton and others, who are ever ready to magnify the innate depravity of the Celtic race, while extenuating and excusing whatever is amiss in Saxon, Norseman, or Norman. In this and in other matters relating to the Highlanders and Irish, Burton, like his fore-runners, Johnson, Pinkerton, and Laing, only too often fails to exercise his usual judicial and impartial spirit, and his exhibitions of prejudice are in these instances alike unfortunate and unworthy.[1]

[1] *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, p. 316.

Mitchell might well have added that Hill Burton's successor, Skene, has proven no exception to the others, since his partisan attitude toward every question has been decidedly anti-Celtic. I have quoted Dugald Mitchell by permission to show that one, at least, of the modern Scottish writers, has begun to analyse the writings of Skene, Burton and others of the same school.

Already the pendulum has begun to swing from unreasoning anti-Celticism toward impartial history building upon documentary foundation.

The previous quotations from, and facsimiles of, many of the older Scottish chronicles and histories, as well as a few from the more modern ones, all show in their dates, substance, sequence and connection, the true history of Scotland down to the first few years of the nineteenth century, as generally accepted by the English, Irish and Scottish people. Until that time, there had been very little doubt or criticism of its accuracy, although some of the records of royal descent had been brought into question, and settled only after bitter controversy.

Nearly all these records show the gradual evolution of the name of *Ciric* or *Giric* to Greg, Gregor, MacGregor and Gregory (Scottish). In fact, a careful perusal of all early chronicles—*Book of Deer*, Fordun, Wyntown, Boece, Major and many others, will show that the name is the root from which have sprung Grigg, Greg, Gregg, Greig, Grieg, Gregane, Gregsby, Gragg, Grigson, Gregor, Gregorson, Grig, Grigorson, MacGregor, MacGrigor, Grier, Greer, Grierson, Kier and the *Scottish* family of Gregory. A perusal of the index to any of these old works proves the truth of this assertion.

In addition to these family names, the following clan names are derived from the clan Gregor, or MacGregor, according to all authorities who have studied the question at all—Grant, MacNab, MacKinnon, MacAuley, MacQuarrie, MacDuff, MacAdam and MacPhee (MacFie, MacPhie, MacFee). The MacGregors have always claimed descent from the Alpin line through King Alpin, father of Kenneth, and through King Greg, commonly known as Gregory the Great, which is a just claim and founded upon the old records. The families of Scotland who are descended from Greg, Kenneth IV., are also descended from the royal line of Scotland, as Kenneth IV. was a direct descendant in the male line of Kenneth MacAlpin, as clearly shown in all

the works treating of his time. His reign and career have never been disputed by any authority, so far as I have found. The author of the *Dean of Lismore's Book* (1512) traces the clan Gregor back to Fergus mac Erc through Alpin and his son, Kenneth MacAlpin.

There have been two kings of Scotland by the name of Greg —namely, *Gregory the Great*, of the House of Loarn and connected with the Alpin line through his father, King Dungallus, who was first cousin to Alpin, the father of Kenneth MacAlpin; and *Grimus*, or *Greg*, known as Kenneth IV., who was a direct descendant in the male line from Kenneth MacAlpin.

Ciric, or *Giric*, being the original name, in time became Latinised by the early writers into *Ciricium* and *Giricium*, as Latin was the language of the educated writers of the centuries during which Gregory the Great lived and reigned. His name has been variously spelled,[1] as indeed was the case with all prominent names figuring in the early documents and histories.

In the history of Gregory the Great, and of his ancestry, there is ample proof of the validity of their claim, and of their right to the ancient coat of arms, *S'rioghail Mo Dhream*, "Royal is my race."

The second king of Scotland whose family name was Greg is variously styled *Grimus*, *Grim*, *Gryme*, *Grim-MacDubh*, *Girgh-mac-Kinath* and *Girgh*, though his title of Kenneth IV. is more familiar to the modern historian. His history offers further confirmation of the claim of the Clan Gregor to royal descent.[2] This is corroborated by all tables of kings covering that period of Scottish history, such as the *Book of Deer*, *Douglas's Baronage of Scotland*, and Skene's compilation of documents known as *The Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*,[3] as well as various other works from which facsimiles have been reproduced.

It has been shown heretofore that Gregory the Great was, according to undisputed records, the son of King Dungallus and grandson of King Selbach, both of whom had reigned as kings of Scotland in their time. The reign of Gregory's father, Dungallus, is very frequently referred to as "the next before Alpin."

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 112, *et seq.*
[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 109, *et seq.*
[3] Reviewed at length in Chapter IV.

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, there had been neither question nor complication as to the genealogy of King Gregory or his descendants. On the contrary, his reign was as well authenticated as that of King Edward VII. There has never been a necessity for the modern school to engage in a "still hunt" for a new father for King Gregory, which they have done by persistently seeking to corrupt the accounts of him as found in the old documents. The facsimiles and quotations from authentic works prove that his reign was as truthfully recorded as that of any king of Scotland before or since his time, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the death of his father, Dungallus, when Greg was but two months old, prevented him from coming to the throne at an earlier period. The *Pictish Chronicle*, the only document in existence which throws doubt upon his reign, can hardly be considered authentic by any writer other than one belonging to the anti-Celtic school.

It may be briefly stated, as a conclusion from the analysis of the whole subject, in connection with authentic documents, that all Scotsmen of the names of Greg, Grig, Gregor, MacGregor and the *Scottish* family of Gregory, together with other allied branches, are of the same original descent, and through King Gregory in the ninth century, and Greg, Kenneth IV., in the tenth, the name became patronymic in the royal line.

After the lapse of time, the name was gradually changed—in some instances to "Grigor;" and finally into "MacGrigor," when the prefix *mac* became a part of surnames. John Greg, of Fingoth, Dunkeld, in 1656, testified in court that his name had, for many generations past memory, been simply *Greg*.

It is historical that at the time of the proscription of the Clan Gregor many of them changed their names. After the Acts of proscription were annulled, many of them continued to use their adopted names, but still maintained the right to use the arms and mottoes of the clan. During the last two centuries, the name has become Gregg, Grigg, Greig, Grieg, Gragg, Gregson, Gregory and Grierson, in common with the varied spelling of other family names shown in genealogies.

Among the Scotch and Irish of medieval and modern times, the "e," "i," and "a" were, and still are, pronounced nearly alike, so that either *Ciric* or *Giric*, when pronounced by a Scotsman, would have the sound of *Cric* or *Crec*, *Gric* or *Grec*, and

through constant use easily became *Grig* or *Greg*. It would be difficult for any one not understanding the Celtic language to write the name of Greg, or any other word, as spoken by a native Scotsman. In the Celtic, for instance, *Aodh* is pronounced *Hugh*, and by the writers who have been guided entirely by pronunciation, it has been variously spelled Hew, Ew and Hugh, thus causing much confusion in the earlier documents as to the individual.

In all probability Greg, the son of Dungal, derived his name in its *original* form from his maternal (Pictish) descent, as the name of *Ciric* first appears in the history of Scotland as that of one of the seven sons of Cruithne, the eponymous of the Pictish race, and, as outlined above, it has, through slow evolution, finally become the *Greg* and *Gregg* of to-day.

VIEWS OF ENCYCLOPEDIC CONTRIBUTORS CONTRASTED

The contrast between the history of ancient and medieval Scotland, in the earliest editions of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and those written at a later date, arouses considerable interest. These articles clearly show how the "wind has been blowing" for the past century. Following my method of using the reign of King Gregory as an illustration of my point, I find in the Dublin edition, vol. xvi., pp. 726–8:

> Dongal was drowned while crossing the river Spey. . . . In the account of King Eth . . . all agree that he had a short reign . . . that he was succeeded by Gregory the son of Dungal, contemporary with Alfred of England, and that both princes acquired the name of Great. . . . He drove out the Danes. He killed Constantine, King of Cumbria. After this victory Gregory entirely reduced the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, which it is said were ceded to him by Alfred the Great; and indeed the situation of Alfred's affairs at this time renders such a result by no means impossible. . . . Having then placed garrisons in the strongest fortresses he returned to Scotland, where he built the city of Aberdeen, and died in the year 892, at his castle of Dundore in the Garioch.

In this short statement many important facts are given without a query. Gregory is said to have been the son of Dungal; he acquired the title of Great, contemporaneously with Alfred of England; he achieved at least a portion of the conquests ascribed to him in so many of the old documents heretofore examined; he victoriously returned to Scotland, and proceeded

to build the city of Aberdeen; and he died in his castle of Dundore in the Garioch. The writer of the above article does not even suggest that he "probably" did so, but states it as an unquestioned fact. There is no mention of the co-reign of Eochodius, nor is there even a hint of the *expulsion* from the throne, but, on the contrary, all allusions picture a successful reign and a "peaceful death in his castle of Dunadeer."

When the eighth edition of the *Britannica* was published in 1859, the anti-Celtic spirit was not yet abroad in the land, and the contributor to Scottish subjects had not become imbued with the theories of Chalmers, Pinkerton, Skene and their followers. In accordance with the plan of the *Britannica,* the best informed scholar on the subject was selected. His views accord perfectly with those of all other authentic writers, so that we may safely conclude that he was right when he said, "The reader is referred to Innes's *Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland* as the best work yet written on the subject of the history of Scotland."

This statement is important, for it shows that as late as 1859 the previously accepted history of Scotland, outlined by Innes, had not been materially shaken.

In spite of a statement in one of Skene's works that the descent of Kenneth MacAlpin is unknown,[1] the edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1859) gives his parentage as follows:

> Achaius, or Eocha, the King of the Scots, who died in the year 826, married Urgusia, a Pictish Princess, the sister of Constantine and Ungus; successively kings of the Picts. His grandson, Kenneth MacAlpin, a prince of great hardihood and ambition succeeded to his paternal throne in 836. On the death of Uven, the Pictish monarch in 839, Kenneth asserted his right to the Pictish throne in right of his grandmother Urgusia. The feeble state of the nation, and the incapacity of the true heir, combined to favour his ambitious designs; and after a struggle of three years, he succeeded in uniting the two crowns in his own person.

The writer of this statement placed no dependence upon the illogical assertions, made by some modern writers, as to the "extermination" of the Pictish race, "man, woman, and child," nor did he, for a moment, call into question the descent of Kenneth MacAlpin through the royal lines of the Picts and the Scots. He says further:

[1] *Historians of Scotland,* vol. iv., p. xlviii.

Malcolm the second, whose sincere and vigorous reign has been marked by many sanguinary domestic feuds, not necessary to be detailed here, was succeeded in 1033 by his grandson Duncan—the "gracious Duncan" of Shakespeare, whose imperishable drama of Macbeth is founded upon a fictitious narrative, which Holinshead copied from Boece. . . . Let us for a moment, in spirit, rather of homage than of criticism, disentangle the dross of fact from the ore of fiction. Lady Macbeth was the Lady Gruoch, and had regal blood in her veins. She was the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV. Her husband Macbeth was the son of Finlef, Maormor, or supreme ruler of Ross. . . . On his death (Macbeth, G.) a contest for the throne arose between Lulac, the son of Lady Gruoch, and a great-grandson of Kenneth IV., and Malcolm Ceanmore, great-grandson of Malcolm the Second, and this struggle terminated in 1057 by the defeat of Lulac.

The edition of 1886 completely changed all this, the writer closely following the theories of the anti-Celt so frequently referred to. The contributor to that edition must have been somewhat doubtful of his ground, however, for he "cast an anchor to windward" with the following:

The above statement is a brief outline of the reconstruction of this period in Scottish history due to two scholars who have done more than others to elucidate it—Father Innes and Mr. Skene. Their negative criticism, which destroys the fabric reared by a succession of historians from Fordun, or his continuator Bowmaker, to Buchanan, is a masterly work not likely to be superseded. . . . Whether the constructive part will stand is not certain, but it explains many of the facts.

How can there be a "constructive part" in a *true* history of any country?

The edition of 1886 does not mention Lulach, though there is no known reason for the omission, since his defeat by Malcolm Canmore, in his contest for the throne of Scotland, would not have nullified his right to reign, and he should have been given a place in the royal line. With this edition, however, the tone of all articles on these subjects changed, because by this time students of Scottish history were inclining toward anti-Celticism, as formulated during the latter part of the eighteenth, and the beginning of the nineteenth, centuries. "Whether the constructive part" of modern histories "will stand is not certain," but it will depend in large measure on the fairness and honesty of future encyclopedic writers, to whom we must look for the undoing of the great injustice already worked.

According to many historians the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin marked the beginning of the true history of Scotland, while others, escaping the tangle into which the *Pictish Chronicle* threw the ninth and tenth centuries, begin it with the reign of Malcolm Canmore in the eleventh.

Future generations may be able to disentangle the modern web of fiction and improbability, but at present Scotsmen are too much engrossed in mercantile and political aspects of life to give time or attention to such matters. Some one has said "the best road a Scotsman ever sees is the road that leads to London." There is little doubt that the modern indifference is born of a condition that leaves the average Scotsman little time for investigation, and compels him to relinquish such work to historians and antiquarians, who have already trifled away centuries in this wordy strife.

CHAPTER X

CLANS OF SCOTLAND

Origin—The Gregors—Oppression of Clans by Government—The MacGregors—*Dean of Lismore's Book*—Skene's Introduction—Contents and Extracts from the Book—The Rebellion of 1745—Proscription of Clan Gregor—"Rob Roy"—Clan Alpin—"Clan Alpin's Vow"—Surnames of MacAdam—MacAulay—MacDuffie—MacFie—MacPhee—MacFee—MacKinnon—MacNab—MacQuarrie—Gregory—Grierson—Fingon—Grant.

The Clan Alpin, embracing as they do such races as the MacGregors, the Grants, the MacNabs and the MacKinnons, are said to take their generic name from this monarch.—*M'Lauchlan.*

Various Celtic annals are favourable to the extreme antiquity of this race; and an ancient chronicle in that language, relating to the Clan MacArthur, declares that there is none older except the hills, the rivers and the Clan Alpin.—*Macleay.*

The hills, the MacAlpins and the Devil came into the world at the same time.—*Highland Proverb.*

The mountains, the rivers and the MacGregors are coeval.—*Celtic Proverb.*

In Scotland *Mac* came to be exclusively used. The adoption of such genealogical surnames fostered the notion that all who bore the same surname were kinsmen, and hence the genealogical term *clann*, which properly means the descendants of some progenitor, gradually became synonymous with *tuath*, tribe. Like all purely genealogical terms, *clann* may be used in the limited sense of a particular tribe governed by a chief, or in that of many tribes claiming descent from a common ancestor. In the latter sense it was synonymous with *sil*, *siol*, seed, *e.g.*, *Siol Alpine*, a great clan which included the smaller clans of the MacGregors, Grants, Mackinnons, Macnabs, Macphies, Macquarries and Macaulays. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*—Art., "Clans.")

Perhaps there is no phase of the early history of Scotland so complex, and at the same time so fascinating, as that of Clanship. Its complexity is due to the great variety of works on that subject, based partly on historical data, but more largely on

imagination and theory. The Clans of Scotland certainly did not come into existence until after the eleventh century, and it was not until later that the word "Mac," which has become a part of the surnames of Scotland, meant anything more than "son of," while until comparatively recent times it was neither capitalised nor prefixed to surnames.

To separate truth from fiction and data from theory has at times been impossible, but the following pages contain many valuable quotations of interest. William Anderson's work[1] contains one of the best and most comprehensive reviews extant, as to the Alpin line and its derivative clans. It gives a full account of the origin of the family from Achaius, with clear information regarding the families of Gregory, Greer, Grier and Grierson, together with the allied clans of MacAdams, Grant, MacKinnon, MacNab, MacPhee or MacFie, MacQuarrie, MacAuley or Macauley:

> Achaius, or Achayus, or Eochy, the son of King Ethwin, or Ewen, succeeded to the crown of Scotland in 788, upon the death of Solvathius, or Selvach. . . . A short time after his generous treaty with the Irish—the emperor Charlemagne sent an ambassador to Achaius, requesting the Scots king to enter into a strict alliance with him against the English, who, in the language of the envoy, "shamefully filled both sea and land with their piracies, and bloody invasions." After much hesitation and debate among the king's counsellors, the alliance was unanimously agreed to . . . on terms very favourable to the Scots. In order to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, Achaius added to the arms of Scotland a double field sowed with lilies. After assisting Hungus, king of the Picts, to repel an aggression of Athelstane, king of the West Saxons, Achaius spent the rest of his reign in complete tranquillity and died in 819, distinguished for his piety and wisdom.

The above quotation is given because Achaius was the father of Alpin, from whom the "Clan Alpin" derives its name, and the grandfather of Kenneth MacAlpin, with whom we have to deal very frequently in our treatment of the origin of the Greg family.

Prior to the establishment of the clans of Scotland, the country was divided into provinces or earldoms, and these may have been the foundation upon which the system of clanship was later based. Anderson states that according to Sir Francis Palgrave's *Treasury Documents Illustrative of Scottish History*,

[1] *The Scottish Nation*, vol. i., p. 17.

there existed in ancient Scotland a constitutional body termed "the seven earls of Scotland," possessing privileges of considerable importance and being a body separate and distinct from the baronage. These seven earls as a body derived their functions from the old Celtic constitution of the country, ancient Albania, or Scotland, north of the friths of Forth and Clyde. Anderson then gives the seven provinces, named as will be recalled from the seven sons of the supposed first ruler and progenitor of the Pictish people—Fiv, Cait, Fotla, Fortrein, Circui, Ce and Fidach. He also agrees with Giraldus Cambrensis that these provinces correspond with Fife, Caithness, Atholl and Garmorin, Strathearne and Menteth, Angus and Mearns, Moray and Ross, and Mar and Buchan; three of the provinces belonging to the southern Picts,—Fife, Strathearne and Menteth, and Angus and Mearns,—while the remaining four belonged to the Picts of the north. The seven provinces formed the kingdom of the Picts or Scotland proper, previous to the ninth century. Again quoting from Anderson, we find that:

> The Scottish conquest, in 843, having added to it Dalriada, which afterwards became Argyle; and Caithness having towards the end of the same century fallen into the hands of the Norwegians, the former was after that period substituted for the latter, and the earl of Argyle instead of the earl of Caithness was numbered among "the seven earls." The Pictish nation consisted of a confederacy of fourteen tribes spread over the seven provinces named, in each of which one of the seven superior chiefs ruled under the Gaelic name of Maormor. In the reign of Edgar they assumed the Saxon title of earl, and their territories were exactly the same with the earldoms into which the north of Scotland was afterwards divided.[1]

Before quoting further from Anderson, or going into the review of the various branches of the Alpin line, the fact must again be emphasised that historians and antiquarians have generally conceded that prior to the reign of Malcolm III., generally termed Malcolm Canmore, A.D. 1057, there were no *Mac*Gregors, *Mac*Phersons, *Mac*Quarries or *Mac*Intoshes as clan names in Scotland. Whenever a chronicle written previous to that time is quoted, or alluded to, the capitalisation of the prefix "mac," or its use as a part of a surname, is an anachronism. It was *descriptive* only, and, meaning *son of*, was used principally in the genealogies of families. For instance, in tracing the

[1] *The Scottish Nation*, vol. i., p. 67.

genealogy of Kenneth *mac Alpin* from *Fergus mac Erc*, we find in John of Fordun's Chronicle (1394) the following:

> Now this Kenneth was the son of Alpin, son of Achay, son of Ethfin, son of Eugenius, son of Findan, son of Dongardus, son of Donald Brec, son of Eugenius Buyd, son of Aidanus, son of Gournas, son of Dongardus, son of Fergus *mac* Erc.

Arranged in Celtic it reads as follows:

> Kenneth *mac* Alpin, *mac* Achay, *mac* Ethfin, *mac* Eugenius, *mac* Findan, *mac* Dongardus, *mac* Donald Brec, *mac* Eugenius Buyd, *mac* Aidanus, *mac* Gournas, *mac* Dongardus, *mac* Fergus, *mac* Erc.

Since the eleventh century, or, according to some writers, the twelfth, the names of Gregor, Grigor, MacGregor and MacGrigor have been borne by a very prominent family of Scotland, with much romantic history attached thereto. The loss of their lands and their titles furnished Scott with the foundation and material for his novels of *Rob Roy* and the *Legend of Montrose. Roderic Dhu*, in his *Lady of the Lake*, is easily recognised as a prominent character in Scotland's history.

Again referring to Anderson's work,[1] we find that King Alpin, who succeeded his brother, Dungal the Brown, in 834, left two sons, Kenneth mac Alpin, under whom the Scots and southern Picts were united, and Donald II., who succeeded Kenneth. Anderson does not agree with some of the more modern writers in the statement that Alpin had a son "Griogar." I have found no corroboration of the existence of a "Prince Gregor, third son of Alpin," in any of the early and authentic documents examined, and therefore agree with Anderson that it is impossible to trace the descent of the Gregors and MacGregors from such a source. In the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, however, Skene has given abundant proof that the Gregs, Gregors, MacGregors and derivative families are descended in direct line from Alpin through King Greg, and Greg, Kenneth IV.; also that King Greg, or Gregory, was descended from Fergus mac-Erc through the house of Loarn, and was a connection of the Alpins.

Clanship had its foundation in the belief of a common origin uniting both the people and their Celtic chief. *Clann* meant children or family. The chief stood as a representative of a common ancestor and was followed loyally and willingly as

[1] *The Scottish Nation.*

hereditary lord. Reverence and filial obedience were the natural characteristics of a clansman, while, on the other hand, a chief must show himself worthy of this respect and homage. The clan would follow only where protection and kindness led, but cruelty and oppression were never tolerated. The decision of the chief in an important matter was by no means the court of last appeal. If weak of understanding, or cruel in disposition, he was curbed and managed by the elders of his tribe, his standing counsellors, without whose advice no important measure could be decided. As a rule, the chief sought by every means in his power to retain the love and respect of his people, to that end devolving all his arts of friendship, generosity and amiability.

A clan consisted of the chief, his more immediate kinsmen and the commonalty of the same name, who may also at times have had associated with them more or less dependent septs. Some of these may have been the so-called "broken men," or those who, for various reasons, became estranged from their own clan and sought the protection of another chief. Frequently, within a clan there developed smaller septs or branches, when the most influential or leading men acquired property and founded families which not infrequently became powerful. These smaller septs sometimes rivalled the clan chief in power and influence. Dugald Mitchell says of this:

> In the year 1587 an Act was passed . . . and from it we gather a note or two on clan organisation. In connection with one of the rolls therein given, mention is made of "the Clans that have Captains, Chiefs and Chieftains, on whom they depend ofttimes against the will of their Landlords, as well on the Borders as the Highlands." . . . Feudalism, in short, gave a territorial dignity, clanship a personal, though both involved power over their people—a power of life and death, obedience and following. In the Highlands, the patriarchal system, which in the earlier stages of society was probably common to all races, was, owing to local causes and conditions, unusually developed and unusually prolonged in the term of its existence; and there those old-world characteristics and customs, which had at one time been common to the whole of Scotland, lingered on and were tenaciously clung to. Till a comparatively late period, as is well known, clanship remained in full force, and men continued their allegiance to their hereditary chiefs, irrespective of their place of residence. . . . In the titles captain, chief and chieftain, we have three distinct positions recognised. The chief was the *Ceanncine* or *Toiseach*, the hereditary head of the tribe; the chieftain was the *Ceanntighe*, the head of a subordinate sept or house, while the captain was the actual leader of the clan. (P. 296.)

According to Mitchell the extinction of the early tribal relations, in 1100 A.D., led to the system of clanship. He also remarks that upon a perusal of the genealogies of the clans it will be found that while many of them occupied what was formerly Pictavia, not one of them seems to be descended from the Picts, but that a large proportion of them are brought from the tribe of Loarn. The very situation of the tribe of Loarn, and the physical characteristics of the country, would naturally lead us to expect that this tribe would form all settlements, to the exclusion of other Dalriadic tribes.

In the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, edition of 1879, vol. v., the article on "Clan History" gives much valuable information, in particular as to what has been previously said on this subject. Before taking up an account of the individual clans, chief of which is the Clan Gregor, I quote from page eleven of the above mentioned *Britannica:*

> A portion of the literature of the Gaelic Celt consists of clan history. The clan system does not seem to be very ancient. In all probability, it dates from the period when the Gaelic kingdom of Scotland ceased to exist. It has been already said to date from the era of charters. But the two eras are pretty nearly identical. Down to the reign of Malcolm III., the Gaelic kingdom appears to have been to a large extent homogeneous. There were no elements in it but what were Celtic. . . . Then the land was governed by its *maormors* and *toiseachs*, men who represented the central governing power. It would seem that when, in the reign of David I., the kingdom became largely Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman, the Gaelic people became estranged from their native kings, and gathered themselves in sections under the sway of their own chiefs; and hence came chiefs and clans, instead of a king and his subjects forming a united nation. The change was a serious one for the Gaelic people, as they never became again what they had been before.

The article from which the above is quoted states that while the clan names appear at an early period, and in some form or other must have existed before the time of the Saxonised kings, not one of the great clans of Highland history—the Macdonalds, the Macleans, the Campbells, the Macleods, the Mackenzies, the Mackintoshes, or others—appear at all. Mitchell says:

> Only in three instances do we find mention made of clans during the time when Celtic Mormaers were still in power. Two of these references occur in the *Book of Deer*.[1]

[1] *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, p. 263.

As the names in that old record are for the most part purely patronymic, they indicate no connection with the clans under discussion. Until modern times, the clan name was confined to the chief, a statement easily confirmed by the records of old deeds and legal processes.

Campbell, in *The Caledonians and Scots*, deals clearly with the different systems developed in the course of several centuries among the clans. He is probably as unprejudiced and fair in his statements as any modern author:

> The Celtic clans of Scotland and Ireland preserved the patriarchal system, and lived in a state of disunited independence under their local clan government, to a much later period than the general reader is aware of. . . . Land tenures by feudal grants from the crown were unknown in England until the conquest, and in Scotland subsequently to the reign of Malcolm Ceanmor. [A.D. 1058, G.] Now, as the Scottish monarchy for ages before the dates of these charters, the people must have held the land on some competent title, such as the patriarchal cleachda or custom from time immemorial, it does not, therefore, seem either unreasonable or unimportant to inquire by what means the people lost, and their king acquired, the property of the soil of Scotland. . . . But indeed it can be shown historically, as well as by those edicts of the kings of the Scots and their creatures, which are now being respected as the legitimate acts of parliament, that the object of those charters was to substitute the feudal for the patriarchal organisation and discipline of the people.[1]

Of the conduct of the clans under the usurpation and oppression to which they were subjected by the kings and nobility of Scotland, we find from reliable sources that they were bold, courageous and determined, yet always considerate and forbearing. Campbell states that no matter how weak and unprepared a clan might be, it never refused battle, with the result usually of their reduction into the condition emphatically denounced as "broken clans" in feudal enactments. According to the same author:

> This condition was tantamount to being outlawed. Their lands were assumed to have been forfeited, and the superiority of them was transferred, by feudal charters, to one or other of the minions—usually foreigners —of the crown. I can mention many clans who had thus been studiously goaded or entrapped into construed treason or rebellion, and whose lands fell to the favourites or creatures of the king; but the fate of the high-minded and generous Clan Gregor is well known and may suffice as an example. . . . And so much are we the creatures of first impressions as to

[1] Pp. 15–26.

make it very difficult for us, even in our mature years, to get quit of the impression made on our minds at school by the works of historians, whose every paragraph, in so far as the Highlanders are concerned, convicts them of ignorance and prejudice.

Here Mr. Campbell voices the opinion of very many readers in Scotland, Ireland, England, the British Provinces, and the United States.

In writing of the relation of the clans of Ireland to the armies, Dr. W. K. Sullivan begins his article in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1886 edition, vol. xiii., with the invasions of Ireland by the northmen in 795 A.D. As a result of the oscillation of kingly power between the southern and the northern Hui Neill, there was a reaction upon the minor kings and their followers. Although the clan system did not come into existence in Scotland until toward the thirteenth century, we get our first glimpse of such an organisation in Dr. Sullivan's description of an Irish clan:

> The army consisted of a number of clans, each commanded by its own chief, and acting as many independent units without cohesion. The clansmen owed fealty only to their chiefs, who in turn owed a kind of conditional allegiance to the over-king, depending a good deal upon the ability of the latter to enforce it. A chief might, through pique, or from other causes, withdraw his clan even on the eve of a battle, without such defection being deemed dishonourable. What the clan was to the nation, the fine or sept was to the clan itself. The chieftains or heads of septs had a voice, not only in the question of war or peace, for that was determined by the whole clan, but in all subsequent operations. However brave the individual soldiers of such an army might be, the army itself was unreliable against a well-organised and disciplined enemy. Again, such clan armies were only levies gathered together for a few weeks at most, unprovided with military stores or means of transport, and consequently unprepared to attack fortifications of any kind, and liable to melt away as quickly as they were gathered together.

While the above description of the clans during the period of which Dr. Sullivan writes is doubtless correct, for he is a careful and conscientious author, we know that they withstood the well organised armies of the Roman government for several centuries, and no hostile foreigner ever crossed the borders of Ireland after its occupation by the Scots.

In giving a synopsis of the various clans constituting the *Siol Alpin*, the Clan Gregor is of first importance. The general denomination *Siol Alpin* includes, according to Anderson, the

clans Gregor, Grant, MacKinnon, MacNab, MacDuffie, MacFie, MacQuarrie and MacAuley. The Clan Gregor lived under Acts of Attainder, or outlawry, for nearly three hundred years. Anderson places the period from 1488 to 1784, while Skene shortens it by a few years. There is no better description of the condition prevalent during that period than that given by Anderson:

MacGregor, the name of a clan esteemed one of the purest of all the Celtic tribes, the distinctive badge of which was the pine. They were the principal sept of the Siol Alpin, and there can be no doubt of their unmixed and direct descent from the Albanich or Alpinian stock, which formed the aboriginal inhabitants of Scotland. They were once numerous in Balquhidder and Menteith, and also in Glenurchy, which appears to have been their original seat. . . . Claiming a regal origin, their motto anciently was "My race is royal." . . . Malcolm, the chief of the clan in the days of Bruce, fought bravely on the national side at the battle of Bannockburn . . . In the reign of David II., the Campbells managed to procure a legal title to the lands in Glenurchy, nevertheless the MacGregors maintained for a long time the actual possession of them by the strong hand. They knew no other right than that of the sword, but ultimately that was found unavailing, and at last, expelled from their own territory, they became an outlawed, lawless and landless clan.

The principal families of the MacGregors, in process of time, except that of Glenstræ, who held that estate as vassals of the earl of Argyle, found themselves reduced to the position of tenants on the lands of Campbell of Glenurchy and other powerful barons. It being the policy of the latter to get rid of them altogether, the unfortunate clan were driven, by a continous system of oppression and annoyance, to acts of rapine and violence, which brought upon them the vengeance of the government. The clan had no other means of subsistence than the plunder of their neighbours' property, and as they naturally directed their attacks chiefly against those who had wrested from them their own lands, it became still more the interest of the oppressors to represent to the king that nothing could put a stop to their lawless conduct, "save the cutting off of the tribe of MacGregor root and branch."

The minority of James IV. threw the power of State into the hands of the principal barons, thus rendering easy the enactment passed in 1488 "*for the Staunching of thiftreif and other enormities throw all the realme.*" The power of enforcement was placed in the hands of Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, Neill Stewart of Fortingall and Ewin Campbell of Strachur, from whom the MacGregors expected no leniency. An act so severe could only aggravate, and in no way alleviate, the very evil it

was designed to remedy. All who had taken any part in the battle of Glenfruin, or in other marauding expeditions, were compelled under penalty of death to change their surnames, they were also forbidden to meet in greater numbers than four at a time; they were not permitted to carry any weapon save a pointless knife, with which they could cut their victuals; and were even forbidden, at a later date, to baptise a child by the name of "MacGregor." The earls of Atholl and Argyle, who were commissioned to enforce these enactments, seem to have been very alert in the discharge of their duty.

The MacGregors, however, a very numerous and powerful clan, were not easily subdued. They acknowledged MacGregor of Glenstræ as their chief and in some degree maintained a foothold in Glenurchy, as well as in the districts of Atholl and Breadalbane. The families of Roro, descended from Gregor, the third son of John MacGregor, and those of Brackly Ardchoille and Glengyll, though separated from the main sept by distance and jealousy, still acknowledged their Glenstræ chief, MacGregor.

Anderson says that taking refuge in their mountain fastnesses they inflicted upon some of their enemies a terrible vengeance, and defied all efforts for the extermination of the clan:

> Then followed the conflict of Glenfruin in 1603, when the Macgregors, under Alexander Macgregor of Glenstræ, their chief, defeated the Colquhouns, under the laird of Luss, and one hundred and forty of the latter were killed. . . . The force of the Colquhouns was more than double that of the Macgregors, and of the latter it is remarkable that John, the brother of the chief, and another person, were alone killed, though a number of them were wounded. Dugald Ciar, ancestor of Rob Roy, is said on this occasion to have exhibited extraordinary ferocity and courage.
>
> Information of the disaster having been sent to the king by the laird of Luss, and the whole affair being misrepresented to his majesty, the clan Gregor were proclaimed rebels and again inter-communed. (P. 739.)

The chief, Alexander MacGregor, after a long resistance against this strong combination formed to destroy him and his clan, at last surrendered with some of his clansmen to the earl of Argyle, on condition that he should be allowed a safe conduct into England. He was sent under guard across the borders, but on his arrival at Berwick, he was immediately brought back to Edinburgh and imprisoned, betrayed by the earl in whom

he had placed his reliance. On the 26th of January, 1604, he was condemned to death, and on being executed, with some of his followers, was given the distinction, in consideration of his rank, of swinging from a higher gallows.

The favourite names assumed by the clan while compelled to relinquish their own, were Campbell, Graham, Stewart and Drummond. Their unity as a clan remained unbroken, and they even seemed to increase in numbers, notwithstanding all the oppressive proceedings directed against them. These did not cease with the reign of James VI., for under Charles I. all the enactments against them were renewed, and yet in 1644, when the marquis of Montrose set up the king's standard in the Highlands, the clan Gregor, to the number of one thousand fighting men, joined him under the command of Patrick Macgregor of Glenstræ, their chief. In reward for their loyalty, at the Restoration, the various statutes against them were annulled, when the clan were enabled to resume their own name. In the reign of William III., however, the penal enactments against them were renewed in their full force. The clan were again proscribed and compelled once more to take other names. . . . It was not until 1784 that the oppressive acts against the Macgregors, which, however, for several years had fallen into desuetude, were rescinded by the British Parliament, when they were allowed to resume their own name, and were restored to all the rights and privileges of British citizens. (Pp. 740–743.)

A very similar account of the conditions under which the Clan Gregor attempted to maintain its rights is given by Dugald Mitchell in his *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*. For a long time they succeeded in holding their possessions by what is known as *Coir a Chlaidheamh*—"right of the sword,"—but as their territories of Glenurchy, Breadalbane and Atholl were more and more encroached upon, and given by the government to their tyrannical neighbours, they were induced by their desperate straits to commit inhuman acts, bringing upon themselves laws still more severe. Scott has very aptly expressed the MacGregor indignation at these unwarranted laws, when he puts the following words into the mouth of *Ranald Mac Each:*

I am a man like my forefathers; while wrapped in the mantle of peace we were lambs; it was rent from us, and ye now call us wolves. Give us the huts ye have burned—our children whom ye have murdered, our widows whom ye have starved; collect from the gibbet and the pole the mangled carcasses and whitened skulls of our kinsmen; bid them live and bless us, and we will be your vassals and brothers; till then let death and blood and mutual wrong draw a dark veil of division between us.

After the surrender of Alexander MacGregor in 1604 the earl of Moray transported about three hundred of this landless clan to Aberdeenshire, where, under the name of Gregory, he set them up as a barrier against the turbulent and fighting Mac-Intoshes. From this emigration of the outlawed and despised Gregor clan have sprung some of the most noted men of the nation's history, many of them attaining positions of honour as inventors, professors and physicians.[1]

It is impossible, in these modern times, to appreciate the feelings that smoldered in the heart of a clansman during those dark days. Robbed of home, love, liberty, even his very name, it is little wonder that desperate deeds were done. The hospitality characteristic of every true clansman has been very appropriately expressed by Burns:

> When death's dark stream I ferry o'er,
> A time that surely shall come,
> In heaven itself I 'll ask no more,
> Than just a Highland welcome.

Miss A. G. M. MacGregor, in her *History of the Clan Gregor*, states that "The renowned ancestor to whom we look as the founder of our race was Gregory, who reigned 873–890." She adds:

> No documentary evidence can be adduced to prove descent from a source so remote; and allusion is not made to it here as an established historical fact, but because the tradition has been handed down that Gregory of Scotland's early kings was the ancestor of the Clan which bears his name.

She explains this in the footnote:

> Our Scottish Historiographer, the late Dr. Skene, to whose valuable works frequent reference must at the outset be made, while deducing the race from another source, to be hereafter quoted, remarks that "the clan Gregor having recognised Gregory as their eponymous ancestor, their descent from him is now implicitly believed in by all the MacGregors." After this record we may surely preserve our belief, which is thus itself established as a matter of history.

I can hardly comprehend Miss MacGregor's logic. It seems to me that she first admits Skene to be correct in "*deducing their descent from another source*," and admits that "no documentary

[1] Cf. Appendix, pp.

evidence can be adduced to prove descent from a source so remote," but at the same time she concludes that "after this record we may surely preserve our belief, which is thus itself established as a matter of history." I am not able to decide whether Miss MacGregor considers the Clan Gregor as descended from King Gregory, "the renowned ancestor to whom we look as the founder of our race," or whether she has decided to the contrary. She had perhaps read Skene's theory of the *Highland sennachies finding a tribe of MacGregors termed MacAlpins*, and did not herself know just how Skene stood on the question.

The genealogy of the MacGregor family, outlined by William Buchanan, 1723, is one of the best. He gives some weight to the assertion that King Gregory was never married, based upon an unsupported statement made by Hollinshed. Pinkerton esteemed Buchanan one of the best versed scholars of the Gaelic language in his day, and I believe he has been considered authoritative on the subject of Surnames by later historians. The thought dominating my work for several years past is but an echo of Buchanan's own:

> I perswade myself no Man thinks it lost Labour to enquire into the descent of Princes, and other eminent Personages; and why should it be looked on as altogether unnecessary to know that of Private Families, especially when they have produced Persons of extraordinary Characters and Reputation in the World? The Publick Historians cannot be supposed to know anything of such minute passages, without the Help of such private Memorials; and therefore it is necessary, that some or other should take upon them that lower Employment of gathering together the Materials that may be serviceable to the higher order of Writers. I may upon very solid grounds presume, that any One who offers to treat of the Genealogies of any Scottish surnames, which can lay any just claim to considerable Antiquity, especially such as are planted in, or near the more remote or Highland parts of this Kingdom, can not in Reason be supposed to have Records, or written Documents, upon which anything that ordinarily is, or rationally may be advanced upon such a subject can be founded; there being for the most part little Diligence used by these Surnames or Clans in obtaining, and tho' obtained, in preserving any such Documents.

A

Hiſtorical AND *Genealogical*

ESSAY

Upon the Family and Surname of

BUCHANAN.

To which is added

A

Brief Enquiry into the Genealogy and preſent State of ancient *SCOTISH* Surnames, and more particularly of the *Highland* CLANS.

By *WILLIAM BUCHANAN* of *Auchmar*.

GLASGOW,

Printed by WILLIAM DUNCAN. 1723.

A N

Account of the Surname of

M'GREGOR.

THE Surname of *M'Gregor*, once a numerous Name, and in Poſſeſſion of divers conſiderable Eſtates, hath of a long Tract of Time been accounted one of the ancient *Scotiſh* Surnames, or Clans, being denominated from the proper Name of *Gregor*, Anceſtor of that Surname, being a known ancient proper *Scotiſh* Name. Thoſe of this Surname aſſert their Progenitor to have been a Son of one of the *Scotiſh* Kings of the *Alpinian* Race, more eſpecialy of King *Gregory*; but our Hiſtorians are generally agreed that King *Gregory* never married, and was not known to have any Iſſue either legitimate, or illegitimate. However that be, that this Surname is deſcended from one properly ſo called, a Son, or ſome other Deſcendant of another of the Kings of the *Alpinian* Race is no way inconſiſtent with Probability. But that Surname having loſt their Eſtates at different Junctures, and by various Contingencies, is a Mean of the Loſs alſo of any Evidents relating to the Manner and Time of acquiring thoſe Eſtates, and that were any way conducive for evincing the Deſcent of the Family: the beſt Document now extant in their Cuſtody, being their Armorial Bearing, which inſinuates pretty clearly, that the ſaid Name was either deſcended of ſome of the Stem of the *Scotiſh* Kings, or that they had done ſome Piece of ſignal Service for ſome one of the Kings, and Kingdom, tho' the Circumſtances of either of theſe cannot at this Diſtance be fully cleared. I find in the Genealogical Account of the Surname of *Campbel*, that Sir *Colin Campbel* of *Lochow*, who had divers great Offices from King *Malcolm* II. had a Daughter married to *M'Gregor* Laird of *Glenurchy*, and that of this Marriage was Sir *John* M'*Gregor* of *Glenurchy*, a Perſon of very good Account in the Reign of King *Malcolm* III. The Chief of that Name is very well known to have been for many Generations Lairds of *Glenurchy*, and to have built the Caſtle of *Balloch*, or *Taymouth*, at leaſt to have had their Reſidence there, and alſo to have built Caſtle *Caolchuirn*, in the Weſt Part of that Country. How this Eſtate was loſt is not very evident, but it is probable, that the Name of *M'Gregor*, being ſo near Neighbours, might be induced or obliged to joyn M'*Dugal* Lord of *Lorn*, againſt King *Robert* I. and upon that Account loſt a good Part of their Eſtate, as the M'*Nauchtans*, and M'*Nabs* loſt a Part of

theirs for the ſame Cauſe. However the Firſt of the Name of *Campbel* who got that Eſtate of *Glenurchy*, was Black *Sir Colin Campbel*, Second Son to *Sir Colin Campbel* of *Lochow* in the latter Part of the Reign of King *James II.* or in the Beginning of the Reign of King *James III.* being Anceſtor of the preſent Earl of *Braidalbin*. Beſides the chief Family of *Glenurchy*, there was alſo M'*Gregor* of *Glenlyon*, who having no Iſſue, nor near Relation, diſponed his Eſtate to a *Second Son* of *Sir Duncan Campbel* of *Glenurchy*, being Anceſtor of *Campbel* of *Glenurchy*, in the Beginning of the Reign of King *James VI.* There was alſo M'*Gregor* of *Glenſre*, who was forfeited in the ſame Reign, the Laird of M'*Gregor* having alſo near the ſame Time ſold the laſt Lands that Family had in thoſe Parts, called *Stronmiolchon*, ſo that ſince that Time, *viz.* the latter part of the Reign of King *James VI.* the Lairds of M'*Gregor* had no Eſtate, till the principal Branch of that Family became extinct in the Reign of King *Charles II.* the Chiefſhip devolving upon *Malcolm* M'*Gregor*, deſcended of a collateral Branch of the Chief Family, whoſe Son *Grigor* M'*Gregor*, in the Reign of King *William* dying without Iſſue, was ſucceeded by *Archibald* M'*Gregor*, of *Kilmanan*, whoſe Male Iſſue being all dead, and thoſe few who pretend neareſt Relation to him being of mean Repute, and Circumſtances, made (as is reported) a formal Renounciation of the Chiefſhip in Favour of *Grigor* M'*Gregor* of *Glengyle*, who is lineally deſcended from a Son of the Laird of M'*Gregor*.

This Surname is now divided into Four principal Families. The Firſt is that of the Laird of M'*Gregor*, being in a Manner extinct, there being few or none of any Account of the ſame. The next Family to that of *Macgregor* is *Dougal Keir's* Family, ſo named from their Anceſtor *Dugal Keir*, a Son of the Laird of M'*gregor*, the principal Perſon of that Family is M'*Gregor* of *Glengyle*.

whoſe Reſidence, and Intereſt is at the Head of *Lock-cattern*, in the Pariſh of *Callender*, in the Shire of *Perth*. The Third Family is that of *Rora*; the principal Perſon of which is M'*Gregor* of *Rora* in *Rannach*, in the Shire of *Perth*. The Fourth Family is that of *Brackley*, ſo denominated from *Brackley*, of which the principal Perſon of that Family was not long ago Proprietor.

Thoſe of other Denominations deſcended of this Surname, are the M'*Kinnins*, being a pretty numerous Clan in the Iſle of *Skye*; the principal Perſon of that Clan hath a pretty good Eſtate in the Iſles of *Skye*, and *Mull* How far this Pretenſion is acquieſed in, I cannot determine, but am confident, that Gentleman's Armorial Bearing differs very much from that of the Surname of M'*Gregor*. Another Branch of another Denomination is that of *Maccarras*, a pretty numerous Sept in the North Parts of *Perth*-Shire. There are alſo the M'*Leiſters*, M'*Choiters*, and divers others deſcended of that Surname; of which the Armorial Bearing is,

Argent, a Fir-Tree, growing out of a Mount in Baſe *Vert*, ſurmounted of a Sword bendways, ſupporting on its Point an Imperial Crown, in Dexter chief Canton proper, importing the Deſcent of that Surname from one of our Kings, or the ſame having done ſome ſignal Service to the Crown. Motto, *Undoe and ſpare not*

THE

DEAN OF LISMORE'S BOOK

A SELECTION OF

ANCIENT GAELIC POETRY

FROM A MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION MADE BY SIR JAMES M'GREGOR,
DEAN OF LISMORE, IN THE BEGINNING OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

EDITED WITH A TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY THE REV. THOMAS M'LAUCHLAN

AND

AN INTRODUCTION AND ADDITIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM F. SKENE Esq.

EDINBURGH
EDMONSTON AND DOUGLAS
1862.

The *Dean of Lismore's Book*, to which reference has heretofore been made, is a genealogical history of the Gregor or MacGregor family, and is the work of two churchmen by the name of MacGregor. It was written during the period between 1512 and 1551, contains about three hundred pages, and is now in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. The copy from which my facsimiles are taken was edited with translation and notes by McLauchlan, with introduction and additional notes by Skene.

The original Book is a small quarto volume, about seven inches square and one and a quarter inches thick, and bound in coarse sheepskin.[1] The facsimiles given are of especial interest to the descendants of the Gregor or MacGregor family, since they prove the authentic descent of this family from the old Scottish kings, and their right to the motto "*S'Rioghail Mo Dhream*," or "*Royal is my race.*"

Mitchell says the literary value of this collection of old poems to the Gaelic scholar can scarcely be estimated; stating that while there is no information as to the source from which the materials for its compilation were obtained, they probably came from manuscripts then available to the author, as well as from oral tradition:

> Those old time bards of the West sung of the chief, of the clan, of the battle, of the slain warrior; they hurled their satire at vice, and enjoined the precepts of morality, but love songs are sought for in vain in the collection, probably owing to the ecclesiastical bias of the good Dean.

There has been no effort to give extracts from the work as a continuous whole, selecting only here and there to give an idea of the style and subjects:

[1] *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, p. 407.

In the heart of the Perthshire Highlands, and not far from the northern shore of Loch Tay, there lies a secluded vale of about six miles long. The river Lyon, which issues from the long and narrow valley of Glenlyon through the pass of Chesthill, hardly less beautiful than the celebrated pass of Killichranky, meanders through it. On the east bank of a small stream which falls into the Lyon about the centre of the vale, is the Clachan or Kirkton of Fortingall, anciently called Fothergill, from which it takes its name; and on the west or opposite bank is the mansion of Glenlyon House, anciently called Tullichmullin.

A stranger stationed at the clachan or little village of Fortingall, would almost fancy that there was neither egress from nor ingress to this little district, so secluded and shut in among the surrounding mountains does it appear to be. It is a spot where one could well suppose that the traditions of former times, and the remains of a forgotten oral literature, might still linger in the memories of its inhabitants; while the local names of the

mountains and streams about it are redolent of the mythic times of the Feine. On the west is the glen of Glenlyon, the ancient Cromgleann nan Clach or Crooked Glen of the Stones, associated with many a tradition of the Feine, and where the remains of those rude forts, termed Caistealan na Feine, crown many a rocky summit; and the vale is bounded on the south and east by the ridge of Druimfhionn or Finn's Ridge.

In the latter part of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, there dwelt here a family of the name of Macgregor. They were descended from a vicar of Fortingall, who, at the time when, during the century preceding the Reformation, the Catholic Church was breaking up, and their benefices passing into the hands of laymen, secured for himself and his descendants the vicarage of Fortingall and a lease of the church lands.

Of the history of this family we know somewhat from an obituary commenced by one of his descendants, and continued to the year 1579 by the Curate of Fothergill, which is still preserved.

His son, whether legitimate or illegitimate we know not, was Ian Rewych, or John the Grizzled, termed Makgewykar or son of the Vicar.[1]

His grandson was Dougall Maol, or Dougall the Bald or Tonsured, called patronymically Dougall Johnson, or the son of John.

This Dougall Johnson appears in 1511 as a notary-

[1] Obitus Katherine neyn Ayn Weyll Sponsse Johannis M'Ayn Rawych Mac-Gewykar apud Aychly in Mense Decembris anno Domini M vc xlij.—Chron. Fort.

public,[1] and dwelt at Tullichmullin, where his wife Katherine, daughter of Donald M'Clawe, *alias* Grant, died in 1512.[2] He is twice mentioned in the obituary or Chronicle of Fortingall; in 1526, as repairing the cross in Inchadin, or the old church of Kenmore, situated on the north bank of the river Tay, nearly opposite Tay mouth Castle; and in 1529, as placing a stone cross in Larkmonemerkyth, the name of a pass among the hills which leads from Inchadin to the south.[3]

Of Dougall the Bald, the son of John the Grizzled, we have no further mention; but of his family we know of two sons, James and Duncan.

James was a Churchman. He appears as a notary-public, an office then held by ecclesiastics, along with his father, in the year 1511, and he early attained to honour and influence, through what channel is unknown; for, in 1514, we find him Dean of Lismore,[4] an island in Argyllshire, lying between the districts of Lorn and Morvern, which was at that time the Episcopal seat of the Bishops of Argyll. He was, besides, Vicar of Fortingall and Firmarius or tenant of the church lands; and died possessed of these benefices in the year 1551, and

1 Charter Robert Menzies of that ilk to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, dated at the Isle of Loch Tay, 18th September 1511. Inter test. Dugallo Johneson Notario et domino Jacobo M'Gregour notario-publico.—Reg. Mag. Sig. xvii. 69.

2 Obitus Catherine neyn Donyll M'Clawe alias Grant uxoris Dougalli Johnson apud Tullychmollin xxij. die Julij anno domini M°V°xj.

Memorandum solium crucis in Inchadin compositum fuit per Dougallum Johnson. Anno domini M°V°xxvj°.

Crux lapidea fuit posita in Larkmonemerkyth in magno lapide qui alio nomine vocatur clachur . . . per Dougallum Johnson primo Octobris anno domini, etc., V°xxix.—Chron. Fort.

4 Origines Parochiales, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 161.

was buried in the choir of the old church of Inchadin.[1]

In 1552, a year after his death, Gregor Macgregor, son of the deceased Sir James Macgregor, Dean of Lismore, as became the head of a small but independent sept of the Macgregors, and with a due regard to its safety, bound himself to Colin Campbell of Glenurchy and his heirs, "taking him for his chief, in place of the Laird of Macgregor, and giving him his calp."[2]

In 1557 Gregor and Dougall Macgregors, natural sons of Sir James Macgregor, receive letters of legitimation;[3] and, in 1574, Dougall Macgregor appears as Chancellor of Lismore.[4]

It is unnecessary for our purpose to follow the history of this family any further; suffice it to say, that the two brothers, James and Duncan,[5] members of a clan which, though under the ban of the Government, and exposed to the grasping aggression of their powerful neighbours, the Campbells of Glenurchy, considered themselves as peculiarly Highland, and had high pretensions, as descended from the old Celtic monarchs of Scotland—connected with the Church, and as such, possessing some

[1] Obitus honorabilis viri ac egregii Viri Domini Jacobi (M'Gregor) filii Dougalli Johnson ac decani Lesmorensis Vicarii de Fortyrgill et Firmarii dicte ecclesie . . . bone memorie in nocte Sancte Lucie virginis hora . . . post meridiem et sepultus in die Lucie videlicet . . . Anno Domini M V^{c}lj^{o}. in choro de Inchadin.—Chron. Fort.

[2] Black Book of Taymouth, p. 196.

[3] Precept of Legitimation in favour of Gregor and Dougal MacGregors, natural sons of Sir James MacGregor.—Privy Seal, xxix. 46.

[4] Charter by Dougall Macgregor, Chancellor of Lismoir, with consent of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchy, of the lands of Auchnacroftie, dated at Balloch, 25th December 1574.

[5] Duncan mcCowle voil vic Eoyne Reawych.—MS., p. 223.

cultivation of mind and such literary taste as Churchmen at that time had, yet born and reared in the farm-house of Tullichmullin, in the secluded vale of Fortingall, and imbued with that love of old Highland story and cherished fondness for Highland song, which manifests itself in so many a quiet country Highlander, and which the scenery and associations around them were so well calculated to foster—the one, from his high position in the Church of Argyll, having peculiar facilities for collecting the poetry current in the West Highlands—the other, though his brother, yet, as was not uncommon in those days, his servitor or amanuensis, and himself a poet—and both natives of the Perthshire Highlands—collected and transcribed into a commonplace book Gaelic poetry obtained from all quarters.

This collection has fortunately been preserved. It is, unquestionably, a native compilation made in the central Highlands, upwards of three hundred years ago. It contains the remains of an otherwise lost literature. In it we find all that we can now recover of native compositions current in the Highlands prior to the sixteenth century, as well as the means of ascertaining the extent to which the Highlanders were familiar with the works of Irish poets.

It is a quarto volume of some 311 pages, and is written in the current Roman hand of the period. Though much injured by time, the leaves in part worn away, and the ink faint, it is still possible to read the greater part of its contents.

With the exception of a short Latin obituary, and one or two other short pieces, it consists entirely of a collection of Gaelic poetry made by the two brothers.

At the bottom of the 27th page appears the following note in Latin:—Liber Dni Jacobi Macgregor Decani Lismoren.

At page 78, there is a chronological list of Scottish kings written in the Scottish language, which ends thus:—"James the Fyfte reignis now in great felicitie." He reigned from 1513 to 1542; and, on page 144, there is a genealogy of the Macgregors, written by the brother Duncan, deducing their descent from the old Scottish kings, and he adds a docquet in Gaelic, which may be thus translated:—Duncan the Servitor, the son of Dougall, who was son of John the Grizzled, wrote this from the Book of the History of the Kings, and it was done in the year 1512.[1]

There can be no question, therefore, that this collection was formed during the lifetime of the Dean of Lismore, and a great part of it as early as the year 1512. How it was preserved through that and the succeeding century is unknown. In the last century it passed into the possession of the Highland Society of London, by whom it was transferred to the custody of the Highland Society of Scotland, when a committee of that Society was engaged in an inquiry into the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian, published by Macpherson. It has now been deposited, along

[1] Agis Duncha Deyr oclych mcDowle vec" oyne Reywich di Skreyve so a loywrow Shenchych nyn reig agis ros zenyt Anno Domini 1512.—MS., p. 144. Deyroclych is Daoroglach, and is the Gaelic rendering of Servitor.

with other Gaelic MSS. in the possession of that Society, in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, and forms part of that collection of Gaelic MSS. which have been brought together within the last few years, and contain nearly all the Gaelic MSS. which are known still to exist.[1]

The Dean's MS. differs from all the other MSS. in that collection in two essential particulars. It is not, like the other MSS, written in what is called the Irish character, but in the current Roman character of the early part of the sixteenth century; and the language is not written in the orthography used in writing Irish, and now universally employed in writing Scotch Gaelic, but in a peculiar kind of phonetic orthography, which aims at presenting the words in English orthography as they are pronounced.

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It far resounds,
He 's truly great,
Liberal, just,
Does not despise,
Yet firm resolves,
Gentle, yet brisk,
Forsakes no friend,
In fight of kings,
No powerless arm.
There, fierce his mien
And strong his blow.
When roused his wrath,
He 's third of the chase.
Noble Mac Cumhail,
Soothe and promise,
Give peace to Gaul,
Check wrath and guile.

During my day,
Whate'er it be,
I'd give without guile,
A third of the chase.[1]

Let's hear no more,
Soft dost thou speak,
Finn's love to Gaul,
And third of the hounds.

[1] It would appear from this latter part of the poem, that the difference between Finn and Gaul concerned the right to hunt. It would appear that such a cause of controversy is no modern affair, but that game and game-laws had their place among human interests and human contentions from the earliest period of our country's history. Finn seems to have claimed the right of chase over the whole territory of the Feinn. Gaul resisted and claimed a share for the race of Morn. Hence the contest giving Gaul the appellation of "Fear cogaidh Fhinn," or *resister of Finn*. Fergus's intervention resulted in Gaul's obtaining from Finn, with good will, one-third of the territory called here "fiodh," or *wooded territory*, and one-third of the hounds. There is a curious reference to these hunting rights in one of the poems in praise of the M'Gregors, given in an after-part of this volume, in which it is said that Finn himself dare not hunt without leave.

But made for Erin's King;
With force he aimed a blow,
And smote him with his sword.
Then Art mac Cairbar fell,
Struck with the second blow.
So 'twas that Oscar perished,
With glory, as a King.
Fergus the bard am I,
I've travelled every land,
I grieve after the Feinn,
To have my tale to tell.
Tell.

This tale is by Gilliecallum M' an Olave.[1]

I have heard a tale of old,
A tale that should make us weep;
'Tis time to relate it sadly,
Although it should fill us with grief.
Rury's[2] race of no soft grasp,
Children of Connor and Connal;
Bravely their youth did take the field,
In Ulster's noble province.
None with joy returned home
Of Banva's proudest heroes.

[1] This is the composition of a Poet of whom we know nothing save what we find in this volume. From a poem of his in praise of the M'Gregors, he would appear to have been a Scotchman. The name signifies Malcom, the son of the chief bard or the physician. It is found still in the form of M'Inally. This poem is the Celtic edition of the Persian tale of Zohrab and Rustum. The incidents are so similar, that the two tales must have had a common origin. Whether the Persians received the tale from the Celts, or the Celts from the Persians, or both from some other and older source, it is hard to say. The composition is in Gaelic, usually called, "Bàs Chonlaoich," or *The death of Conlach.*

[2] Clann Rughraidh, a powerful race, who occupied the province of Ulster at an early period, after having expelled the Clann Deaghaidh, or the Dalcassians, afterwards of Munster.

John M'Murrich said this.

The men of Albin, and not they alone,
Unless that M'Gregor survived,
How much wrath would them destroy!
All excellence in Alexander.[1]

Finlay, the red-haired bard, said this.[2]

Gael-like is every leap of the dun horse,
A Gael she is in truth.
It is she who conquers and wins,
In all that I'll now sing.
The praise of speed to her limbs,
In every fierce assault.
Marked, and famous her strength,
While quiet at the house of prayer.
The birds are they who could,
Strive with her in the race.
Not false is the fame of that horse,
The steed both sturdy and swift,
Liker she was to Duseivlin,[3]
Than to the beast of Lamacha.[4]
They who would view her size and triumphs,
Can nowhere find her match.

[1] Alexander was a family name of the Macgregors of Glenstrae. In the obituary contained in this MS. is the following entry:—1526. Obitus Gregorii filii Johannis M'Gregor, alias M'Evine M'Allester de Glenschray. This would indicate the period of Alexander as about the middle of the fifteenth century.

[2] This Finlay is the author of several pieces in this miscellany. He is apparently the Finlay M'Nab to whom another composition is attributed, and is called in one place "Am bard maith," *The good poet.* He seems to have been the family bard of M'Gregor, the praise of whose horse he here proclaims in most poetic strains.

[3] Duseivlin was one of the famous steeds of the Feinn.

[4] The beast of Lamacha, "Aidhre an Lamacha," is entirely unknown to the Editor. The animal is called "Beisd," *a beast,* in a subsequent part of the poem. It must have been some animal famous in the country for its ugliness.

Just like the wheeling of the mountain winds,
Is the action of the prancing steed.
Hundreds admire her paces,
Like one in frenzy passing.
Like the point of an arrow this horse,
Famous are all her doings.
Bands of the great witness her course,
As with speed she rushes.
Though far before her stands the groom,
No blunderer is her rider.
Few are the words would tell her praise,
Like birds on wing her movements.
Her triumphs and paces the same,
Whether 'mong rocks or bogs she moves.
Before that horse all men do fear,
When she comes in the trappings of war.
In the troop, the hunt, or the conflict,
That horse a noble horse is.
That horse is all full of spirit,
As fameworthy she follows the banner.
That wave-like steed, hardy and keen,
Will win for her rider the praise of men.
Forth from her stall she takes the lead,
That gentle, great, and active horse.
She will triumph in speed and slaughter,
Till that the day in evening sinks.
Ready to treasure the girdle of gold,[1]
The field with violence shakes.
Startling, rounded, bright, well shod,
Gentle, broad-backed, coloured well.
A horse of such great fame as this,
I long had heard that they possessed.
Where was ever found her match,
Not he, the beast of Lamacha.
Mac Gregor 's the master of that horse,

[1] The girdle of gold would seem to have been the prize conferred upon the victor in a race.

Prince of the house to poets free.
From Banva men do come to praise,
To Albion they do come to seek,
The man who robs from the Saxon,
And e'er puts his trust in the Gael.

Finlay the red-haired bard.

I am a stranger long to success,
'Tis time that I should have it.
'Tis time now to desist,
From satire justly due.
The way that I shall take,
To seek a noble branch,
Is to the Prince of the Gael,
Where are no worthless guests.
To Mac Gregor the brave,
Head of all the schools;[1]
He's neither cruel nor sparing,
To praise him is our duty.
To whom courage is a right;
When summer time comes round,
Peace he never knows,
He's in the throat of all his fellows.
When men of him do speak,
As Gregor of the blows,
'Tis his delight to drive,
Flocks and herds before him.
Of that flock John's[2] the head,

[1] The schools of the bards. Many Highland bards at this period were trained in Ireland, of which these poems bear evident marks.

[2] In his obituary the Dean enters at 1519, May 24-26, death of John dubh Mac Gregor of Glenstrae, at Stronmelochane. He was buried in Dysart (Glenurchy), north of the great altar, in a stone coffin, upon the 26th of May 1519, on which day there was a great mourning in Glenurchy. The Elizabeth afterwards mentioned was probably the wife of this chief.

The king at lifting cattle,
I myself will sing,
Mouth with mouth at daybreak.
When his sharp-armed men see,
Mac Gregor at the Bealach,[1]
His way so gently soft,
No weight to them their burdens.
Then when war arises,
Proclaimed in enemies' hearts,
It is to him they'd gather,
Clothed in martial dress.
T is of Mac Gregor's fame,
When fighting's left behind.
To men not to be cruel,
His castle full of mirth;
When victory I had left
Upon the field of war,
When of the fight I spoke,
Nought loved my patron more.
Though sad, on the stormy lake,
To tell men of my grief,
To have a crew of mariners,
Is best in battle's day.
Remember I'll be with thee,
Mac Gregor without stain,
In face of any foe,
Long, long's the time.
Gentle Elizabeth,
Change thou my state;
Woman of softest locks,
And of the loftiest brow.
I am.

1 "Bealach," the modern "Taymouth," was, with the territory around, in possession of the M'Gregors down to about 1490, when it passed by Royal charter into the possession of the Knights of Glenurchy.

And now 'tis hard to bear, alas!
That we should lose on every side.
Didst thou, son of Adam, crush
Any cluster of three nuts,
It is to him thou lovest most
The largest third of them thou 'dst give.
Thus of their husk the topmost nut,
Does to clan Neil, ungrudged, belong.
The bountiful have often poured
Their gifts on the dwelling of clan Neil.
The prince, who was the last of all,
Is he who me with gloom has filled.
In half my purpose I have failed,
Jewel, who has roused my grief.
Broken my heart is in my breast,
And so 't will be until I die;
Left by that black and noble eyelid,
Jewel, who hast roused my grief.
Mary, mother, foster-mother of the king,
Protect thou me from every shaft;
And thou, her Son, who all things mad'st.
Jewel, who hast roused my grief.
Jewel.

The author of this is Dougall Mac Gille glas.

Bold as a prince is John[2] in each gathering,
'T were long to sing his race's glory;
Of this there is no doubt 'mong men,
That he is the first of the race of kings.
Mac Gregor of the bravest deeds,

[1] This poet was probably a M'Gregor.

[2] In the Dean's Obits, as already quoted, we find that, in 1519, died John Dow M'Patrick M'Gregor of Glenstray, at Stronmelochan. He was apparently the subject of this laudatory ode. He is called grandson of Malcolm. Accordingly, we find among the Dean's Obits, that Malcolm M'Gregor, son and heir to John M'Gregor of Glenstray, died in 1498.

Is the boldest chief in any land;
Between his gold and Saxons' spoil,
Well may he live in ease and peace.
Choice for courage of the Grecian Gael,
Whose meed of praise shall ne'er decay,
Abounding in charity and love,
Known in the lands of the race of kings.[1]
White-toothed falcon of the three glens,[2]
With whom we read the bravest deeds,
The boldest arm 'midst fight of clans,
Best of the chiefs from the race of kings.
When on Mac Phadrick of ruddy cheeks,
Wrath in battle's hour awaked,
The men who with him share the fight
Are never safe amidst its blows.
Grandson to Malcom of bright eyes,
Whom none could leave but felt their loss,
The generous, gentle, shapely youth,
The readiest hand when aught's to do.
The race of Gregor stand round John,
Not as a weak one is their blow;
The famous race without a fault,
Round him like a fence they stand.
Clan Gregor who show no fear,
Even when with the king they strive,
Though brave Gael may be the foe,
That they count of little weight.
Gael or Saxon are the same,
To these brave men of kingly race,
Sons of Gregor bold in fight,
Bend not before the fiercest foe.
Prince[3] of the host of generous men,

[1] The original is "sliochd an row," or "an rudha." It is translated as if the word were "righe," *kings;* but the Editor is in doubt if this be the word meant.

[2] The M'Gregor's glens were Glenurchay, Glendochart, and Glenlyon.

[3] "Brainean," the word here translated *prince*, is the ancient Gaelic form of the Welsh "Brenhin," *a king*. The word is now obsolete in the Highlands.

To Gregor of golden bridles, heir,
Pity the men whom you may spoil,
Worse for them who you pursue.
Chief of Glen Lyon of the blades,
Shield and benefactor of the Church,
His arm like Oscar's in the fight,
To whom in all things he is like.
Kindness mantles on his red cheek,
Thy praise he justly wins, ungrudged;
Benevolence when to men he shows,
Horses and gold he freely gives.
Mac Gregor of the noble race,
No wonder though bards should fill thy court;
To his white breast there is no match,
But he so famous 'mong the Feinn.
Three fair watches him surround,
Never as captives were his men;
His arm in battle's struggle strong,
Well did he love to hunt the deer.
In mien and manners he was like
The king who ruled amongst the Feinn.
Mac Gregor of the spoils, his fortune such
That choicest men do covet it.
Good and gentle is his blue eye,
He's like Mac Cumhail of liberal horn,
Like when giving us his gold,
Like when bestowing gifts on bards,
Like in wooing or in hunt,
To the Cu Caird[1] among the Feinn.
Fortune attends the race of kings,
Their fame and wisdom both are great,
Their bounty, prudence, charity,
Are knit to them, the race of kings,

1 "Cu ceaird," *The artificer's dog*, is an old name for Cuchullin. It is said in Ireland to have originated in Cuchullin having killed the watch-dog of Cullin, artificer to King Cormac; whereupon he undertook to watch himself, and hence obtained the name of Cullin's dog, or Cuchullin, also "Cu ceaird."

Wine and wax and honey,
These, with the stag-hunt, their delight.
Famous the actions of John's clan,
Like to the sons of the Fenian king;
John himself was like to Finn,
First and chief 'mongst all his men.
Though many sought to have Finn's power,
'Mongst those who fought against the Fenn,
On Patrick's son fortune attends,
His enemies he has overcome.
Mac Gregor who destroys is he,
Bountiful friend of Church and bards.
Of handsome form, of women loved,
He of Glenstray of generous men.
Easy 't is to speak of John,
His praise to raise loud in the song,
Giving his horses and his gold,
Just as a king should freely give.
King of Heaven, Mary virgin,
Keep me as I should be kept;
To the great city fearless me bring
Where dwells the Father of the king.

Bold.

FOND[1] are men of being high-born,
Whatever their wealth may be;
Great scorn of the illegitimate,
Who seek to approach the king.
Hear me, though ye may mock,
Ye race of commons and gentles,
The number of famous chiefs,

[1] This is a curious fragment, and is of interest from the references in it to the Highland clans. The writer, who towards the close gives his name as Maoldomhnaich, *Servus Domini*, was apparently the illegitimate son of some man of note, and was in all likelihood a Maclean.

Remember Colin[1] first of all,
He who was brave amongst the Gael.
Remember that they never gave
Their tax from terror of the Saxon;
Much more it now belongs to thee
To see that thou bear'st not this tax.
Now that there is but thy sire's blood,
Of Gael from the famous land,
Let the men together come,
Let them fill with fear their foes.
Let them attack the Saxon now,
Wake thee up then, són of Colin,
Golden-haired one, war is begun,
'T is not good to sleep too much.
Great.

The author of this is Duncan Mac Dougall Maoil.[2]

The history of the secret origin of John Mac Patrick,[3]
Why should I conceal it?
What belongs to his race is not feeble,
The bearing of that race we love.
Seldom of a feeble race it is,
Among the Gael of purest fame,
That inquiry of their origin is made,
By the men who read in books.
Firm the belief to them and me,
During the evening time so dark,

1 Sir Colin of Argyle, called "Cailean òg," *young Colin*, son of Neil, son of Colin, called "Cailean mòr," from whom the family take the patronymic of "Mac Chailein mhòir," *The son of great Colin.* Cailean mòr was also called "Cailean na Sreang," from a mountain between Loch Awe and Lorn, where he was killed in a feud with the Macdougalls. (MS. Gen. not. of fam. of Argyle, pen. Ed.)

2 This author is one of the writers of the MS., and a Mącgregor. By referring to the genealogy at p. 143 of the MS., we find him designating himself as Dunchadh daoroglach, Mac Dhughaill, Mhic Eoin riabbaich — Duncan the apprentice, son of Dougall, son of John the grizzled.

3 John dow M'Patrick M'Gregor of Glenstrae, who died in 1526.

That in the blood of noble kings
Were the rights of true clan Gregor.
Now that I'm by thy green dwelling,
Listen, John, to thy family story:
A root of the very root we are,
Of famous kings of noble story.
Know that Patrick was thy father,
Malcom father was to Patrick.
Son of black John, not black his breast,
Him who feasts and chariots owned.
Another John was black John's father,
Son of Gregor, son of John the lucky.
Three they were of liberal heart,
Three beneficent to the Church.
The father to that learned John,
Was Malcom, who his wealth ne'er hid,
Son of Duncan, surly and small,
Whose standard never took reproach.
His father was another Duncan,
Son of Gillelan of the ambush,
Noble he was, giving to friends,
Son of the famous Hugh from Urquhay.
Kennan[1] of the pointed spear,
Of Hugh from Urquhay was the father.
From Alpin,[2] of stately mien and fierce,
Mighty king of weighty blows.
This is the fourth account that's given
Of thee, who art the heir of Patrick.
Remember well thy back-bone line,
Down from Alpin, heir of Dougal.
Twenty and one, besides thyself,

1 This is manifestly a mistake for Kenneth. The person meant is Kenneth M'Alpin, King of Scotland. In the genealogy given in p. 144 of the MS., this Kennan is said to have been high King of Scotland, to distinguish him from lesser chiefs, whom the Celts called kings.

2 Alpin, King of the Scots, who flourished in the beginning of the ninth century. Several of the links in the Macgregor genealogy must be wanting in this poem. Even the name of Gregor, from whom the clan is called, does not appear at all.

John the black, not black in heart.
Thy genealogy leads us truly
To the prosperous Fergus M'Erc.
Of thy race, which wastes not like froth.
Six generations wore the crown.
Forty kings there were and three,
Their blood and origin are known.
Three there were north and three to the south,[1]
After the time of Malcom Kenmore.
Ten of the race did wear the crown,
From the time of Malcom up to Alpin.
From Alpin upwards we do find
Fourteen kings till we reach Fergus.
Such is thy genealogy
To Fergus,[2] son of Erc the prosperous.
How many are there of thy race,
Must have been from thee to Fergus!
Noble the races mix with thy blood,
Such as now we cannot number.
The schools[3] would weary with our tale,
Numbering the kings from whom thou 'rt sprung.
The blood of Arthur[4] is in thy bosom,
Precious is that which fills thy veins;
The blood of Cuan, the blood of Conn,[5]
Two wise men, glory of the race.
The blood of Grant in thy apple-red cheek,
The blood of Neil, the fierce and mighty.
Fierce and gentle, at all times,
Is the story of the royal race.

The history.

[1] Both sides of Loch Tay, the ancient Macgregor territory, are still called "Tuaruith" and "Deasruith," *north and south sides.*

[2] First king of the Dalriadic Scots.

[3] The schools of the bards which abounded in Scotland and Ireland at this period, chiefly in Ireland, as may be discovered from this collection, for most of the composers were undoubtedly trained there. Poetry and genealogy were the chief branches studied.

[4] Arthur, King of the Strathclyde Britons, from whom the Campbells also are said to be descended.

[5] "Conn ceud catha," *Conn of the hundred battles,* King of Ireland.

The author of this is Mac Gillindak,[1] the man of songs.

Lords have precedence of chiefs,
It has been so from the beginning;
It is commendable in young men,
That each should have knowledge of this.
The first who was lord of this land
Was Duncan beg (little) of the great soul,
He who as a legacy has left
Their bravery to clan Gregor.
Duncan, great by many spoils,
Was the blessed father of Malcom;
Grandfather he was to princely John,
Him who never broke his pledge.
Gregor, excellent son of Duncan,
Was son to John, and was his heir;
Famous man he was of the country,
From the bright shore of Loch Tullich,[2]
Swarthy John, so pure in speech,
Princely son of John M'Gregor,
Hunter of the well-formed deer,
He like a king aye led the fight.
Malcom of unbending truth,
Know thou John, succeeds his father,
Southwards in fair Glenurchay,
Handsome he was amongst its valleys.
The first place 'mong their ancestors
Is given by the Saxon to clan Gregor,
Of whom were three chiefs loved the hunt,
And were most active in the fight.
In the days of Conn of hundred battles,
I heard of something like this,

[1] We have no tradition respecting this poet. But he must have been a bard of the M'Gregors'. The allusion to the Feinn will be understood by referring to the war-song of Gaul.

[2] Elsewhere translated Loch Tummell. "Tolve" is the word in the original. Loch Tullich lies at the head of Glenurchay.

Is the common fame of his race.
No trial of bravery or skill
Will show weakness in M'Gregor.
Many in his halls are found together,
Men who carried well-sharped swords,
Red gold glittered on their hilts,
The arms of the lion of Loch Awe.
Harmonious music among harps,
Men with dice-boxes in their hands,
Those who leave the game of tables,
Go and lead forth the hounds.
Mac Gregor of red-pointed palms,
Son of Dervail, the Saxon's terror,
No hand like his amidst the fight,
He 't is that ever victory won.
Liberal he ever was to bards,
Gifts which Mac Lamond[1] knows to earn.
Famous for managing his hounds,
A hand so ready with its gifts.
Mary, who stands by his side,
Of noble mind and handsome form,
Poets unite to give her praise,
Her with cheeks as berries red.

Lords.

The author of this is Finlay, the red-haired bard.[2]

The one demon of the Gael is dead,
A tale 't is well to remember,
Fierce ravager of Church and cross,
The bald-head, heavy, worthless boar.
First of all from hell he came,

[1] Probably the chief bard of the MacGregors.

[2] It has been suggested to the Editor that this poet might have been the chief of the Macnabs, the chief of this period being Finlay Macnab of Boquhan; and we know that the Macnabs counted themselves of the same lineage with the Macgregors. There is much in the composition given here, however, to indicate his being an ecclesiastic.

The introduction to the *Dean of Lismore's Book* contains a great deal of matter interesting and quaint in itself, and of special value to all descendants of the MacGregor and allied families. Like most works of its kind of that period it is written in metrical form, and by reason of the peculiarity of its phraseology is rather difficult to understand. The copious footnotes dealing largely with the various families of Scotland prominent at that time are of as much interest as the Book itself.

GENEALOGY OF THE MACGREGORS.

> John son of Patrick, son of Malcom, son of John the black, son of John, son of Gregor, son of John, son of Malcom, son of Duncan the little, son of Duncan from Srulee, son of Gilelan, son of Hugh of Urcby, son of Kenneth, son of Alpin; and this Kenneth was head king of Scotland, in truth, at that time; and this John is the eleventh man from Kenneth, of whom I spoke. —And Duncan the servitor, son of Dougal, son of John the grizzled, wrote this from the books of the genealogists of the kings; and it was done in the year of our Lord One thousand five hundred and twelve.

In many of the more recent works, the eponymos of the race of MacGregor is said to have been a third son of King Alpin, generally called Prince Gregor. I have found no authority for this third son of Alpin, even in the documents making especial mention of Alpin's reign, and only the later historians seem to give any weight to such an origin for the MacGregors. Sir Robert Douglas, speaking of the MacGregors of MacGregor, in the *Baronage of Scotland*, describes them in the following terms, translated from the old Gaelic:

> Children of those native royal sires,
> Who at Dunstaffnage ancient spires,
> From first the crown of Albion bore,
> Which still you love, because your *fathers* wore.

Douglas accepts this poem, placing King Alpin at the head of the list of Scottish kings, but, like others, he traces the descent of the MacGregors back to Prince Gregor in the following terms:

> Though the royal descent of this most ancient clan might be traced from the chronicles of the Scottish kings to the remotest antiquity, we shall carry it no farther back than their immediate undoubted progenitor, Prince Gregor, third son of King Alpin, son of the celebrated Achaius, King of Scotland, who began to reign Anno 787.

Douglas likewise states that Gregor, first chief of the Clan Gregor, was brother to Kenneth, Donald and Achaius MacAlpine; the two former reigned successively from 834 to 859, and to them our earlier historians give prominent places as statesmen and generals.

It is my purpose, in reviewing the various works from which extracts are taken, to give to the reader the most unbiased opinions obtainable, regarding the descent of the MacGregors and their allied branches, such as the MacNabs, MacKinnons, MacQuarries, MacAuleys, MacPhies and others. There is a uniformity in the important matters common to all of them.

Quoting Martin, the historian, as authority, Douglas gives the following descent of some of the prominent families of Scotland and Ireland:

> Prince Gregor was father of Dongallus and Gorbredus, or Corbredus, of whom last all the Macguaries or Macquaries in Scotland, and the Macguires in Ireland, are descended. . . . Dongallus married Spontana, sister to Duncan, a king in Ireland, and their posterity got the name of Macgregor; all of them in this kingdom being descended from him. . . . He died in an advanced age about the year 900, leaving by his said royal consort, two sons, 1. *Constantine;* 2. *Findands*, of whom the Macfindons, Macfingons, or Mackinnons, a numerous and warlike people are descended.

Douglas devotes a great many pages to detailed accounts of the descent of the Chiefs of the Clans for twenty-one generations, making marginal reference to such authorities as *Fordun*, *Wyntown*, *Extracta de Chronicis Scotiæ*, and others. I merely mention those chiefs, as their names may be of interest to some not having access to the work of Douglas:

> I. Gregor; II. Dongallus; III. Constantine; IV. Gregor; V. John; VI. Gregor; VII. Sir John; VIII. Sir Malcolm; IX. William; X. Gregor; XI. Malcolm; XII. Gregor; XIII. Malcolm and John; XIV. Malcolm and Gregor; XV. James and Duncan; XVI. Alexander and Gregor; XVII. Gregor and Duncan; XVIII. Patrick; XIX. John; XX. John; XXI. Robert and Evan.

James Logan, in *The Clans of the Scottish Highlands*, has followed Douglas in the following passage:

> *Is Rioghal mo dhream, i.e.*, my race is royal, is the proud boast of this indomitable clan, and the descent is traced to Griogar, third son of Alpin MacAchai, king of Scotland, who commenced his reign in 787. Doungheal, the elder son, gave the patronymic MacGregor to his posterity, and his brother Guari was the founder of the clan since distinguished as MacQuarrie.

As the following quotation from the Rev. Wm. Nimmo's *History of Stirlingshire* is unusually interesting to the descendants of the MacGregors, I give the passage in full, beginning at page 700 and ending with 706 of the above work:

James Mor MacGregor on 8th September, 1745, joined Colonel MacGregor of Glencairnaig, at Callender in Monteith, with forty of the Clan from Glengyle, and marched through Glenertna to Crieff, whence, joining the Duke of Perth, at the head of three hundred men, they met the Prince in Glenalmond on the 10th. . . . Gregor MacGregor of Glengyle, known also as "James Graham *Glhun-Dhu*" was then old. . . . His only son, John, had on the 28th of July, under the names and addition of "John Graham Younger of Glengyle," been committed prisoner to Edinburgh castle on suspicion of treasonable practice, as every act connected with the restoration of the House of Stuart was termed. . . . He had regained his liberty, for he now served as Captain in the MacGregor regiment. . . . The father was, by Prince Charles, invested with the commission of Colonel, and the command of Doune Castle, Inversnait, etc. . . . On 18th September, 1745, Captain Evan MacGregor was promoted to the rank of Major, and appointed Aide-de-Camp to His Royal Highness.

After an account of the distinguished part taken by the MacGregors in the battles of Preston and Falkirk, he continues:

They were not in the battle of Culloden, as has been noticed with regret in Gaelic song; having gone, with others, in pursuit of the Earl of Loudoun. They, and the Macdonalds of Barisdale's Regiment, had got within a forced march of Inverness, hastening to join the Prince, when they met the news of his defeat. Avoiding the town, they pushed on to Loch Gary.

After the march through Garvamore and Glen Lyon, into Breadalbane and thence to Balquhidder, they found their homes and estates in the following condition:

The conflagration of every house on the estate of Glencairnaig by a person who had received favours from the proprietor, but was now an officious agent of the victor in the late conflict. The cattle were all driven off, and every means of life annihilated. . . . Glencairnaig having, on the royal proclamation, surrendered himself in the autumn to General Campbell, subsequently Duke of Argyle, was, with the Earl of Kelly, Barisdale, and some others, confined, several years, in Edinburgh castle. The expense which he had incurred by levying and paying men, and by his imprisonment, together with the ruined condition of his paternal estate, where neither hut nor hoof remained, had rendered it necessary to bring it to sale. The lands were bought by the late Earl of Moray (1758). . . . It had hold of the dukes of Atholl as part of the Lordship of Balquhidder; which, according to tradition, had anciently belonged to the MacGregors. . . . The Lordship of

Balquhidder was lately purchased from the present Duke by Sir John MacGregor Murray, Baronet of Lanrick and Balquhidder, eldest nephew and male heir of Robert MacGregor Murray of Glencairnaig, and son of Evan MacGregor Murray, formerly mentioned. . . . That a person who had borne so distinguished a part in the campaigns of 1745–6 should have been passed in total silence by their professed historian, amid so much detail in many departments, seems not a little extraordinary; and it may further surprise the reader to be told that Mr. Home well knew Glencairnaig's military history, but suppressed it. Robert MacGregor Murray of Glencairnaig united courage, honour and humanity. He had, before the battle of Culloden, a message from the Duke of Cumberland, that if he and his followers laid down their arms and returned quietly home, their surname should be restored and they receive the countenance and support of Government; or, if they joined His Royal Highness, their commanders should have the same rank, and their promotion be his peculiar care. Glencairnaig, having held a council, replied that "he and his clan thought themselves obliged by the honour His Royal Highness had done them but that, having embarked in this affair, they could not desert it whatever they might suffer should it misgive; that, on the one hand, though His Highness might love the treason, he must needs hate the traitor; and on the other, they would justly incur the odium of their party; that, therefore, they chose rather to risk their lives and fortunes and die with the character of honest men, than live in infamy and hand down disgrace to their posterity."

In David Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders* (1822) is found the statement that in 1745 the military force of the Clan Gregor, as shown by a Government Memorial, was seven hundred men. He adds in a note, that eighteen Highland chiefs fought under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, and remarks upon the number of direct descendants living at that time and in possession of their paternal estates. The chiefs mentioned by him as having been present at Bannockburn are Stewart, MacDonald, McKay, MacIntosh, MacPherson, Cameron, Sinclair, Campbell, Menzies, MacLean, Sutherland, Robertson, Grant, Fraser, MacFarlane, Ross, MacGregor, Munro, MacKenzie and MacQuarrie. Among those also present, but in the opposing army, were Cumming, MacDougal of Lorn, MacNab and a few others:

When we consider the state of turbulence and misrule which prevailed in the Highlands, this unbroken succession for five hundred years of so great a proportion of the chief agitators and leaders is the more remarkable; as there has been a greater change of property within the last forty years of tranquility, abundance and wealth than in the preceding two hundred years of feuds, rapine and comparative poverty.

On the repeal of the act against the MacGregors in 1775,

which permitted them to assume their surname and to sign bonds, deeds, etc., a great many refused to do so, preferring the surnames they had adopted and by which they had become known. In a note on page xvi. of Stewart's work, after a recitation of the trials and exploits of Rob Roy, appears an interesting item:

> In a contract of amity and *manrent* between this Donald MacGregor and John Buchanan, of Arnprior, he is called Colonel. In this contract, which is dated 24th May, 1693, Colonel MacGregor becomes bound, for himself and for all those descended of his family, or "*Clan Duil Cheire*," to support Arnprior in all difficulties and against all aggressors. This "*Clan Duil Cheire*" have lately been brought to notice as the "Children of the Mist" of a celebrated and popular work.

Mitchell dates the Repeal in 1784, and Stewart in 1775.

The history and life of Robert MacGregor Campbell are too well known to need repetition, but a glance into the conditions giving rise to the familiar character of fiction will not come amiss. The authors from whom I have chosen my data are reliable and broad in their conception of his character.

The date of his birth is variously placed between 1657 and 1660. He was the second son of Lieutenant-Colonel Donald MacGregor of His Majesty's service, by a daughter of the Campbells of Glenlyon. His nickname of "Roy" arose from the redness of his hair and complexion. He assumed the surname of Campbell from that of his greatest friend and patron, John, 2d Duke of Argyle, and in the marriage contract between him and Helen Campbell of the family of Glenfallach, dated November 29, 1703, he is styled "Robert Campbell of Inversnait." The well-known picture of him, in the famous blue bonnet, is in the possession of the Argyle family.

Soon after his marriage he settled on the banks of Loch Lomond as a prosperous and peace-loving man, engaged principally in cattle raising and farming. Before 1707 he had purchased the lands of Craignostane from the Montrose family, and thus became neighbour to the Marquis, afterwards Duke of Montrose. The accounts of the dispute between Rob Roy and the Duke of Montrose vary, some authors attributing it to a business transaction, by which they were equally to divide the profits of the sale of cattle purchased and sold; others to a loan, for which Rob Roy stood guarantor, and which subse-

quently led to the insulting of his wife. Two versions are given, of which the reader may take his choice.

David Stewart's version of the transaction is as follows:

"While in this prosperous state, he continued respected for his honourable dealings both in the Lowlands and in the Highlands. Previous to the Union no cattle had been permitted to pass the English border. As a boon or encouragement, however, to conciliate the people to that measure, a free intercourse was allowed. The Marquis of Montrose . . . was the first to take advantage of this privilege and immediately entered into partnership with Rob Roy, who was to purchase the cattle and drive them to England for sale; the Duke and he advancing an equal sum (10,000 merks each, a large sum in those days when the price of the best ox or cow was seldom twenty shillings), all transactions beyond this amount to be on credit. The purchases having been completed, MacGregor (Rob Roy) drove them to England; but so many people had entered into a similar speculation, that the market was completely overstocked and the cattle sold for much less than prime cost. MacGregor returned home and went to the Duke to settle the account of their partnership, and to pay the money advanced, with the deduction of the loss. The Duke it is said would consent to no deduction, but insisted on principal and interest. 'In that case, my Lord,' said MacGregor, 'if these be your principles, I shall not make it my principle to pay interest, nor my interest to pay the principal; so, if your Grace do not stand your share of the loss you shall have no money from me.' On this they separated. No settlement of accounts followed, the one insisting on retaining the money unless the other would consent to bear his share of the loss. . . . His Grace took legal means to recover his money and got possession of the lands of Craignostane on account of his debt. This rendered MacGregor desperate. Determined that his Grace should not enjoy his lands with impunity, he collected a band of about twenty followers, declared open war against him and gave up his old course of droving, declaring that the estate of Montrose should, in future, supply him with cattle, and that he would make the Duke rue the day in which he quarrelled with him. He kept his word and for nearly thirty years, or until the day of his death, levied regular contributions on the Duke and his tenants, not by

nightly depredations and robberies, but in broad day, and in a systematic manner; at an appointed time making a complete sweep of all the cattle of a district; always passing over those not belonging to the Duke's estate, as well as the estates of his friends and adherents. Having previously given notice where he was to be by a certain day with his cattle, he was met there by people from all parts of the country, to whom he sold them publicly. These meetings or trysts, as they were called, were held in different parts of the country; sometimes the cattle were driven south, but oftener to the north and west, where the influence of his friend, the Duke of Argyle, protected him. When the cattle were in this manner driven away, the tenants paid no rent, so that the Duke was the ultimate sufferer." [1]

The account of the transaction, and its ultimate outcome, is given somewhat differently by the Rev. Wm. Nimmo:

> MacGregor of Craignostane had become surety for money borrowed by a friend, and was reduced to sell his estate, which was purchased by the lender, the Marquis of Montrose. . . . Robert Campbell of Inversnait had, with one MacDonald, borrowed in 1708, a sum of his Grace, the Duke of Montrose, for buying cattle. Campbell's partner fled with the money and Inversnait, with all pertinents, was adjudicated for payment. It does not, in any way, appear that the charge of harshness attaches to the then illustrious representative of the noble family of Montrose; but his chamberlain, Graham of Killearn, overzealous in his master's service, had recoursé to a mode of expulsion inconsistent with the rights of humanity, by insulting Mrs. Campbell in her husband's absence. The date of the outrage is not known. It was probably in 1708 or thereafter. The fort of Inversnait, intended to check Rob Roy's incursions, was built in 1713, after repeated interruptions from him. A bag-piper at Arrochar, of the name of MacGregor, plays an admired pibroch, called "Rob Roy's Lament," and, according to tradition, composed by the heroine of the tragedy above related. The husband being, on his return, informed of what had taken place in his absence, withdrew from a scene which he could no longer bear, and vowed vengeance.[2]

According to this account, he took full vengeance on the chamberlain, seizing a part of his Grace's rents, as the only way in which he could regain any part of his own property. According to Stewart he died in 1736. His body lies in the churchyard of the parish of Balquhidder, his grave being marked by a blue

[1] *Sketches of the Highlanders.*
[2] *History of Stirlingshire.*

ROB ROY.

From " Historical Memoirs of Rob Roy."

slaty stone, rudely sculptured, with a sword in *pale*, and without inscription, according to Nimmo.

He left four sons: Coll, the eldest, of a high character for every manly virtue; James, called *Mor* or "Large," who assumed the name of Drummond, and fought bravely as Captain of the MacGregor regiment at Preston; Ronald, and lastly, Robert.

Sir Walter Scott[1] says, "His ideas of morality were those of an Arab chief, being such as naturally arose out of his wild education," and then quotes Wordsworth's poem on *Rob Roy* as follows:

Say, then, that he was wise as brave,
As wise in thought as brave in deed;
For in the principles of things
He sought his moral creed.

Said generous Rob, "What need of books?
Burn all the statutes and their shelves!
They stir us up against our kind,
And worse, against ourselves.

"We have a passion, make a law
Too false to guide us or control;
And for the law itself we fight
In bitterness of soul.

"And puzzled, blinded, then we lose
Distinctions that are plain and few;
These find I graven on my heart
That tells me what to do.

"The creatures see of flood and field,
And those that travel on the wind;
With them no strife can last; they live
In peace, and peace of mind.

"For why? Because the good old rule
Sufficeth them; the simple plan
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.

"A lesson which is quickly learn'd,
A signal through which all can see;
Thus, nothing here provokes the strong
To wanton cruelty.

[1] *Manners and Customs of the Highlanders.*

"And freakishness of mind is check'd,
He tamed who foolishly aspires;
While to the measure of his might
Each fashions his desires.

"All kinds and creatures stand and fall
By strength of prowess or of wit
'T is God's appointment who must sway,
And who is to submit.

"Since then," said Robin, "right is plain,
And longest life is but a day;
To have my ends, maintain my rights,
I 'll take the shortest way."

And thus among those rocks he lived,
Through summer's heat and winter's snow;
The eagle, he was lord above,
And Rob was lord below.

Historians are agreed that the MacAlpins and the MacGregors, in common with other descendants of King Alpin, considered themselves one people, and that those who had previously assumed the name of MacAlpin, no doubt in an effort to propitiate the aid of the more numerous and powerful MacGregors, adopted their name, thus losing all distinction as a separate clan. Anderson[1] defines the clan name as follows:

MacAlpin, a surname held by a branch of the Ross-shire or native Gael, and supposed to have been adopted from the *Albanich*, the first known inhabitants of Scotland. The general denomination Siol Alpin includes several clans, descendants of the race to which belonged Kenneth MacAlpin, under whom the Scots and the Picts were united, namely, the clan Gregor, the clan Grant, the Mackinnons, the Macnabs, the MacDuffies, or Macfies, the MacQuarries, and the Macaulays.

Under the heading of MacAlpin, Douglas[2] says:

The following account of the Macalpins, Macgregors, Macquaries, etc., being made out and transmitted to us by an ingenious gentleman who hath been at great pains in collecting the materials, and with much care and accuracy hath arranged the vouchers, and put them into their proper order, we therefore let them appear to the public as we get them, without making the least alteration in the genealogy.

[1] *The Scottish Nation*, p. 709.
[2] *The Baronage of Scotland*, p. 491.

The gentleman referred to by Douglas was the grandfather of Miss A. G. M. MacGregor, a short review of whose work is found on page 419 of this chapter.

According to Douglas, this clan is universally admitted to be the most ancient in the Highlands. Expressive of its antiquity is the well-known Gaelic adage:

Creio's, uiaga, Alpanich,
N'triur a shinneadh bha n Erin.

Translation:

The hills, the waters, and Alpinian race,
The ancient three who first did Erin grace.

In a note, Douglas states the word "Erin" properly signified the west of Scotland, though some applied it to Ireland. He also states that, "The Alpinian family swayed the Scottish sceptre from King Alpin's days, inter 831 et 834, till the death of Alexander III., in 1285, in which time there were twenty-five kings of them, exclusive of Macbeath, Donald VII. and Duncan II. who usurped the crown." [1] After giving an account of the reign of King Alpin, he continues:

Kenneth the Great, the sixty-ninth King, and third founder of the Scottish monarchy took the patronymic of Kenneth MacAlpin from his unfortunate but magnanimous father, King Alpin. . . . From Prince *Gregor*, the third son of King Alpin, the most ancient, once powerful and still numerous family of the *Macgregors* undoubtedly have their name and descent, and of them several other great clans have sprung. From Fidannus, second son of *Doun-gheall* or Dungallus, son of Prince *Gregor*, the *Macfindons*, afterwards corrupted, Macfingons, now Mackinnons, are descended. . . . The Macalpins, Macgregors and Macfingons, and the progeny of the sons of King Alpin, have heretofore always esteemed themselves one people. . . . We must here observe that the descent of the royal families of Bruce, Baliol and Stewart, and of the Macgregors, of whom the Macquarries, Mackinnons, Grants, Macnabs, etc., from the great Alpinian race, renders this by far the most respectable of all the clans. The *chief seat* was at Dunstaffnage, a very noble, ancient castle, beautifully situated on the sound of Mull. . . . The old thanes of Strathearn were also of this name and family.

In claiming that Bruce, Baliol and the Stewarts were descendants of the royal Alpin line, Douglas agrees with most

[1] The above statement as to the Alpinian family is confirmed by many of the old chronicles given in the present work.

authors of his time. It is also well authenticated that King Robert Bruce and John Baliol married into the family of which Selbach, Dungal, Gregory, Lulach and Malsnechtan were the ancestors, and that the Stewart dynasty came to the throne through marriage into the Bruce family. King James V., a Stewart, when informed of the birth of his daughter, who became Mary, Queen of Scots, exclaimed, "Fairweill, it cam' wi' ane lass and it will pass wi' ane lass," in prophetic reference to the Scottish crown, when James VI. of Scotland became James I. of Great Britain. Of the importance of the reigns of the Alpin family, enough has already been said to prove conclusively that for many centuries their influence and power were felt throughout the civilised world. David Stewart describes the Clan Alpine during the turbulent times of 1797, in the following language:

> This regiment was commanded by Colonel Alexander MacGregor Murray. As the clan of MacGregor are supposed to be descendants of the ancient Alpine kings, who, for so many centuries, ruled the mountains of Scotland, the "Clan Alpine" was an appropriate name for a corps commanded by a MacGregor, and having a great proportion both of officers and men who bore that name. . . . It has been said by friends of the clan that many of their misfortunes originated from the circumstance of their being surrounded by powerful and ambitious neighbours, not always overscrupulous about the means by which they accomplished their purposes, or increased their property; and hence the encroachments which rendered the MacGregors desperate, and led to those acts of violence which caused the interference of the legislature and the suppression of the name. In turbulent times, when law sometimes confirmed what the sword had acquired, it acted as an encouragement to spoliations and to the hopes of obtaining permanent possession of a neighbour's property; but it should be observed that there were many other clans and families similarly situated with the Macgregors, possessing estates in the heart of powerful neighbours, who yet neither suffered from their oppressions nor from legal proscriptions, but retained their estates entire through a succession of centuries sufficiently turbulent. Thus the family of Stewart of Appin preserved their estate entire for four centuries, although nearly surrounded on all sides by the lands of the great Clan Campbell. . . . The clans of Maclachlan and Macnaughton, also, quite in the neighbourhood of Inverary, suffered nothing from feudal turbulence and rapacity. . . . From these and many other instances which might be adduced, it is clear that these smaller proprietors suffered no material injury from the spoliations or conquests of their more powerful neighbours, and therefore it may be supposed that there must have been some pre-existing cause—some violence on the part of the Macgregors —in short (although they were not perhaps so fierce as their enemies represented them) they must yet have been guilty of frequent violations of, and

encroachments on, the peace, property and persons of their neighbours—practices greatly too common in those turbulent times. But whatever may have been the actions or character of this proscribed clan an ample punishment was inflicted on them. As early as 1563 the Parliament of Scotland passed an act of attainder and forfeiture against the Laird of Macgregor, then in possession of the estate of Glenstræ, in Glenerchy. Other severe enactments succeeded the first, and in 1633, an act was passed, declaring it unlawful for any man to bear the name of Macgregor; that no signature bearing that name, no act or agreement entered into with a Macgregor, was legal; and that to take the life of a man of that clan was not an act of felony, or any way punishable; and that no minister or preacher should at any time baptise or christen any male child of the Macgregors; and, to facilitate their extirpation, they were hunted with bloodhounds, taught to follow on the track, and thus discover the haunts and hiding places of the unfortunate clan.

But this species of Algerine law, with all its severities, did not destroy or apparently influence in any manner the spirit of loyalty so characteristic of the Highlanders, which the Macgregors evinced in the great rebellion. All of them who could carry arms joined Montrose (although under other names) and through his whole campaigns proved themselves loyal and true; always ready to bear a part in the execution of his most daring attempts; and, after the establishment of the Commonwealth, they would not submit and were ever annoying the troops stationed in the country to keep down the people.

Of the value of their services to himself and his father, Charles II. was fully sensible; and one of the first Acts of Parliament, after his restoration, was passed to repeal that of 1633, and re-establish the name of Macgregor, with all of its natural and legal rights; "considering," as the act expresses, "that those who were formerly designated by the name of Macgregor had, during the troubles, carried themselves with such loyalty and affection to his Majesty, as might justly wipe out all memory of their former miscarriage, and take off all mark of reproach put upon them for the same."

But this relief was not permanent; for in King William's reign (1693) the original act was renewed, and the Macgregors placed in the same state as in 1633 and the following years; and this law, although not enforced, was allowed to remain on the statute books till the year 1775.[1]

Stewart asserts, however, that the very severity of the law prevented its enforcement, and that the clan found friends and protection among their countrymen. While a few remained in Glenurchy, the site of the last Laird of Macgregor's estate of Glenstræ, many of them are found in Breadalbane, Glenlyon and Menteith, as well as in other parts of Perthshire and the neighbouring counties. He thinks much of this prosperity and

[1] *Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of Highlanders*, vol. ii., pp. 367–371.

renewed respectability is due to the fostering and zealous friendship of Sir John Macgregor Murray, the elder brother of that respected officer who was placed at the head of the Clan Alpin regiment. According to his note:

> In the session of 1774–5, a bill was brought into Parliament, for restoring the name, rights, and immunties of the clan Macgregor. The bill, founded, as is stated in this act, "on the humble petition of Gregor (Macgregor) Drummond, Esq., and many others," passed, as might be expected, without a dissenting voice, and the clan were placed in the same situation as the rest of his Majesty's subjects. I have already had occasion to mention that this gentleman was the handsomest Highlander in a corps said to have been composed of very handsome men, and as such presented to George II. in 1743.

One of the most important poems in the *Poetical Works* of Sir Alexander Boswell is the one termed "Clan Alpin's Vow," too long to be given in its entirety. This poem is based upon an incident in the history of "ye wicked Clan Grigor," according to the Lords of Secret Council, in Edinburgh, February 4, 1589. To a Highlander, particularly to a descendant of a MacGregor, it is one of the finest epic poems ever written. I give only that portion pertaining to Alaster MacGregor's address to his clan, when assembled in the old church in Balquhidder:

> The chief, with air of high command,
> Rose on his seat and waved his hand;
> 'T was silence all, and not a breath,
> As in the lonely vault of death.
>
> "Shall we forget from whence we sprung,
> The songs of war our bards have sung;
> The tide of glory flowing on,
> From age to age, from sire to son?
> Or yield to this despotic sway
> That slowly steals our name away?
>
> "Let courtiers bend their supple backs,
> For parchment-rights and dangling wax,
> By royal mandate call them lords,—
> We bear our charters in our swords;
> Daring we are, 't is true, and rough,
> Our blades are sharp, our spears are tough,
>
> "And faithless foemen fear or feel
> The vengeance of Clan Alpin's steel.

The puny robbers tread in vain,
Our hills; we drive them back again;
And if to flout them to their beards,
We sweep their barn-yards, flocks and herds,

"Some dastard knave, some babe of fear,
Rounds it in easy James's ear
Insidiously, in language mild,
And paints us lawless, cruel, wild,
Oppressors of the weak and good,
Untamable, and men of blood.

"Forth hies a dizen'd herald straight
To market-cross and castle gate,
And thunders fire, and sword, and shame,
On all who boast Clan Alpin's name.
Treason is bandied, and anon,
The curs are packed and hunted on

"To bay the lion in his lair,—
By royal grant our lands they share.
Thus, by foul plan and licensed theft,
Glenlyon gone, Glenurchy reft!
And shall we tamely, day by day,
Yield hill, and heath, and glen away?

"Owes James to simpering parasites,
Imperial crown and princely rights:
Or to his clerks, in cowl and hood,
That now he sits in Halyrude?
Curst be the pedantry of school!
Would thus our Scottish monarch rule
O'er dastard slaves, debased and low,
Whose blood, in sluggish, lingering flow,
May stagnate ere they strike a blow?—
Shall we, to soothe a silk-clad chief,
Forswear the bow and feathered sheaf;

"The soul of fire, the arm of power,
Proud Victory's exulting hour;
The brawny limb, that scales the steep,
Or reckless plunges in the deep,
When melted snows come rolling fast
And shivering Saxons gaze aghast;
Claymore and target cast away,
In servile task-work wear the day;
Barter the chase and mountain joy,
For mean and womanish employ?"

Around an angry murmur ran,
And kindling wrath, from man to man
Flew like the flame that wastes the moor;
Again the chief, "What friends allure
Our monarch's unsuspecting heart,
To play with us the tyrant's part,
While villains whisper in his ears
The service of a thousand years,—

"Our bards have sung, and well we know
That, full five hundred years ago,
King Malcolm, hunting near Mamlern,
By ardour of the chase was borne
Aloof from all his spearsmen bold;
A bristled savage, from his hold
Roused by the noise, with sudden spring,
Launched sidelong at our Scottish king,
And, while he struggled with the boar,
Clan Alpin's chief, Sir Callum More,
Rushed forward to his prince's side.
E'en do, spair nocht, King Malcolm cried.

"Callum uptore a rooted oak,
And, warding off the deadly stroke,
The moment watched, with ready art,
And plunged the dagger in his heart;
Then to the king, as offering meet,
Flung the huge carcass at his feet.
Mark, then, upon that altar spread,
The banner of the mighty dead;
On argent field, the sword in bend,
The crown that it could well defend;
Th' uprooted oak, too, in its place,
The proud pretence of Malcolm's race;
The emblem of its ruin, too,
Unless our hearts are firm and true;
Together stand, together fall,—
The fate of one, the fate of all.

"An upstart, of Hungarian breed,
Covets our birthright, and the meed
Of gallant deeds and fair renown,
By many a hero handed down;
And now, to swell his pampered pride,
Must drive, forsooth, Glenartney's side.
But let that mighty baron learn,
This doughty Steward of Strathearn,

His dream may be of startled deer;
Awake, he 'll find Clan Alpin here.

"Long ere yester sun's first gleam
Had darted on the mountain stream,
Or the hoarse raven, for the hills,
Had shook his plumes and trimmed his quills,
Lord Drummond's men were on their way;
Brave Eachine Deargh, of all the clan
Steps there a braver, better man?
Beneath the rock where Eachine slept,
Lord Drummond's minion, Maurice crept,
To shun the herd and gain the wind—
His villains tarried far behind.
Eachine aroused, in parley short,
With angry word forbade the sport;
The angry word came back again;
The fight was short and Maurice slain.
Eachine did well! a foeman bled!

"And shall upon his gallant head
The fury of the courtiers light—
Who vindicates Clan Alpin's right?"
The chief arose; with rapid stride
He gained the sacred altar's side,
Where many a penitent had knelt,
And keen remorse had deeply felt,
And pardon asked of pitying heaven,
And meekly hoped that pardon given.
In Malcolm's soul rage uncontrolled
Held its wild sway; his eyeballs rolled;
He cast a furious glance around,
Struck his claymore upon the ground
And pausing, on the banner gazed;
Then cried in scorn, with finger raised—
"This was the boon of Scotland's King!"
And with a quick and angry fling,
Tossing the pageant screen away—
The dead man's head before him lay;
Unmoved, he scanned the visage o'er,
The clotted locks were dark with gore,
The features with convulsions grim,
The eyes contorted, sunk and dim.

But, unappalled, in angry mood,
With lowering brow, unmoved he stood.

Upon the head his bared right hand
He laid, the other grasped his brand;
Then, kneeling, cried—"To Heaven I swear
This deed of death I own and share;
As truly, fully mine, as though
This my right hand had dealt the blow.
Come, then, our foemen,—one, come all;
If to revenge this caitiff's fall,
One blade is bared—one bow is drawn,
Mine everlasting peace I pawn
To claim from them, or claim from him,
In retribution, limb for limb.
In sudden fray or open strife,
This steel shall render life for life."

He ceased; and at his beckoning nod,
The clansmen to the altar trod;
And not a whisper breathed around,
And nought was heard of mortal sound,
Save from the clanking arms they bore,
That rattled on the marble floor;
And each, as he approached in haste,
Upon the scalp his right hand placed;
With livid lips and gathered brow,
Each uttered in his turn his vow.

Fierce Malcolm watched the passing scene,
And searched them through with glances keen,
Then dashed a tear-drop from his eye—
Unbid it came—he knew not why.
Exulting high, he towering stood;
"Kinsmen," he cried, "of Alpin's blood,
And worthy of Clan Alpin's name,
Unstained by cowardice and shame!
E'en do, spair nocht, in time of ill,
Shall be Clan Alpin's legend still."

The close relationship between the clans Alpin and MacGregor and other clans of Scotland has been mentioned. William Anderson[1] says regarding these allied families:

MacAdam, the surname of a family who were originally MacGregors, descended from Gregor MacGregor, the chief, whose second son, Gregor, captain of the clan, with his cousin, Gilbert MacGregor, progenitor of the Griersons of Lagg, took refuge in Galloway, after the outlawry of the clan

[1] *The Scottish Nation*, vol. ii., pp. 707–709.

Gregor. After being guilty of various acts of depredation and marauding, Gregor was at last captured and executed at Edinburgh. His son, Adam MacGregor, the ancestor of this family, changed his name to Adam MacAdam.

McAulay, the name of a minor clan, claimed as one of the seven great branches of the Siol Alpin, undoubtedly the purest and oldest of the Gael. Their badge of distinction was the pine. . . . The McAulays consider themselves a sept of the clan Gregor, their being designed of Ardincaple from his residence in Dumbartonshire. That property was in their possession in the reign of Edward I. . . .

In a bond of manrent, or deed of clanship, entered into between MacGregor of Glenstræ, and McAulay of Ardincaple, of date 27th May, 1591, the latter acknowledges his being a cadet of the former, and agrees to pay him the "calp," that is a tribute of cattle given in acknowledgment of superiority. In 1694, in a similar bond given to Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, they again declared themselves MacGregors. . . . "Their common connection with the MacGregors," says Mr. Skene, "led them to take some part in the feuds that unfortunate race were at all times engaged in, but the protection of the earls of Lennox seems to have relieved the McAulays from the consequences which fell so heavily on the MacGregors."

Sir Aulay McAulay was the chief who entered into the alliance with the clan Gregor above mentioned (1591). When the MacGregors fell under the ban of the law, he became conspicuous by the energy with which he turned against them, probably to avert suspicion from himself, as a bond of caution was entered into on his account on September 8, 1610.

Dugald Mitchell gives a somewhat different version of the origin of the McAulays:

In 1591 and 1594, in bonds of manrent, an acknowledgment of kinship with the Macgregors is made by the chief of the MacAulays of Ardencaple. Notwithstanding this fact, however, it is contended that the MacAulays are descended from Aulay (Olave or Amhlaibh), brother of Malduin, earl of Lennox, who lived in the thirteenth century. Another tribe bearing the same name has long been resident in the south-west of Lewis.[1]

Anderson continues:

MacDuffies or *MacFies*. *McFie* or *MacPhee*. *McFie*, the name of a former clan of the island of Colonsay, Argyleshire, a branch of the Siol Alpin, in Gaelic *clann Dhubhi*, hence MacDuffie, softened into MacPhee. The name implies a dark coloured tribe.[2]

MacPhie, or *MacFie*, a contraction of MacDuffie, the name of a clan which held the island of Colonsay in Argyleshire, till the middle of the seventeenth century, when they were dispossessed of

[1] *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, p. 285.
[2] *The Scottish Nation*, vol. ii., p. 732.

it by the Macdonalds. They were a branch of the ancient Alpionic race of Scotland, and like all the tribes that claimed to be so, adopted the pine for their badge. On the south side of the church of the monastery of St. Augustine in Colonsay, according to Martin (writing in 1703) "lie the tombs of Macduffie, and of the cadets of his family; there is a ship under sail, and a two-handed sword engraven on the principal tombstone, and this inscription; *Hic Jacet Mal Macduffie de Collonsay;* his coat of arms and colour staff is fixed in a stone, through which a hole is made to hold it. About a quarter of a mile on the south side of the church there is a cairn, in which there is a stone cross fixed, called Macduffie's cross; for when any of the heads of this family were to be interred, their corpses were laid on this cross for some moments, on their way toward the church. . . . The name of the Macduffie chief in 1531 was Murroch. In 1609, Donald Macfie in Colonsay was one of the twelve chiefs and gentlemen who met the bishop of the Isles, the King's representative, at Iona, when, with their consent, the nine celebrated "Statutes of Icolmkill" were enacted. . . . A branch of the clan Duffie, after they had lost their inheritance, followed Cameron of Lochiel, and settled in Lochaber. At the battle of Culloden several of them were slain.[1]

The MacDuffs are probably descended from Greg, Kenneth IV., the "son of Dubh"—"son of Duf"—"son of Duff." He was given these various descriptive names when not styled *Kenneth mac Duff*, or *Kenneth mac Dubh*. If this be true, they are entitled to the name of MacDuff, or MacGregor, and were the direct descendants of the royal Alpin line.

According to Anderson:

MacKinnon, the surname of a minor clan (badge, the pine), a branch of the *Siol Alpin*, sprung from *Fingon*, brother of Anrias and Andrew, ancestor of the Macgregors. This *Fingon*, or *Fingum*, is mentioned in the MS. of 1450 as the founder of the clan *Finguin*, that is, the *Mackinnons*. Their seat was in the islands of Skye and Mull, and they formed one of the vassal tribes of the lords of the Isles. The first authentic notice of them is to be found in an indenture . . . between the lords of the Isles and the lord of Lorn. . . .

As a proof of the common descent of the Mackinnons, Macgregors and the Macnabs, although their territories were far distant from each other, two bonds of friendship exist, which are curious specimens of the manners of the times. The one dated 12th July, 1606, was entered into between Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathordell and Finlay Macnab of Bowaine . . . "and the said Lauchlan and Finlay being come of ane house, and being of ane surname and lineage, notwithstanding the said Lauchlan and Finlay this long time bygane oversaw their awn duties till udderis, in respect of the

[1] *The Scottish Nation*, vol. iii., pp. 66–67.

long distance betwixt their dwelling places," etc. . . . And are "content to subscribe to the same, *with their hands led to the pen.*" . . . The other bond of manrent, dated at Kilmorie, in 1671, was between Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathordell and James Macgregor of Macgregor, and it is therein stated that "for the special love and amitie between these persons, and condescending that they are descended lawfully *frae twa breethren of auld descent*, wherefore and for certain onerous causes moving, we witt ye we to be bound and obleisit, likeas by the tenor hereof we faithfully bind and obleise us and our successors, our kin, friends and followers, faithfully to serve ane anither in all causes with our men and servants, against all who live or die."

During the civil wars the Mackinnons joined the standard of the marquis of Montrose, and formed part of his force at the battle of Inverlochy, Feb. 2, 1645. In 1650 Lauchlan Mackinnon, the chief, raised a regiment of his clan for the service of Charles II., and at the battle of Worcester, in 1646, he was made a knight banneret.[1]

Macnab, the name of a clan anciently located in the district of Breadalbane, Perthshire, the badge of which was the common heath. The clan Anaba or the Macnabs are erroneously held to belong to the old Celtic race, or primitive Albionic stock of Scotland, which were among the clans included under the general denomination of *Siol Alpin*, of which the clan Gregor was the principal. The chief, styled Macnab of that ilk, had his residence at Kinnell, on the banks of the Dochart, and the family possessions, which originally were considerable, lay mainly on the western shores of Loch Tay. In the reign of David I. (1124–1153) the name was, it is said, *Macnab-Eyre*, and signified the *son and heir of the abbot.* According, however, to the view taken in this work of the prefix Mac, as being no more than a contraction of *magnus*, great, this legend cannot be admitted, although it has been stated that the founder of this clan held the dignity of abbot of Glendochart. . . . From the frequent use of the words "*of that ilk*" in the charters of the family of Macnab, it would appear, notwithstanding the received tradition as to the derivation of the name, that the origin of it is territorial or from land. There is not an instance in Scottish where the words "*of that ilk*" are employed, in which this is not the case. And if the form of the name be given correctly as Macnab-Eyre, the source of the territorial designation may with great probability be conjectured. The Gaelic word for heir is not *Eyre* but *Oighre*. . . . The Macnabs were a considerable clan before the reign of Alexander III.[2]

Macquarrie (clan Guarie), the name of a minor clan which possessed the small island of Ulva, one of the Argyleshire Hebrides, with a portion of Mull, and the badge of which was the pine. The Gaelic MS. of 1450 deduces their descent from Guarie or Godfrey, called by the Highland Sennachies, Gor or Gorbred, said to have been a brother of Fingon, ancestor of the Mackinnons, and Anrias or Andrew, ancestor of the Macgregors. This is the belief of Mr. Skene, who adds: "The history of the Macquarries

[1] *The Scottish Nation*, vol. iii., pp. 27, 28.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 51–53.

resembles that of the Mackinnons in many respects; like them they had migrated far from the headquarters of their race, they became dependent on the lords of the Isles, and followed them as if they had become a branch of the clan."

According to a history of the family, by one of its members, in 1249 Cormac Mhor, then chief of Ulva's isle, joined Alexander II., with his followers and three galleys of sixteen oars each, in his expedition against the western islands, and after that monarch's death in the island of Kerrera, was attacked by Haco of Norway, defeated and slain. His two sons, Allan and Gregor, were compelled to take refuge in Ireland, where the latter, surnamed Garbh, or the rough, is said to have founded the powerful tribe of the MacGuires, the chief of which at one time possessed the title of Lord Inniskillen. Allan returned to Scotland, and his descendant Hector Macquarie of Ulva, chief in the time of Robert the Bruce, fought with his clan at Bannockburn. . . . The first chief of whom there is any notice in the public records was John Macquarrie of Ulva, who died in 1473. His son Dunslaff was chief when the last lord of the Isles was forfeited twenty years afterwards. After that event, the Macquarries, like the other vassal tribes of the Macdonalds, became independent. In war, however, they followed the banner of their neighbour Maclean of Dewart. . . . In 1609 Gillespock Macquarrie of Ulva was one of the island chiefs present on the island of Iona when the nine "Statutes of Icolmkill" were passed. Allan Macquarrie of Ulva was slain, with most of his followers, at the battle of Inverkeithing against the English parliamentary troops, 20th July, 1651, when the Scots army was defeated, and a free passage opened to Cromwell to the whole of North Scotland.[1]

There is little doubt that the names of MacQuarrie and MacGuire are of common Scottish origin. Note the above statement that "His two sons, Allan and Gregor, were compelled to take refuge in Ireland, where the latter, surnamed Garbh, or the rough, is said to have founded the powerful tribe of the MacGuires, the chief of which at one time possessed the title of Lord Inniskillen." Compare this statement with the following: "Allan returned to Scotland, and his descendant, Hector MacQuarrie of Ulva, chief in the time of Robert the Bruce, fought with his clan at Bannockburn." Also that "The first chief of whom there is any notice in the public records was John MacQuarrie of Ulva, who died in 1473."

Douglas defines the origin of the MacQuarrie family as follows:

The surname of *MacQuarie* is a branch of the Alpinian race, their founder being Godfredus, or Gorbredus, second son of Prince Gregory, son

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 67, 68.

of Alpin *ruodh*, that is, red haired, king of Scotland, who flourished inter annos 790 et 834, as in the preceding title.[1]

Gregory, a surname, originally a baptismal name, not confined to Scotland, as it was that of several popes and illustrious men on the continent, but remarkable as the surname of a family by descent MacGregors, distinguished for literary and scientific talent. . . . In 1624 about three hundred of the clan Gregor were transported to the north by the earl of Moray from his estate in Monteith, to oppose the MacIntoshes, most of whom settled in Aberdeenshire.[2]

In the Appendix is included the reproduction of a small book published in 1873 by Georgiana Gregory. I was fortunate enough to obtain one of the twenty-five copies published. The history of the family as contained in the facsimiles refers to those descendants of the clan of Gregor, who were transported by the earl of Moray. Regarding this same family, the following description of a visit of Rob Roy to Aberdeen is given by Sir Walter Scott:

While in the city of Aberdeen, Roy Roy met a relation of a very different class and character from those he was sent to summon to arms. This was Doctor James Gregory, by descent a MacGregor, the patriarch of a dynasty of Professors, distinguished for literary and scientific talent; and grandfather of the late eminent physician and accomplished scholar, Professor Gregory of Edinburgh. This gentleman was at the time Professor of Medicine in King's College, Aberdeen; and son of Doctor James Gregory, distinguished in science as the inventor of the Reflecting Telescope.

Of the house Grierson, Anderson states:

Grierson, a surname synonymous with MacGregor . . . and sometimes abbreviated into Grier, or Greer. The family of Grierson of Lag in Dumfriesshire is descended from Gilbert 2nd, son of Malcolm, dominus de MacGregor, who died in 1374. . . . The family of Lag seem to have shortened their name to Grier, which they bore for some generations, in consequence, it is supposed, of the proscription of the name and clan of MacGregor. . . . Before 1400 Gilbert MacGregor received charter from George de Dunbar, Earl of March of the Netherholm of Dolgannock, to him and his heirs male, to be called by the surname of Grierson. The same Earl also granted charter, dated Dunbar, 1400, of the lands of Airdes and lying in the Baroncy of Tyberis, and shire of Dumfries, to the said Gilbert.[3]

From the above, it seems that the first person of historical mention to assume the surname of Grierson, Grier or Greer, was

[1] *The Baronage of Scotland*, p. 565.
[2] *The Scottish Nation*, vol. ii., p. 376.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 382.

Gilbert MacGregor, in 1400. I have no doubt that Anderson's account is correct.

Rev. Donald D. Mackinnon[1] furnishes the following account of the Fingons:

Fingon. In recent times an ancient document has been discovered, which traces the origin of the Clan to Fergus II. the Great, son of Erc, who held a part of Britain with the Dalriadic Kingdom, and died A.D. 502. This record is from the pen of Tighernac, the Irish Annalist, who died A.D. 1088, having been contemporary with Duncan, Macbeth and Malcolm Canmore. It is the earliest authentic document on this subject extant, and as such is entitled to great attention, while the likelihood of its accuracy is strengthened by the testimony of two very ancient corresponding documents and by other trustworthy records of the earliest history of the Kingdom of Scotland. . . . Tighernac also makes mention of the fact that Lochene, the son of Fingon, King of the Cruithne or Picts, died A.D. 645; that Kenneth, son of Alpin, King of the Picts, died A.D. 858; and that Donald, son of Alpin, King of the Picts, died A.D. 862. . . . On the other hand, the family Trees all agree in tracing the Clan to Ailpein, King of Scotland, commonly called Alpin, who was slain by Brudus, King of the Picts, from whom he wrested the sceptre of that kingdom A.D. circ. 834. . . . As this ancestry has been generally accepted, I have adopted it in my genealogy. . . .

Mackinnon accepted the Prince Gregor story, as have most modern writers:

When Ailpein, the sixty-eighth traditional, but twenty-eighth authentic, King of Scotland, was slain A.D. 834 in battle near Dundee, by Brudus, King of the Picts, from whom Ailpein had wrested the Pictish sceptre, he left three sons, the youngest of whom was Prince Gregor, who did not succeed his brothers to the throne. Prince Gregor's eldest son Doungallus married Spontana, daughter of a King of Ireland, and his second son was Findanus who circa A.D. 880–900 was seized of the estates of Tobermory in the Isle of Mull, at first the principal seat of the Clan Fingon, who sprang from him. He also occupied Findanus Castle, in the Isle of Skye, which is known by the name of Mackinnon Castle at the present day (1899).

We may here remark that there are six other clans who trace from King Ailpein, and who came into existence, migrated and dispersed about the same period, viz., A.D. 900, and their claim to the distinction of being the noblest and most ancient of the Highland clans has been acquiesced in by the other clans. Their proud old motto, "*S'rioghail mo dhream*" (my race is royal), was acknowledged by all, and survived the successive ages of independent Scottish history from the beginning to the end. It is indeed a pity that the distinctive family mottoes which now hold place should ever have been adopted to the abandonment of that to which they all had a

[1] *Memoirs of Clan Fingon*, pp. 1–9.

right, and which might have bound them together even to this day. These clans are, besides the Mackinnons, Clan Gregor, MacNab, MacAulay, MacPhie, Grant and MacQuarrie.[1]

Of the Grants, Anderson says:

Grant, the Gaelic derivation of the surname is not only fictitious but absurd. According to the received dictum of the Gaelic Genealogies, the founder of the Clan Grant is said to have been Gregor, second son of Malcolm, chief of the Macgregors (living in 1160), who from his ungainly appearance bore the designation of *grannda*, ill-favoured, hence the name of the Clan Grant.[2]

James Logan states:

It is a proof of the high antiquity of a clan when its origin is lost in the gloom of remote ages. Various opinions have been given respecting the *Grants*, and genealogists have indulged their imaginations in deriving them from Denmark, from France and from England. The generally adopted history informs us that the founder of the clan was Gregor, second son of Malcolm, chief of the MacGregors, who flourished in 1160, and bearing the epithet *Grannda* from his unhandsome appearance; that he established himself in the north, and was the progenitor of all those who are distinguished by that name. It has never, indeed, been disputed that the Grants are a branch of the Siol Alpin, the chief division of whom is Clan Gregor. . . . The written record of the noble house of Grant commences with Gregor, who was sheriff of Inverness in the reign of Alexander II. anno 1214–1249. His son Laurin, or Laurence, appears witness in a deed of the bishop of Moray, 1258, and his grandson, Sir Iain, was a resolute adherent of the immortal Wallace.[3]

The Clan Grant, according to Skene, uniformly trace their ancestry to Gregor mor MacGregor, of the twelfth century. This is evidenced by the fact that they use the same badge of distinction. Early in the eighteenth century a meeting of the two clans was held in the Blair of Atholl, to consider the policy of uniting the two. Upon this point all agreed, and also that the common surname should be MacGregor, if the reversal of the attainder of that name could be got from the government. If that could not be obtained, it was agreed that either MacAlpine or Grant should be substituted. This assembly of the Clan Alpine lasted fourteen days, and was only rendered abortive by disputes as to the chieftainship of the combined clan.[4]

[1] *Memoirs of Clan Fingon*, pp. 9, 10.
[2] *The Scottish Nation*, vol. ii., p. 359.
[3] *Clans of Scottish Highlands*.
[4] *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 255.

Skene places the Grants among the clans properly belonging to the Siol Alpine, and by recording the individual careers and marriages of several of the more important members of the clan, shows their close relationship to the family of Gregory. In a *Table of the Descent of the Highland Clans*, he has assigned the same rights to the Fingons, or MacKinnons, the MacNabs, MacDuffies, MacQuarries, MacAulays and the MacPhies.

In *The Clans and Tartans*, Logan states it has never been disputed that the Grants were a branch of the Siol Alpine:

> The chief division of the Siol Alpine is the MacGregors, and Doungal gave his patronymic MacGregor to his posterity; and his brother Guare was founder of the clan since called MacQuarrie.

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* includes in the *Siol Alpin*, the MacGregors, the Grants, MacKinnons, MacNabs, MacPhies, MacQuarries and MacAulays.

Gregory le Grant, sheriff of Inverness, is the first of the name of Grant whose acquaintance we make.

> The name is probably a personal epithet derived from the Gaelic *Grannda*, signifying ill-favoured or harsh featured. It may, however, be territorial. Traditionally they are considered to be of the Siol Alpin and closely allied to the MacGregors, and efforts were made early in the last century to reunite them under the name of MacGregor. It will be observed that the first historic name of Grant bears the Christian name of Gregory.[1]

Anderson voices the general idea as to surname *Greig*, which is a visible error, the name being older by several centuries than *Gregor:*

> *Greig*, a surname which may either be the diminutive of Gregor or Gregory, and in this respect assumed by one of the MacGregor clan when that name was proscribed.[2]

Count de Montalembert says:

> Aidan was the first prince of the Scots who passed (A.D. 574) from the rank of territorial chief to that of independent king, and head of a dynasty whose descendants were one day to reign over the three kingdoms of Great Britain. . . . His direct descendants reigned up to 689. They were then replaced by the house of Lorn, another branch of the first Dalriadic colony, whose most illustrious prince, Kenneth MacAlpine, induced the Picts to recognise him as their king in 842. The famous MacBeth and his conqueror Malcolm Canmore, the husband of St. Margaret, were both descended from Aidan, or of the lineage of Fergus. The male line of these

[1] *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, pp. 289, 290.

[2] *The Scottish Nation*, vol. ii., p. 381.

Scottish kings of Celtic race ended only with Alexander III. in 1283. The dynasties of Bruce and Stuart were of the female line. . . . According to local and domestic traditions, the great modern clans of Macquarie, Mackinnon, Mackenzie, Macintosh, Macgregor, Maclean, Macnab, and Macnaughton, are descended from the primitive Dalriadans.[1]

Under notes of a visit made to Iona in 1862, he states:

But all historians agree in stating that, from the fabulous times of Fergus until MacBeth, Iona was the ordinary burying place of the kings and nobles of the Scottish race. . . . There are still to be seen tombs bearing the arms of the Macdougals, Lords of Lorn, the Macleods, Mackinnons, Macquaries, and especially Macleans—that is to say, of all the chiefs of the clans of the adjacent districts, along with several tombs of bishops, priors and other ecclesiastics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[2]

[1] *The Monks of the West*, vol. iii., p. 187.
[2] *Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 463.

CHAPTER XI

DUNNIDEER CASTLE AND ECCLESGREIG

Location of Dunnideer Castle—Skene's "Duine Duirn"—Ordnance Survey Maps Establish Proper Location—Views of Earlier Writers—Gazetteer of Scotland—Further Confirmation of Location—"Dunnideer" in Many Forms—As a Vitrified Fort—Statistical Accounts of Scotland—The Church of Greg—Destruction of Religious Edifices—Etchings from De Cardonnell of Iona—St. Andrews—Melrose—Dryburgh—Lagg.

DUNADEER.

THIS Caſtle, alſo called DUN O' DORE, ſtands on the ſummit of a conſiderable hill, riſing out of the flat country of the Garrioch, about twelve miles from Old Meldrum.

It was a place of great ſtrength, defended by a double ditch and rampart. The building is now entirely demoliſhed, except part of one end, which is the ſubject of the above Plate.

It is ſaid to have been the reſidence of *Gregory the Great*, King of Scotland, who, in the year 892, according to Leſlie and other Scottiſh hiſtorians, died in this Caſtle; and was from thence carried to Jona, where he was buried.

THE Castle of Dunnideer, and Ecclesgreig, Greg's Church, now known as St. Cyrus, are two places in Scotland that commemorate the reign of King Gregory. By the use of documents it is shown that the Castle of Dunnideer is situated in the Garioch and not on Loch Earn, as stated by Skene alone. This location, he bases upon his interpretation of the "Prophecy of St. Berchan," a document in reality written long after the happening of the events related:

DUNADEER, OR DUN O' DORE.

Castle of Gregory the Great, King of Scotland, A.D. 875-893.

From "Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland." By A. de Cardonnell, London, 1788.

Iar sin nos geabhaidh an Ri
Do lar *Duine Duirn*, drechbhuidhe,
In Rhaoth as *Dun Duirn* Duanach
Cidh adhmbar ni h-ilbhuadhach,

translated by Skene as follows:

Afterwards the King shall possess
From the middle of *Dundurn*, yellow faced,
The Raoth from *Dundurn* of songs,
Though fortunate yet not all conquering.[1]

He has also used the following couplet in connection with the first to establish his contention:

Is lais fichtir in teach teann,
Uch! mo chraoidhe, ar bhrughadh Eirenn,
Biaidh dath dearg atteagh mo 'cheann,
Do faoth le Feraibh Forthrenn.

The translation reads as follows:

By him shall be attacked the powerful house,
Ah! my heart, on the banks of the Earn,
Red shall be the colour in the house before him,
He shall fall by the men of Fortrenn.

Skene has, therefore, taken "Duine Duirn," and translated it into "Dundurn," and because there is a "Dundurn" on Loch Earn, he locates it there:

Dundurn was by later historians identified with Dunadeer in Aberdeenshire, and upon this Chalmers built his theory that Grig was Maormor of the region betwixt the Dee and the Spey; but St. Berchan shows that it was Dundurn on Loch Earn.[2]

According to Skene, the tradition that Gregory died in the Castle of Dunnideer in the Garioch is the "creation of our fabulous historians," among whom he evidently places Fordun, Wyntown, Boece and others. I have examined hundreds of books and documents without avail in my effort to find some trace of the Castle of Dunnideer on Loch Earn. In the many works quoted and reproduced in facsimile, the *Castle of Dunnideer* (or Dunadeer) is uniformly located in the Garioch, a

[1] Italics are mine.
[2] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. cxxxvi.

region lying between the Dee and the Spey. Nearly all of these documents record the tradition that it was once the residence of Gregory the Great. *Fordun*, writing in 1394, states:

> But this glorious king Gregory, after a vigorous reign of eighteen years, all but a few months, closed the last of his days at Donedoure, and lies buried in the island of Iona.

Wyntown, writing in 1420, says:

> Dis Greg, that I spak of befoure
> Tuk his endying at Dundorne.

And in the epitaph given by *Wyntown*, the following statement is found:

> Greg sua jura gerens annis deca rex fit et octo;
> In Dundoure probus morte retentus erat.

In 1526, *Boece* makes the following statement as to Greg's reign and death, going a little more fully into the location of the castle than others have done:

> And deceissit in Durndore ane castel of Gareach, the XVIII. yeir of his regne, fra the incarnation DCCCXCIII; and was buryit in Columekill.

Skene has, of course, considered these three writers "*fabulous*," but there is every evidence that their works approximate the truth more closely than those of most modern writers. E. W. Robertson states:

> On the accession of Aodh, or Hugh, the surviving son of Kenneth, his pretensions were disputed by Cyric, or Grig Mac Dungal, a chieftain whose residence at Dundurn, or Dunadeer in the Garioch, marks his preeminence among the northern magnates whose allegiance had been transferred to Thorstein.[1]

In a note he says:

> Dundurn, or Dunadeer, in the Garioch, appears to have held the same place among the northern Picts as Dunfothir, or Forteviot, in the south; *i.e.*, it was the capital of the leading province.

He gives Gregory a reign of eighteen years, and states that he died peacefully at Dunadeer, quoting in a note his authority for the statement:

[1] *Scotland Under Her Early Kings*, vol. i., pp. 49–51.

Wyntown, Fordun and the Chron. Ryth., at the end of Chron. Mel.—the same evidently as that quoted by Wyntown—agree in giving eighteen years to Cyric, and placing his death at Dundurn, Dornedeore or Dunadeer in the Garioch.

In describing the territory of north-eastern Scotland, Robertson says:

Whilst toward the north it is bordered on the marshes of Mar, or whatever name the district may have been known, which was once the principality of Cyric, [and explains in a note:] The Isla and Dee are the boundaries assigned to one of the old Pictish kingdoms in the description of Andrew, bishop of Caithness.

James Logan describes the castle as one of the ancient vitrified forts peculiar to Scotland:

The castle of Dun'adeer, in the district of Gariach, Aberdeenshire, is a curious vestige of vitrification. . . . Dun'adeer was a royal residence, and it is a historic fact that Gregory the Great died here in A.D. 892.

George Chalmers, also, in an account of Gregory, whom he terms "Grig," describes his reign and death as follows:

And it is obvious that from descent he was merely the Maormor of the ample country comprehending Aberdeen and Banff. . . . Owing to some cause, which is not intimated in any of the Chronicles, though it is so unusual, Grig was allowed to live four years after his dethronement; and he died by a quiet expiration at his castle of Dunadeer during the year 897.[1]

In a note, Chalmers gives the following additional information:

The Dundurn in the Chronicle of St. Andrew's, and the Dunduren in the Chronicos Elegiacum, mean Dunadurie, the well known hill of Dunadeer, in the Garioch, Aberdeenshire; on the summit of this conical mount there is the remains of an ancient castle; which had consisted of a double court of buildings that appear to have been partly constructed of the ruined ramparts of a still older vitrified fortification around the summit. The tradition of the country states that this castle was inhabited by Grig, who therein finished his guilty career. (Description of the Gariach in the Edinburgh Magazine, 1760, p. 452; Cordiner's Antiquities, pp. 32–33; Statistical Account, 2 XVII. p. 463.) And the same tradition appears to have existed before the days of Fordun, who says that Gregory after a vigorous reign of sixteen years closed his career at Donnedoure.

[1] *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 383.

I insert herewith a facsimile from the *Gazetteer of Scotland*,[1] concerning the parish of Insch, located in the Garioch, Aberdeenshire. Special attention is called to the latter part of this facsimile, where it is stated that "on the summit of this hill are the vitrified ruins of a castle said to have been erected by Gregory the Great."

INSCH, a parish in the district of Garioch, Aberdeenshire; bounded on the north by the water of Urie, which divides it from Drumblade and Forgue; on the east by Culsalmond; on the south by Kemnay; and on the west by Kinnethmont and Gartly. Its figure approaches to a square; length 5 miles; breadth 3; square area 7,500 acres. Houses 270. Assessed property, in 1815, £2,360. Population, in 1801, 798; in 1831, 1,338; in 1836, 1,365. The soil in the southern part of the parish is fertile; but a small part only is arable. The higher lands afford excellent pasturage, especially Dun-o-deer hill, a conical eminence about 3,000 yards in circumference at the base, and rising, insulated from the level plain of the Garioch, to the height of 300 feet. According to that veracious historian, Hector Boethius, the pasturage of this hill was wont to turn the teeth of sheep, in cropping it, to the semblance of gold. We need scarcely say that though the sheep themselves are turned into gold, the pasturage has now no such effect on the teeth in particular. On the summit of this hill are the vitrified ruins of a castle said to have been erected by Gregory the Great. Dun-o-deer has much the appearance of an extinct volcano. Part of Foudland hill, rising 300 feet above sea-level, is within this parish: in its higher parts are extensive quarries of fine blue slate.

From *Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, printed for the Spalding Club in 1843, several facsimiles are given, showing in the first that among the nine royal castles, "Dundore" is mentioned, and, according to the tradition recorded by Boece, the name of the hill *Doun d'Or* signifies *The Golden Mount*, still pronounced *Dunnideer*.

There is also mention of Saint John's Chapel at Dundore Castle, as well as the interesting paragraph: "Dundore Castle (on the top of a hill of that name) built by King Gregory, who dyed here A.D. DCCCXCIII. Some of the walls are yet standing [1843, G.] the cement being very strong, and laid on with much art."

[1] Published in 1842 by A. Fullarton & Co., Glasgow. 2 vols.

The same diocese, considered CIVILLY, did or doth contain:
Nine Royal castles: namely, one at each of the Royal burghs; and Kildrummy; Dundore; Halforest; Kindrocht.
Five Royal burghs: Aberdeen; Kintore; Inverury; Banf; Cullen; besides Rattray, which was formerly one.
Part of three shires: Aberdeen; Banf; and Kincardin.
The seats of:
One duke: Mar.

. . . . . .

NCH has two silver chalices gifted by John Rose, (descended of Kilravock,) of Wardes, (which he then called Rosehall.)[1]

Ther is a tradition, (which Boetius* has taken notice of,) that Dundore hill has gold-oar under it, because the sheeps teeth that feed upon it turn yellow. He adds that their flesh and wool are

1 [" When the vacant ground on the north side of the church was levelled, some years ago, a tombstone was laid bare, very near the wall, with the words RANDOLPHVS, SACERDOS inscribed on it lengthwise, and after these some date which is illegible." (The New Statistical Account of Scotland, number xxxix., p. 751. Edinb. 1842.)]

" There are a good many remains in the parish of Druidical temples, all in elevated situations. There are also several rude obelisks, or stone pillars, in the parish; one called The Picardy Stane, standing about seven feet and a half in height above ground, with some carving, apparently emblematical, on the south face of it; and another, towards the centre of the parish, called The Earl of Mar's Stane. Near the village of Insch is a mound or rising ground, called the The Gallow Hill, the road leading past which has always been known by the name of The Gallow Road. A fragment of a brass sword, or Roman gladius, was found some years ago on the farm of Dunnideer." *(Ibid.)*]

* Boetius in Descriptione Scotiae, [f. 7: " In Gareota est mons quidam Doundor, aureus

also yellow; and that the name of the hill *Doun d'Or* signifies *The Golden Mount.* However, it is still pronounced *Dunnideer.*

SAINT JOHN'S at DUNDORE CASTLE. Chappel.

DUNDORE CASTLE, (on the top of a hill of that name,) built by King Gregory, who dyed here A.D. DCCC.XCIII. * Some of the walls are yet standing, the cement being very strong, and laid on with much art.[1] Ther is a tradition that this castle was supplied Mannors.

ab incolis appellatus, ob id opinor quod oues in eo flauae sint, habentes dentes quidem coloris plane aurei: carnes vero velut croco tinctas pauloque plus quam ea est quam ferunt lanam." So also the Bishop of Ross: "In Gareotha mons est quem aureum appellant, vulgo autem Dundore, quod auro abundare dicatur: id colligunt ex ovibus quae in illo monte pastae dentes ac carnes flavo colore tanquam auro tinctas habent." (Leslaeus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, pp. 30, 31. Romae, 1578.) See above, pp. 23, 90. Cordiner informs us that in his time "the common people have still a tradition current among them, that persons skilled in magic, by performing certain ceremonies at sunrise, will see the shrubs assume the appearance of gold on those parts of the hill that most abound with it." (Cordiner's Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland, p. 32. Lond. 1780. 4to.) The eastern traveller, Buckingham, tells us that "on the summit of Jebel-el-Belkah, or Bilgah, as it is equally often pronounced, from which Moses saw the promised land, there grew, according to the testimony of all present, a species of grass which changed the teeth of every animal that ate of it to silver. And in a party of twenty persons then assembled, there were not less than five witnesses who declared most solemnly that they had seen this transmutation take place with their own eyes." (Buckingham's Travels among the Arab Tribes, p. 38. Lond. 1825. 4to.) The same superstitious belief prevails in other parts of Scotland, as at Kirkmaiden in Galloway, and at Largo in Fife. (See Andrew Symson's Description of Galloway, p. 65. Edinb. 1823. 8vo.; Chambers' Rhymes of Scotland, p. 61. Edinb. 1826. 12mo.)]

* Boetius in Gregorio [Scot. Hist., lib. x., f. 213: "ad vltimum extrema senectute in Gareothae regionis arce tum munitissima, Doundor vulgus appellat, id est, aureum montem, sortitus sit finem."]

[1] ["The most interesting objects which the parish holds out to antiquaries, are the ruined fort and tower on the top of the hill of Dunnideer; the former being a fine specimen of what are called vitrified forts; the latter, the remnant of a square tower or castle built within the fort, and partly of fragments of it, covering from thirteen to fourteen square yards of ground, including the walls, seven feet in thickness: only one wall, however, is standing entire, being from fifty to sixty feet in height." (The New Statistical Account of Scotland, number xxxix., p. 751.) There is an engraving of the ruins of the castle of Dunnideer in De Cardonnel's Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland, Lond. 1793. 8vo. "In a periodical paper called The Bee, lately published at Edinburgh, there was lately given a very particular and pretty accurate description of the hill and castle of Dunodeer, with a copperplate engraving." (Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xvii., p. 487. Edinb.

with water from Foudland hill, (three miles distant,) by leaden pipes, which being at last cut, the castle was oblidged to surrender for want of water. But when this happned, is not known.

MILL OF DUNDORE, (at the foot of the hill,) the seat of Tyrie of Dunnideer.

WARDES,[1] of old the seat of the Lesleys[2] of Wardes, thereafter of the Farquharsons, now of Gordon of Wardes.

ROTHNAY, the seat of Gordon of Rothnay.

1796.) In Jhon Hardyng's map of Scotland, constructed about the year 1465, appear "the castells of Strabolgy, of Rithymay, of Dony Dowre;" and the writer seems to indicate the place as one of those where King Arthur held his Round Table, so famous in old romance:

"He held his household and the Rounde Table
Sometyme at Edinburgh, sometyme at Striveline,
Of kynges renowned and most honourable;
At Carlysle sumwhile, at Alcluid his citie fyne,
Emong all his knightes and ladies full femenine;
And in Scotlande, at Perthe and Dunbrytain,
In Cornwaile also, Dover, and Cairelegion;
At Dunbar, Dunfrise, and St. John's Toune,
All of worthy knights moo then a legion,
At Donydoure also in Murith region,
And in many other places both citie and toune."

(The Chronicle of Jhon Hardyng, cap. lxiii., pp. 126, 127, 418., edit. Lond. 1812. 4to.)]

[1] ["In the hollow, or narrow valley, to the west of Dunnideer, is the site of the ancient castle of Meikle Wardhouse, the only remaining vestige of which now is the fosse, by which it had been surrounded; although it is not very many years since the ruins of the walls were removed." (The New Statistical Account of Scotland, number xxxix., p. 753.) In April, 1647, "the Young Harthill" garrisoned the house of Wardes for the King; but on being besieged, he was forced to surrender it to the parliamentary generals, Middleton and David Lesley: "the Scots in the house were set at liberty; there were sixteen Irish taken in it, all of them, with the captain who commanded them, were hanged." "The Young Harthill" himself was beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh on the twentieth of October, 1647. (Gordon's History of the Gordons, vol. ii., pp. 530, 531.)]

[2] [See the Acta Dominorum Auditorum, pp. *124, *140, *146, 154, 155, 195, 205; Acta Dominorum Concilii, pp. 66, *116, *117, 187, 222, 228, 230, 231, 250, 292, 305. Dr. Arthur Johnstone has left three poems on Dame Elizabeth Gordon, wife of Sir John Leslie of Wardes, "De Elizabetha Gordonia Wardesiae domina." (Art. Ionstoni Poemata Omnia, pp. 424, 425.)]

[A DESCRIPTION OF THE PARISH OF INSCH. BY MR. GORDON, MINISTER OF ALFORD, M.DCC.XXIV., AND MR. WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

The church is situated in the south-east part of the village of Insch, which is a burgh of barony, possessed by several feuers, holding of the laird of Bakquhoyn. It has a weekly and several yearly fairs; and stands on the north side of a burn called by its name.

The old ruinous castle of Dunnydeer, (which its said was built and inhabited by Gregory the Great, one of our Kings in the time of the Picts,) stands on the top of a green hill, considerably high, now belonging to . . . . . Tyrie of Dunnydeer; and is west to south from the village and church of Insch one mile.

The house of Wardhouse, (now the residence of . . . . . Gordon, lately of Leslie of Wardhouse,) is south-west from the castle of Dunnydeer half a mile.

. . . . . .

The City of Aberdeen, named Devana by Ptolemy; a very antient village; endued with Royall priviledges by King Gregory, about the year DCCCLXXVII.; encreast by the frequent progresses of our Kings, and by a more frequent residence of King William, and adorn'd with his palace; taken in by Edward Langshanks;

In the above facsimiles, King Gregory is said to have endowed the city of Aberdeen with royal privileges, about the year A.D. 877. The mention of Dunnydeer Castle is also noteworthy, while the fact that King Arthur held his Round Table "At Donydoure" is significant.

A

NEW HISTORY

OF

ABERDEENSHIRE.

EDITED BY

ALEXANDER SMITH, C.E.,

F.R.S.A., EDIN.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

LEWIS SMITH, ABERDEEN;

AND

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS,

EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

MDCCCLXXV.

In giving a brief sketch of the *History* of Aberdeen, with mere notices of some of those important national events in which its brave inhabitants played an important part and sometimes severely suffered, we shall pass by the tradition, that Aberdeen was erected into a royal burgh by Gregory the Great, a Scottish king whose principal residence was at Dunodeer, and come at once to the period of authentic history and local charters, as the institution of burghs was not probably introduced till the time of David I.

. . . . . .

The *Battle of Harlaw* appears as a *Pibroch*, in a folio collection of Scotch tunes, referred to in Stenhouse's Edition of "Johnson's Musical Museum." And, in that exceedingly rare "Collection of Scots Music," by Donald Dow, 1774, there occurs, p. 28, "The Battle of Hara Law." As to the ballad we give below, printed in *Ramsay's Evergreen*, Ritson says, "with submission to the opinion of Lord Hailes, that he presumes it to be the old song of the 'The Battel of Hayrlaw,' mentioned in the *Complaynt of Scotland* (1548), and that it may be as old as the fifteenth century." Professor Aytoun says, "Be that as it may, the ballad deserves preservation. It is at least faithful in detail, for it records with minuteness the origin and incidents of the battle."*

"Frae Dunidier as I came through,
Down by the hill of Benachie,
Alangst the lands of Garioch,
Great pity was to hear and see
The noise and dulesome harmonie,
(That ever that dulefu' day did daw!)
Crying the coronach on hie,
Alas, alas, for the Harlaw!

* Mr. Clyne (Ballads from Scottish History), points out its coincidence in details and expression with Boece's History, mistakes included, and infers it to have been composed by some one who had that work before him.

At Dunbar, Dunfrise, and St. John s Toune,
All of worthy knights mo than a legion,
At Donnydoure also in Murith region.
And in many other places both citie and towne."

Tradition says that Dundore Castle was built by Gregory the Great, King of Scotland, and that he died there in the year ~~1398~~;* but it may well be doubted whether he built the more ancient vitrified structure or fort, and the surrounding trenches which appear. Lower down the hill is distinctly marked a line of circumvallation, similar to that, on a more extensive scale, upon the mountain of Noth, in Strathbogie.

The whole has been, for many centuries, an uninhabited ruin, and nothing can be said as to the age of the fortifications, and nothing but vague tradition leads to the conclusion when the tower, which is comparatively modern, was built, or by whom it was occupied.† "One fact may be noted," says Mr. Andrew Jervise, "that Gregory's walls, on Dunnideer, are of similar construction to the remains upon the Lady Hill at Elgin, and to those of the old castle at Duffus." The only remaining wall of the tower or castle of Dunnideer is from 50 to 60 feet in height, and about 7 feet thick. In this wall there are two openings or ruined windows, the one above the other; but as the wall is composed of the strongest masonry, it is likely for ages to withstand, as it has done, the gales that have for centuries assailed its elevated and perfectly unsheltered position.

In ancient times Dundore was the property of a family named Tyrie, who resided at the Mill of Dunnideer, and here there was a Roman Catholic Chapel, dedicated to St. John. One of the family, James Tyrie, a Jesuit, who died in 1597, aged 54, wrote, under the name of George Thomson, *De Antiquitate Ecclesiæ Scoticæ*. John Knox wrote an answer to this work, to which Tyrie replied in a pamphlet (1573), which is reckoned rare and valuable. The Tyries held the property up to the year 1724. Another account says, they were "gryte Jacobites."

Dunnideer subsequently came into the possession of the Leiths of Overhall; and latterly the property, by purchase, came into the possession of the Gordons of Wardhouse and Kildrummy.

* According to the Pictish Chronicle, King Grig, or Gregory, died at Dun-d-urn, in Strathern.

† "Some of the walls are yet standing, the cement being very strong, and laid on with much art. There is a tradition that this castle was supplied with water from Foudland Hill (three miles distant), by leaden pipes, which being at last cut, the castle was obliged to surrender for want of water. But when this happened is not known."—View of the Diocese of Aberdeen.

> The remains of the ancient castle of the Meikle "Wardhouse" appears to have continued to be a place of strength long after the castle of Dunnideer had ceased to be habitable. In Gordon's History of the Gordons, it is mentioned, that in April, 1647, Young Leith of Harthill garrisoned the "house of Wardes" for the King; "but on being besieged, he was forced to surrender it to the Parliamentary Generals Middleton and David Lesley; the Scots in the house were set at liberty; there were 16 Irish taken in it, all of them, with the captain who commanded them, were hanged." The "Young Harthill" himself, was beheaded at the cross at Edinburgh, on the 20th day of October, 1647.
>
> Nothing now remains of the "Meikle Wardhouse," but its position is distinctly marked by the fosse which had surrounded it.
>
> Early records exist as to the lands of Drumrossie and "the Mannor of Gordon of Rothnay," a branch of the Gordons of Lesmoir. It appears that in 1257 a gift of the teinds of these lands was made to the vicar of *Inchemabayn* (Insch), by the Abbot of Lindores, and ratified by Pope Alexander IV. In 1396, Thomas, Earl of Mar, gave a charter of the lands of Drumrossie to Andrew Barclay, lord of Garentully; and, as before stated, they were possessed by the Gordons of Rothnay, afterwards by the Abercrombies, and now by Leslie of Wartle, late M. P. for Aberdeenshire.

As a proof of the castle's location, the line of march from Dunidier to the battlefield, outlined in the stanza quoted from the ancient ballad, "Battle of Harlaw," can still be accurately traced on the Ordnance Survey Map, published in the government office in Edinburgh as late as 1896.[1] The points of interest are printed in red, and are entirely conformable to the route described by this ancient poem:

> Frae Dunidier as I came through,
> Down by the hill of Benachie,
> Alangst the lands of Garioch,
> Great pity was to hear and see, etc.

This poem was written in the fifteenth century, four hundred years before the map of Scotland given in the Appendix was published, and no doubt was unknown to those who had the making of it. The course outlined in the poem is entirely true to the map—from Dunnideer to the site of the Battle of Harlaw, one most probably would have gone through the land of Bennochie, "*alangst the lands of Garioch.*" All previous statements with regard to King Gregory as Maormor of Moray, his life and

[1] See Appendix.

his death at his own castle, clearly point to the fact that he was a native of this district, and the maps of Scotland confirm the fact that the Castle of Dunnideer is in the Garioch, Aberdeenshire, and not on Loch Earn in Perthshire.

Some of the earlier maps likewise record the location of this castle as follows:

Map of Scotland which is printed in Four Sections by the authority of the Parliamentary Commission by A. Arrowsmith, "Hydrographer to H. R. H., Prince of Wales, Addition to 1810, A.D.," locates Dunadeer in Aberdeen, quite near to *Insch*. By reference to page 478 of the present volume, the description of the castle is found contained in the facsimile of *Insch*, taken from the *Gazetteer of Scotland*.

Likewise *Black's County Atlas of Scotland*, published in 1843, by Adam and Charles Black, North Bridge, "Booksellers and Publishers to Her Majesty," locates "Dunideir" in the *Garvoach*, meaning the *Garioch* without a doubt.

In *Lothian's Historical Atlas of Scotland*, printed by W. and A. K. Johnston, 1829, there is an entry in Map. No. 6 of the fifteenth century of "Dunideir in Abibdene," which correctly answers to the latitude and longitude of "Dunnideer in the Garioch."

There is also an Atlas of Scotland, containing maps of each county, printed by John Thompson & Co., Edinburgh; Baldwin & Cradock, London; and John Cumming, Dublin, 1832. This map measures 4½ by 1¾ feet, and exhibits the different features on a large scale. In the division which is styled "Chapel of Garioch" there is a "Drumdurno," which is evidently intended for "Dunadeer," since located quite near to it are "Logie House" and the "Ruins of Balquhard Castle," both of which are mentioned in many ancient documents in connection with the Castle of Dunnideer.

Briefly summarised, it can be truthfully stated that there has never been an attempt of any kind, by any other author than William F. Skene, to locate King Gregory's castle elsewhere than in the Garioch, Aberdeenshire. To place him on Loch Earn, in Perthshire, perhaps suited his peculiar views and aims with regard to displacing him as rightful king of Scotland.

The following are some of the ways in which the name of the castle appears in various works:

Dunnideer[1]	Dundore	Durndore	Dun o' dore
Dunadeer	Dundorne	Dunnidier	Dun d' or
Dunnadeer	Dundurn	Doney Dowre	Dundure
Dunnadier	Dwyndore	Donadoure	Donydore
Dunideer	Downdore	Dun Duirn	Dunidure
Dunideir	Durrisdeer	Duine Duirn	Dunduren
Dunnodeer			

In *Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, printed for the Spalding Club in 1869, we find the following interpretation of Skene's views on the subject:

> The secular, like the ecclesiastical history of the district, opens with a mixture of truth and fiction. The name of Gregory the Great, King of the Scots, is famous in the legends of the medieval chroniclers. According to Scottish writers, he was a mighty sovereign, who governed his own kingdom prudently and successfully, and extended his conquests over Ireland and a large portion of England. The evidence of this is nearly as good as some of the proofs which English writers, even in our own day, have held to be conclusive as to the supremacy of the Kings of England over North Britain. No one in Scotland is now so credulous as to believe the Scottish legend. *Modern criticism has brought down the great Gregory from his mythical elevation, and reduced his fine sounding name to that of Grig.*[2] He undoubtedly ruled by some singular title the united Kingdom of the Scots and the Picts in the end of the ninth century, and there is nothing improbable in the tradition which assigned to him a residence at Dunnideer in the Garioch.

The above statement is interesting. According to the writer, modern criticism has "brought down the great Gregory from his mythical elevation and reduced his fine sounding name to that of Grig." On the contrary, as the name appeared originally as *Giric*, or *Ciric*, and became Grig many centuries before he received the title of "Gregory the Great" from George Buchanan in 1589, *the above statement is erroneous*. He adds that "he undoubtedly ruled" the kingdom of the Picts and Scots in the ninth century, and that "there is nothing improbable in the tradition which assigned to him a residence at Dunnideer in the Garioch," as is amply attested by the works quoted.

John MacCulloch, in *The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland*, gives a most explicit account of this district. Out of thirty vitrified forts, MacCulloch gives first place to the hill of Dunadeer, going into a minute description both as to the com-

[1] The most common way of spelling.

[2] Italics are mine.—G.

position of the walls and their construction.[1] There can exist very little doubt, after reading MacCulloch's description, that the place was originally intended to be guarded against attack, and therefore was no doubt the home of royalty.

MacCulloch's account of the reign of King Gregory is in agreement with the earlier writers, Fordun, Wyntown, Boece and others of that period.

[1] See *post*, p. 495.

THE

HIGHLANDS AND WESTERN ISLES

OF

SCOTLAND,

CONTAINING

DESCRIPTIONS OF THEIR SCENERY AND ANTIQUITIES,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

POLITICAL HISTORY AND ANCIENT MANNERS,

AND OF THE

ORIGIN, LANGUAGE, AGRICULTURE, ECONOMY, MUSIC, PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE, &c. &c. &c.

FOUNDED ON A

SERIES OF ANNUAL JOURNEYS BETWEEN THE YEARS 1811 AND 1821,

AND FORMING AN UNIVERSAL GUIDE TO THAT COUNTRY,

IN LETTERS TO

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

BY

JOHN MACCULLOCH, M.D. F.R.S. L.S. G.S.
&c. &c. &c.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

1824.

VITRIFIED FORTS.

That very friend, who, like other friends, loves the sound of his own advice, even when he knows it is too late, looks over my shoulder again, and complains now that there is too much vinegar, as there was, before, too much sugar. As the drummer said, strike where I will, it is impossible to please you. If such things as Berigonium and cockneys and ferries and Tyanuilt breakfasts will come in the way on one day, and Loch Cateran or Castle Campbell on another, what can we do, except, as the faculty says, follow the indications. If you care not, my dear Sir Walter, I shall answer him from an old countryman of yours: "They say—what say they—let them say." So, now, let us attack the vitrified forts.

I am far from thinking that I am acquainted with the whole of these singular buildings that have been discovered in Scotland, nor do I think that all those which it contains are as yet known. Many years have not passed since they first attracted attention, and they often exist in situations not much frequented; particularly now, that so much of the population has been transferred from the interior. Besides this, from their state of ruin, and from the soil and grass which have accumulated above them, they are often so thoroughly obscured, that nothing but an accidental fracture of the surface can detect them. I am convinced of this, in particular, from examining that district in Aberdeenshire which extends from Noath to the North Sea. Fragments of vitrified matter abound all over this tract, and are carried by the rivers along their

beds, even to their estuaries. Yet, with the exception of Noath, the sources of these have not yet been discovered; although I have found large blocks and even quarries of such scoria and slag, which must have formed parts of these forts, and are possibly their very seats, though their forms can no longer be traced. I shall however give you a list of such as I have myself seen, or have found mentioned by others; making the proper apology for its imperfection; ignorance.

Dun Mac Sniochain: Argyll.
Knock Farril: Ross.
Craig Phadric: near Inverness.
Dun Evan,
Castle Findlay: both near Calder.
Tor Dun: near Fort Augustus.
Dunjardel: in Glen Nevis.
One near Balbegno, in Mearns.
Finhaven: near Brechin.
Creich: in Sutherland.
Dun Jardel: near Fyers.
One near Troup.
One near Cullen.
One near Stirling.
One near Forden: Mearns.
One near Invergarry.
One in Bute: parish of Kingarth.
One in Cantyre: bay of Carradale.
Barryhill: parish of Meigle.
Laws Hill: near Drumsturdy, Forfar.
Dun Fhionn: on the Beauley.
One in Loch Sunart.
One in Loch Teachus: Morven.
Amwoth: Galloway.
The Moat of the Mark: ditto.

Castle Gower: Galloway.
Dunscaich, in Sky: doubtful.
One in Isla: Thurot's Bay.
Dunadeer: Aberdeenshire.
Noath: ditto: with many indications in the same vicinity.

Vitrified substances had been observed in more than one of these places, long ago; and they had, by some, been attributed to volcanoes, by others to the accidental demolition of buildings by fire, and, by a third party, to the effect of beacon lights. Mr. Williams, well known as an able miner, must have the merited honour, not only of pointing out their real nature, as being forts, but of explaining the mode in which they were constructed. As is usual in all similar cases, no sooner had he rendered the subject clear, than every one recollected that he had understood it before; while a few, ambitious of the merit of discoverers, as is also an invariable rule, propounded other explanations. The history of all discoveries has been similar. Every thing that has ever been found is as obvious as America: when it has been found. Every one can explain what has already been explained: while those who have not judgment enough to appreciate the real explanation, nor candour enough to yield the honour to whom it is due, hope for some poor fame by assigning a new or a bad hypothesis. But Mr. Williams's memory must bear this, as it best may. Many have endured it before him, and many shall endure it hereafter. On the question of their construction, at least, there is little left for me to do, but to state his views; but I may add some facts, unknown to him, and some reasonings which did not occur to him, to confirm what appears as perfectly demonstrated as any thing of which we have not witnessed the rise and progress can be.

In constructing these singular buildings, it was suggested by Mr. Williams, that, by raising a mound of earth on each side of the intended wall, and filling it with firewood and stones, a sufficient heat was produced to operate the intended effects. Of course, this acute observer presumed that the design of the artists was to produce a cemented or solid wall; while it was a natural conclusion, that structures of the forms which these present, were of a military nature. These works having thus been taken out of the rank of volcanoes, and the matter being now obvious to all, another philosopher set himself forth to prove that Mr. Williams was wrong, and that he himself was right; that the walls had been originally constructed of wood and stone intermixed, and that they had been vitrified by the assailants, who had destroyed and taken these works by means of fire. A third party, determined also to intrude for some portion of fame in this question, assured the world that both his predecessors were wrong, and that he was the real Œdipus: that these works were merely beacons, and that they had been vitrified by the lighting of the beacon fires. Thus our unlucky world is fated to be pulled and pushed about, in deeper matters than vitrified forts, by every man who cares not what becomes of it, provided he can find an opportunity of displaying himself on the arena.

It is beyond my intention to describe all the specimens in the preceding list which I have examined. To do this, would not convey instruction or amusement commensurate to the tediousness of detail it would require; and my object is rather to investigate the general question. It is a highly interesting subject; as well from the singularity and ingenuity of this mode of architecture, as from its being limited, nearly, perhaps entirely, as far as is yet known, to Scotland, and from its obscurity, and ap-

parently remote antiquity. A sketch of the two remarkable forts of Noath and Dunadeer, added to the preceding account of Dun Mac Sniochain, will however be necessary, for the purposes of the general illustrations in view.

The hill of Dunadeer, having an elevation of about 600 feet from the irregular plain on which it stands, with a steep acclivity all round, has a flat oval summit, which is entirely occupied by the enclosure, so as to form a strong military position. Though much ruined, and consequently obscured, having apparently been used as a quarry for building a more modern castle in the same spot, it is not difficult to trace, either the dimensions or the disposition of the original work. The form is a parallelogram, of which one extremity is curved so as to be nearly semicircular: and its longest side is about 58 yards, the shortest being about 24. The thickness of the wall seems originally to have been 18 or 20 feet; although, from the state and nature of the ruin, it is impossible to be very accurate in this particular. The highest remaining portion is about six feet above the present surface; and if one foot be added for the increase of soil, and two for the loss which it has sustained at the summit, to be computed from the ruined part at its foot on each side, we shall have eight feet as the probable original altitude.

The materials of the hill are chiefly grey granite, an infusible rock; but there are scattered in the surrounding plain, blocks of a black variety, which, from containing hornblende, is very fusible. To pass over the obviously more modern ruins at this place, as not concerning the present question, there are, at a certain stage down the hill, the well-marked traces of a work which once seems to have encircled the whole. It is a kind of fortification

well known to antiquaries, as occurring frequently in the ancient British hill forts; and it resembles a modern military field work, as it consists of a single ditch and wall; the latter being formed of loose stones, not vitrified. I consider this as part of the original defences, because a similar one is found on Noath.

The materials in the vitrified wall are, as at Dun Mac Sniochain, partly roasted without adhesion, and partly vitrified, or glazed, or scorified, in a similar manner. It is easy to see that the dark granite forms the vitrified and scorified substances; but, not to enter on the more minute details, which rather concern the chemist and mineralogist than the antiquary, but which are very interesting to them, I shall only further remark, that wherever stones not capable of vitrification themselves, have undergone this change, it has been produced by the alkali of the wood used in the process; whence the glazed surfaces of many unvitrifiable substances.

Now I remarked that, at Dun Mac Sniochain, the materials of the hill itself were not vitrifiable, but that a very fusible rock was present at a short distance, or scattered in fragments about the plain. The same is true here; and, in both cases, the forts are not erected out of the materials nearest at hand, which are infusible, but collected with considerable labour from a distance. It is hence evident that the builders of these works were aware of the qualities of these various rocks: and it is equally evident that they chose the fusible in preference to the infusible, although with a considerable increase of labour. The obvious conclusion is, that they designed, from the beginning, to vitrify their walls: and this single fact might serve, in itself, to establish the truth of Mr. Williams's views, against the theory of his ill-informed opponent.

To turn now to Noath. This mountain is the highest point of its own ridge, rising to a height of about 1800 feet above the level of the sea, and of 300 above any part of the surrounding ground, with a steep acclivity. The summit is a plain: and, as at Dunadeer, that plain seems to have regulated the size of the fort, as it occupies the whole space: an arrangement which is equally found at Dun Mac Sniochain. Nothing can more clearly prove the military and common design of all these works: since they vary in form and size according to the ground they stand on, and are so contrived, just as a military work would be in the hands of a modern engineer, that they may command all the points of access, and prevent the enemy from advancing any where under cover. If the Duke of Wellington chose to occupy Noath to-morrow, he would order his works on the same principle. The area on Noath is nearly twice as large as that on Dunadeer; yet the same system is followed; and in Dun Mac Sniochain, as I already showed, though the mode of occupying the ground is different, the principle of a complete command is equally kept in view; while other variations are made for the purpose of conforming to the peculiar shape of the hill. If the same great soldier were to fortify this hill too, he could only follow the plan of his predecessor General Mac Sniochain; whoever he was. I notice these points, to shew the folly of that fancy which chooses to consider these as beacons merely; a notion which could not have entered a mind that had ever seen or heard of a military defence.

The enclosure on Noath is a long parallelogram, of about 90 by 32 yards, slightly rounded at the angles; and it contains a well. Hence also we may conclude that this was a station and a garrison. An entire deficiency of the wall at the eastern side, seems to indicate the entrance, or

gateway: a notion confirmed by its being continuous with a spacious causeway that extends a considerable way down the hill. That connexion also leads us to conclude that this causeway was not a posterior work, but that it originally belonged to the fort It is made of laid stones, of considerable bulk, with great care and strength; resembling a Roman road: and it is remarkable that a similar causeway leads to the fort of loose stone on the top of Ben-na-chie.

At Noath too, as at Dunadeer, there is a similar field-trench and wall, or outwork, on the declivity of the hill; and though much obscured, it seems also to have formerly surrounded the whole. In both cases, it seems to have been intended as a covered way to retard the attack on the body of the place. The vitrified enclosure is far more perfect here than in any of these works in Scotland: and it is infinitely more remarkable, since, being unencumbered with soil and vegetation, scarcely even bearing a lichen, we see at a glance the whole effect of its blackness, its bulk, its regularity, and its extent. We may indeed wonder how any one could have imagined such a work the produce of a volcano; and not less, how any one capable of the least degree of observation or reasoning could have conceived it the effect of beacon fires.

The parts of the wall which have been most perfectly vitrified, are, as might have been expected, the most entire: where highest, they measure eight feet from the ground, and the accumulation of soil at the base would justify the addition of two, or perhaps three feet more in some places. That rubbish prevents the breadth from being correctly estimated; but this seems, as at Dunadeer, to have been eighteen or twenty feet. And if, from that rubbish, we may form an estimate of the total height of the wall before dilapidation, and before the growth of

soil below, it may probably be taken at 12 feet. I must also remark that the fallen rubbish, where the standing and vitrified part is eight feet high, consists of unvitrified stones: so that here, as at Dun Mac Sniochain, and in other examples, the wall, after having been vitrified to a certain height, seems to have been raised, by some courses of dry masonry, to its total altitude.

In the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland*,[1] gathered during the course of eight years by Sir John Sinclair, the most dependable data from the different parishes to the time of publication, occurs the following account of Dunnideer:

The isolated hill of Dunnideer, about a mile from the village of Insch, and due west of it, is a singularly striking and beautiful object, and one which has long attracted the observation of antiquarians and naturalists. Its form is that of a cone flattened at the apex; and owing to this peculiarity, and its summit being crowned with some curious ruins, it catches the eye of a stranger at a great distance. It is about 3000 yards in circumference at the base, from which it arises abruptly to the height of 550 or 600 feet. Immediately facing it, on the West, and rising with equal abruptness, is the hill of Christ-Kirk in the parish of Kennethmount, the two hills being separated only by a narrow valley, through which winds the Sherock, a small stream which, at this point, and for a considerable part of its course, forms the boundary of the parish, and whose windings, as seen from Dunadeer, have a very picturesque effect. . . . There are no other hills of great magnitude in the parish. Some small hills there are, here and there arising abruptly from the plain, such as Knockbaird and Greenlaw; but as seen from the top of the hill of Foudland, they have the appearance of mere knolls or hillocks scattered over the level or slightly undulating surface.

Among the accounts of two ministers of Aberdeen, collected by Sinclair, that of the Synod of Aberdeen coincides with MacCulloch's description:

By far the most interesting objects, however, which the parish holds out to antiquarians are the ruined fort and tower on the top of the hill of Dunnideer, the former being a fine specimen of what are called vitrified forts, the latter the remnant of a square tower or castle built within the fort and partly of fragments of it, covering from 13 to 14 square yards of ground, including the walls, seven feet in thickness; only one wall, however, standing entire and it being from 50 to 60 feet in height.

They quote at considerable length from MacCulloch regard-

[1] P. 748.

ing the formation of the stone by vitrification. They give additional information, however, not included in his account:

There are other theories upon the subject—one, that the vitrification had not been the result of design, but had been produced accidently by the fires, which it may be supposed, the people betaking themselves to the fort for refuge would kindle inside. And another, that there has been no vitrification, properly speaking, at all, but that the stones have been made to adhere to each other in the manner they do by the use of some strong cement poured in among them, and which constitutes the lava-like substance abounding in the structure. But it seems an insuperable objection to this view of the matter, that the stones themselves have all evidently been subjected to the action of extreme heat. Nothing, of course, can be said as to what may be the precise age of this very ancient structure. Even the tower which has been referred to as comparatively modern, has every appearance of having been built at a period considerably remote. As has been said, only one wall of it remains entire, and this having but two windows, one above the other, and the upper one very much enlarged by the crumbling of its sides, has a curious effect seen at a distance, and is known by the name of "Gregory's Wall," from a tradition that King Gregory had resided here. But it may be doubted whether this name is not more applicable to the vitrified or more ancient structure. Fordun has it that King Gregory died at Dunnadeer. His words are "*Gregorious autem, rex iste magnificus, postquam annis decem et octo, mensibus aliquot exceptis, strenue regnasset, apud Dornedeore diem clausit extremum, et in Iona sepultus insula requiescit.*" The erection of the tower is also ascribed to David Earl of Huntingdon and Garioch, the founder of the Abbey of Lundores; and mention is somewhere made of the "Abbot of Dunnideer" by which expression, however, it is supposed the Abbot of Lundores is meant.

That Dunnideer, if not formerly a regal residence, had been at any rate a place of great importance is manifest from various circumstances, especially from the extraordinary care with which its safety seems to have been provided for. In the hollow or narrow valley to the west of it is the site of the ancient Castle of Meikle Ward House, or more properly, Meikle Ward House of Dunnideer—the only remaining vestige of which is now the fosse by which it has been surrounded; although it is not very many years since the ruins of the walls were removed; and a little farther on in the same direction, that is, more to the north from Dunideer, is a place called Little Ward House, where, however, the name alone indicates the previous existence of a place of defence; and the northern extremity of the valley, or where it opens up to the West, is called West Ward Head. Now, the idea that these names and relics are vestiges of the defences of Dunnideer seems probable, from the circumstance that it is only on this side (where it is nearly approached by other hills and rising ground) that the place could have been surprised by any sudden attack, as on all other sides it commands a very extensive tract of level ground. It is possible, how-

ever, as the valley in which the traces of these defences occur forms a principal pass to the Garioch from the north and west that they and the fort of Dunnideer itself had been erected for the purpose of guarding against invasion from these quarters.

As previously stated, the above is one of the most detailed descriptions found. Taken in connection with the facsimiles from MacCulloch, there remains very little more to be said regarding this ancient structure. MacCulloch considered Dunnideer of special importance, since he went into minute details concerning it. In the second volume of the same work[1] he states:

What castle could have existed here before Kenneth the Fourth it would puzzle the supporters of tradition to say: but I need not pursue the subject further. In a similar manner it is said that Grig resided, in 897, in the castle which stands within the vitrified fort of Dunadeer, a building most certainly of a far lower date.

The old, as well as the more modern, atlases of Scotland invariably locate Dunnideer in the parish of Insch, in the Garioch. An *Atlas of Scotland*, published by John Thomson, Edinburgh, 1826, calls it "Dinnydeer," and also calls "Ecclesgreig" by its more modern name of "St. Cyrus." There can be no doubt in the mind of anyone, who takes time to examine the old documents and atlases, that Dunnideer is quite another place from Dundurn on Loch Earn.

ECCLESGREIG, OR CHURCH OF GREG
(Now called "St. Cyrus.")

In an account of the provinces of Fortren and Maghcircin (corrupted into "Mearns") Skene says:

Grig appears in remarkable connexion with both of the Pictish provinces. The old form of his name is Ciric, which is the same as the name of one of the seven sons of Cruithne, from whom Maghcircin took its designation. There is a curious notice in the Pictish Chronicle that in his ninth year an eclipse of the sun took place "*die Cirici.*" The day of St. Cyricus fell on the 16th of June, and there actually was a great eclipse of the sun on the 16th of June, 885, which corresponds tolerably well with his ninth year. This seems to show some connexion between his own name and that of the saint; and it is curious that a church in the Mearns, dedicated to St.

[1] *Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland*, four volumes.

Cyricus, is called in old charters, Ecclesgreig, or the Church of Greg. He seems, therefore, to have founded a church among the Picts of Maghcircin; and when expelled from the kingdom to have taken refuge among the Picts of Fortren, where he was slain at Dundurn.[1]

The main point in the above passage, is the statement that "he seems, therefore, to have founded a church among the Picts of Maghcircin." *Kincardineshire* is now the name for the district of which Skene writes. I have found no authority whatever for his being "expelled from the kingdom," and the evidence is sure that he died a peaceful death at Dunnadeer Castle.

Robert Chambers states, in his account of Kincardineshire: "It is otherwise called Eccles Greig, or Greg's Church, now called St. Cyrus Church, and is in the southern extremity of Kincardineshire."[2]

According to E. W. Robertson: "Eccles Girg or Grig is the modern Cyruskirk."[3] Robertson is likewise authority for the statement that Cyric (or Ciric, the same as the French St. Cyr) was the original name, and that it has been corrupted into Grig, Girg, and Gregory the Great. He must, therefore, have considered that "Eccles Girg or Grig" had been founded by or dedicated to King Greg. There can be no question as to the meaning of the word, which itself seems to be conclusive. McLauchlan states, regarding Greg:

> He is said to have reigned alone for twelve years, to have subdued Ireland and England, and to have been the first king to give liberty to the Pictish Church, which had hitherto been in a state of bondage in accordance with the constitution of the Pictish kingdom.[4] . . . It is by no means unlikely that he was willing to conciliate the clergy by giving the Church her liberty. This, and not a question of primacy, seems to have been the matter dealt with by the enfranchising act of King Grig.[5]

According to McLauchlan, there is every reason to believe that in gratitude for the liberation of the Church, the Picts founded in the land of Maghcircin a church which they dedicated to King Greg, hence, "*Ecclesgreg*." Dugald Mitchell states the point very clearly, and evidently believes that the name is derived from King Gregory, for he says:

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. cxxxvii., cxxxviii.
[2] *Pictures of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 255.
[3] *Scotland Under Her Early Kings*, vol. i., p. 49.
[4] *The Early Scottish Church*, p. 287.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

The second event, and one which was of much importance to the church was its liberation from those secular exactions and services to which the clergy of most churches were at this time subjected. The words of the chronicle are "He [Gregory] was the first who gave freedom to the Scottish Church, which had been in bondage till that time, according to the rule and custom of the Picts." In this quotation we find for the first time the term "Scottish Church" employed. We may take it as pointing to the speedy application of the name "Scotland" to the country generally. Was it zeal for the Church, like that of his contemporary, Alfred, or a desire to strengthen his position with the clergy, that animated the reformer? We cannot tell, and it is useless to speculate. His name is said to survive in a church in the Mearns, which is known as Eglisgirg or Greg's Church.[1]

A still further reference to the Church is made by George Chalmers:

Finella's odious name has long been remembered in Mearns. An ancient ruin in the parish of Fettercairn is still called Finella's Castle. The parish of Ecclesgreig in the same shire claims the honour of her punishment. Here they show Den-Fenel, or Den Fenella, to which she is said to have fled from her Castle of Kincardine; in which she was discovered, and whence she was carried to her merited end.[2]

Old documents record a relationship between Fenalla and Grimus, Kenneth IV., and it may be that she was of the Greg family, as previously stated.

[1] *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, pp. 149, 150.
[2] *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 396.

THE PERIOD OF REFORMATION

The history of the Reformation is one that scarcely needs repetition in a modern work, save as coming from an authority of 1729, who wrote without prejudice, and with a knowledge of the true condition of those stormy days. In the following facsimiles from Thomas Innes's *Essay* on the Destruction of Churches, much valuable information is to be obtained on this subject:

THE ZEAL OF OUR FIRST REFORMERS

AFTER all, it muſt be conſidered, that king *Edward* was a declared enemy of the *Scotiſh* nation; and was, beſides, animated againſt them by their unrelenting endeavours to ſhake off his yoke. Their frequent riſing in arms to recover their liberty, after he had thought them totally ſubdued, enraged him againſt them, and made him reſolve to deſtroy all marks of a kingdom, or a free nation, and all that could renew the memory of their ancient glory and independency. But we do not find that he deſignedly either burnt their churches or religious houſes; or that, with the civil hiſtories and records, he either carried off, or deſtroyed the writs, records, regiſters, or libraries of their churches. The deſtruction of theſe was reſerved for other hands, and thoſe too of natives of *Scotland*.

§. 3. *Deſtruction of hiſtorical, and of other ancient monuments, at the* Scotiſh *reformation.*

THE third loſs, or deſtruction of ancient records, hiſtories, and all ſorts of MSS in *Scotland*, and chiefly thoſe relating to eccleſiaſtical matters, was occaſioned by the zeal of our firſt reformers in the ſixteenth age. It is with reluctancy that I revive the memory of that tragedy; but I cannot but give here an account of it, in order chiefly to anſwer the objection drawn from the few remains that are now to be found in *Scotland*,

of records, ancient hiſtories, and MSS. of any kind, if compared with the plenty they have ſtill of them in *England*, notwithſtanding the reformation equally made in that kingdom; from whence it is inferred, by ſome that are not enough acquainted with the tranſactions at the reformation in both kingdoms, that the ſcarcity which we have ever ſince in *Scotland* of MSS. muſt proceed from there having been but few of them even before the reformation, otherwiſe why might there not have remained after it as many ancient MSS. in *Scotland*, in proportion, as in *England*?

To anſwer this objection, drawn from the few remains of MSS. we have ſince the reformation, it is ſufficient to expoſe the plain matter of fact, from proteſtant writers, who lived at or near that time; and, in the firſt place, to obſerve the vaſt difference there was as to records and MSS. betwixt the method by which the reformation was carried on in *England*, and that in which it was hurried on in *Scotland*.

1°. In *England* the reformation was begun and carried on by authority of the ſovereign, and had the outward countenance of legal proceedings. In *Scotland* the ringleaders of the reformation, far from any countenance of the ſovereign, or laws, were in open rebellion againſt the queen, then their ſovereign, and acted in defiance of all the then ſtanding laws.

METHODS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND COMPARED

2°. In *England* the cathedral churches, with all their buildings, records and libraries, were left untouched, at leaſt in the firſt heat of the reformation. In *Scotland* the buildings, records, archives, and libraries of the cathedrals, were no more ſpared, than thoſe of the abbeys and monaſteries.

3°. In *England* the ſuppreſſing or defacing of abbeys and monaſteries was not permitted to the multitude or rabble, but (*a*) deputies on purpoſe appointed by authority, with expreſs order to preſerve all things of value, to regiſter, and make an account of them; and in particular, care was taken to preſerve all evidences, MSS. and records.

And under the reign of king *Henry* VIII. upon the diſſolution of the abbeys and monaſteries, ſo great care was taken for the preſervation of all ancient monuments of hiſtory, that *A. D.* 1543, (*b*) by a ſpecial writ of that king, commiſſion was given to *John Leland*, a learned and zealous antiquary, *to peruſe and ſearch all the libraries of the monaſteries and colleges throughout the whole realm that were then diſſolved and broken up, that as much as might be, all ancient monuments of the land... might be preſerved.* And notwithſtanding

(*a*) Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. tom. 1. Collect. p. 152.
(*b*) Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, vol. I. p. 385

METHODS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND COMPARED

all theſe precautions, *Leland* tells us that many of theſe monuments were deſtroyed.

How much more in *Scotland*, where no ſuch precaution was uſed, nor was it practicable, the government being at the time unhinged; and the executioners of this reformation of churches, as it was called, being the gentlemen of the congregation and an inconſiderate multitude, with arms in their hands againſt their ſovereign, led on by the fiery exhortations of their new preachers, with a blind zeal to burn and deſtroy all monuments of religion, as ſuperſtitious and idolatrous; and particularly animated againſt all MSS. and records, relating to religion, in order to aboliſh the memory of what they termed idolatry; and eſpecially to burn all books that had red letters, as belonging to the popiſh worſhip, by which means ſuch MS. hiſtories that came in their way, were ſacrificed without diſtinction, all of them having the titles in *miniature*, or red letters, as well as books of liturgy or laws: and even in the burning the books of the old liturgy, we made conſiderable hiſtorical loſſes; for 'tis to be obſerved, that frequently in old miſſals, breviaries, and ſuch others, where there were, at the beginning or end, blank leaves; the churchmen, or religious men of theſe times, uſed to fill them up for their own uſe, with extracts or copies of parts of the hiſtory or chronology of the country. I have ſeen ſome of this kind; but the moſt valuable I have met with,

was at *Drummond-Caſtle*, the ſeat of the noble family of *Perth*; where, among the remains of an ancient library belonging to it, I found in an ancient breviary, on vellum, written about the end of the fourteenth age, an exact chronology, beginning *A. D.* 1067, at the marriage of *Malcolm* III. and *S. Margaret*, and from thence down till about *A. D.* 1390, (when it appears to have been written) containing the principal tranſactions of the kingdom, each with its proper date of the year, and often of the day and month. In the ſame library there is, among other MSS. a valuable ſacramentary, or miſſal, in a *Saxon* or *Iriſh* character, that appears to be about ſeven hundred years old, in the ſame character as the MS. ſacramentary, entitled, *Miſſa S. Columbani*, in the advocates-library at *Edinburgh*.

And I doubt not, but if I had been able to travel, and been allowed freedom to go through the kingdom into the ancient ſeats of others of our nobility and gentry, I might have met with others of that kind. For what were ſaved of the monuments of hiſtory, ſuch as ſome of the copies of the *Scotichronicon*, and a few others, owed their preſervation to the care of ſome noblemen or gentlemen, into whoſe hands they happened to fall, when all was going to wreck.

4°. In *England* the reformation, as to religious places, was carried on gradually by certain ſteps,

ST. ANDREWS THE REPOSITORY OF ANCIENT DOCUMENTS

and thoſe authorized by publick acts of parliament or commiſſions: all which were as many warnings to thoſe concerned, to prepare againſt the ſtorm. In *Scotland* nothing contributed more to the general loſs of records, MSS. and monuments of hiſtory, than that ſudden and unforeſeen invaſion, plundering, and burning of religious houſes: like a hurricane, or violent ſtorm, that drove all before it, before any body, but the contrivers, was aware; and what is moſt to be lamented, this ſtorm fell more violently and more ſuddenly on theſe religious places which were the chief repoſitories of ancient records and MSS. and which being more remote from the invaſions of *England*, had been, till then, preſerved more entire. To inſtance in a few examples.

In St. *Andrew*'s, as being the metropolitan church, were kept the chief eccleſiaſtical records of the kingdom; and being the moſt ancient ſeat, and in great veneration even in the time of the *Pictiſh* kings, the moſt ancient records or hiſtories, both of the *Picts* and *Scots*, were more ſafely preſerved there than any where elſe, being moſt remote from the ordinary ſeat of war. And now of all thoſe ancient monuments, we hear not of any other remaining, but one or two chartularies. The reaſon is obvious, *John Knox* himſelf (*a*), who carried on the work, tells us the reformation at

(*a*) Knox's Hiſt. p. 150.

ROYAL PALACE AT SCOON DESTROYED BY MOB, 28th JUNE, 1559

St. *Andrew*'s, that is, the ranſacking ſome churches, and razing others, was carried on, all on a ſudden, with expedition, upon an exhortation which he himſelf made to the people, on our Saviour's driving the buyers and ſellers out of the temple, whereby he ſo (*a*) inflamed the rabble, that they went inſtantly to work, and made ſpoil of the churches, burnt the archives, and razed the monaſteries of the *Black* and *Grey Friers*.

SCOON was the place appointed for the coronation of our kings, where, till the time of king *James* I. all the great councils or parliaments uſed frequently to be held; and, by conſequence, where the accounts of all publick tranſactions were moſt likely to be preſerved: yet we have nothing left of all theſe ancient records; and no wonder, for on the 28th of *June* 1559, as (*b*) *Spotſwood* and (*c*) *John Knox* relate, the royal palace, and chiefly the church and abbey, were totally conſumed to aſhes by the furious reformers of *Dundee* and *Perth*: notwithſtanding that *Knox*, as he ſays, and others of the chief reformers, being content that the church was reformed, that is, ſpoiled and plundered, endeavoured to ſtop the fury of the mobb from burning the palace and church; but in vain. The people, once poſſeſſed by his declamations, that all ſuch places were to be

(*a*) Spotwood's Hiſt. p. 123, 124.
(*b*) Ibid. p. 125.
(*c*) Knox's Hiſt. p. 155

THE BLACK FRIERS, OR DOMINICANS OF PERTH, DESTROYED 11th OF MAY, 1559

made ſacrifices of, were not to be ſtopt in the heat of their fury.

THE *Black Friers*, or *Dominicans* of *Perth*, *Domus fratrum prædicatorum de Perth*, was famous for being the ordinary place of meeting of all our national councils, which by an order ſettled above five hundred years ago, were to be yearly kept by all the biſhops and clergy of the kingdom; and whereof we have on record an account of many ſuch councils held anciently in *Scotland*, both in that church, and in others. I ſhall ſubjoin to this §. an index of the dates of ſuch of theſe councils, as I have met with on record; but, except the copy of the canons preſerved in a chartulary of *Aberdeen*, I could never as yet hear of the acts or canons of any of them before the year 1549. The reaſon is plain, theſe acts and canons, beſides the authentick copies depoſited in St. *Andrew*'s, and other churches, were of courſe kept in the archives of this convent of the *Dominicans* of *Perth*, to be repreſented at each council: now this convent and church ſuffered the ſame calamity as that of St. *Andrew*'s, or rather a greater, with no leſs expedition and ſuddenneſs. Upon the 11th of *May* 1559, the reformers being aſſembled in arms againſt their ſovereign at *Perth*, after a vehement declamation of *John Knox* againſt churches and convents, as monuments of idolatry, and inforcing the commandment of God for deſtroying all ſuch places, the rabble roſe and de-

DESTRUCTION OF GREY FRIERS LED BY JOHN KNOX

ſtroyed not only this convent and church of the *Black Friers*, but thoſe of the *Grey Friers*, and of the charter-houſe, or *Carthuſians*, (a building, ſays (*a*) *Knox*, of wonderous coſt and greatneſs) all theſe were ſo deſtroyed, that in two days time the walls only remained of all theſe ſtately edifices. It is *Knox*, himſelf who hounded out, or led on the furious mobb in this wretched expedition, that hath thought fit to record it, with many other ſuch noble exploits, more becoming the *Goths* or *Vandals*, than an apoſtolical man, as he pretended to be. This made *Johnſton*, a zealous proteſtant writer, but a lover of his country, ſpeaking of the miſchiefs that *Knox* occaſioned to the kingdom, characterize him as a man (*b*) *famous for the burning of churches, and for the renewing*, in his native country, *the barbarous devaſtation of the* Vandals, *&c.*

THESE were a part of the exploits of our reformers, againſt all ancient religious monuments of their native country, performed in the firſt year of their ſetting up, and may be chiefly attributed to the rabble, inflamed by the violent de-

(*a*) Knox's Hiſt. p. 136, 137.

(*b*) Verum enimvero Johannes Knoxius templorum incendiis, & Wandalica vaſtitate notiſſimus, qui priſcæ pietatis monumenta, obtentu religionis diruit, companas & plumbea eccleſiarum tecta ſacrilega rapacitate invaſit, inteſtinis diſſidiis accendendis, acerrimam fæcem prætulit. *Rob. Johnſton hiſt. rerum Britan. Amſtelod.* 1655. *p.* 2. *n.* 40.

ACT PASSED BY PEOPLE TO DEMOLISH ALL CHURCHES AND ABBEYS STILL STANDING

clamations of their new preachers. But, as if the fate of the new reformation had depended on aboliſhing all memory of antiquity in the kingdom, the exploits of the ſecond year were more fatal to all remains of ancient monuments, records, or hiſtory, than all that had hitherto happened.

THE leading men of the reformation met together in their uſual manner, without the commiſſion or authority of their ſovereign; and, among other acts, *paſſed one*, ſays archbiſhop (*a*) *Spotſwood, for demoliſhing cloiſters and abbey churches, ſuch as were not yet pulled down; the execution whereof was committed* to the moſt violent men of the party; *for the weſt, to the earls of* Arran, Glencarn, &c. *for the north, to the lord* James Priour *of St.* Andrew's; *and for the in-countries, to ſome baſons who were held the moſt zealous.*

THEREUPON, adds the ſame writer, *enſued a pitiful devaſtation of churches, and church-buildings, throughout all parts of the kingdom; for every one made bold to put their hands; the meaner ſort imitating the example of the greater. No difference was made, but all churches either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy veſſels, and whatſoever elſe they could make gain of, as timber, lead, and bells, were put to ſale: the very ſepulchres of the dead were not ſpared*; and, among others,

(*a*) Spotſwood, p. 174, 175.

SEPULCHRES OF ROYALTY NOT SPARED

thoſe of all our kings and queens ſince king *Malcolm* III. at *Dumferlin*, and elſewhere; as at *Scoon*, *Arbroth*, *Melros*, the charter-houſe of *Perth*, &c. inſomuch, that of all our kings and queens, there is not ſo much as one monument left entire within *Scotland*.

THE regiſters of the churches and bibliothecks, or libraries, were caſt into the fire, ſays *Spotſwood*, and theſe were ſo entirely deſtroyed, that if in *Scotland* there had happened a debate, ſuch as lately in *England*, (into which I do not enter) about the conſecrations or ordinations of biſhops and prieſts, either before or about the time of the reformation: I do not believe, that of all our ancient biſhops and prieſts, ordained within the country, there could have been found the regiſter or act of conſecration or ordination of any one of them. So careful were our firſt reformers to ſweep clean away all that could renew the memory of the religion in which they had been baptized, and all that belonged to it. Of which it were eaſy to give ſurprizing inſtances: but this is a ſufficient one, of the difference betwixt the violent manner in which the reformation, as to all old MSS. or records, was carried on in *Scotland*, and the moderate courſe, which was followed, in *England*; in which, during this late debate concerning ordination of biſhops, ſo many publick acts and regiſters of churches have been produced.

SCOTTISH REGISTERS OF ORDINATION OF PRIESTS AND MINISTERS PERISH

Now as no body, that hath the leaſt tincture of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, can doubt, but that in all the cathedral churches of *Scotland*, in former times, beſides the archives, where the proper records of each church were preſerved, there were regiſters of all ordinations of prieſts and inferior miniſters, and of all other eccleſiaſtical acts belonging to that dioceſe: that at St. *Andrew*'s, the metropolitan church, beſides the archives where all the records and rights of the church, ſuch as bulls of popes, charters of the kings; all eccleſiaſtical acts, ſuch as thoſe of national councils, of *Dioceſan* ſynods, of proceſſes in the eccleſiaſtical court, *&c.* were preſerved; there were alſo regiſters where all the conſecrations of biſhops within the province, or within the kingdom; all ordinations, diſpenſations, *&c.* were in courſe recorded: and though ſince the time of the reformation, all theſe original records are no leſs entirely and univerſally diſappeared, than if they never had been: (excepting ſome of the chartularies) yet no perſon of underſtanding would conclude, from the preſent want, that there never had been any ſuch original records, or regiſters in *Scotland*.

In like manner it were very unreaſonable, after all the diſaſters which have happened to our MSS. of all kinds, to conclude, from the few remains there are of our ancient hiſtories and chronicles, that

KNOX MISAPPLIES SCRIPTURE TEXTS TO EXCITE THE PEOPLE

there were not anciently as many of that kind proportionably in *Scotland*, as in other countries; for it was not barely eccleſiaſtical monuments that ſuffered in the times of our reformation; for ſince abbeys, convents, and churches, where our chronicles and other hiſtorical monuments uſed to be written and preſerved, were burnt or deſtroyed, and that generally on a ſudden, and without forewarning, ſo as that nothing could be removed or ſecured; it cannot be eaſily conceived how many valuable records or monuments of all kinds periſhed in their ruins.

FOR in a word, ſays (*a*) *Spotſwood*, *all was ruined*; *and what had eſcaped the firſt tumult, did now undergo the common calamity, which was ſo much the worſe*; *that the violences committed at this time were coloured with the warrant of* an apparent *publick authority*. Thus archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, and more to this purpoſe, where he lays the blame chiefly on *Knox*, and others of the firſt preachers of the reformation; and on their miſapplying ſcripture texts to excite the people to react, in their native country, the part that the *Goths* and *Vandals* had acted on the *Roman* empire.

BUT what is farther to be regreted, and deſerves to be particularly taken notice of, in this

(*a*) Spotſwood, p. 175.

VALUE OF RECORDS NOT APPRECIATED IN THOSE DAYS.

promiſcuous burning of religious houſes, with the regiſters and libraries of churches, is that beſides thoſe hiſtorical and other records that might have been known, and valued by the churchmen, or religious, who were the inhabitants and poſſeſſors of theſe churches or convents, it frequently happened that in the libraries of the churches and monaſteries of ancient eſtabliſhment, there were old chronicles, records, acts and canons of councils, and other valuable monuments, civil and eccleſiaſtical, of which the actual poſſeſſors of theſe churches or convents, (eſpecially in thoſe days when there was no knowledge of critical learning, and as little taſte of antiquity) either took no notice, or were not skilled enough to know the true value of them. Nor was this ignorance and neglect of ancient monuments, peculiar to many churchmen and religious men in *Scotland*, in the ages preceding the reformation; but too common in all other countries in thoſe days, and even in after-times.

THUS we have ſeen in the laſt age, when the true taſte of antiquity, of critical learning, and of diſcernment of genuine ancient MSS. revived, how many valuable monuments of hiſtory, of councils, of fathers, of eccleſiaſtical writers, and other pieces of all kinds; ſome of them whoſe names and titles had never been known or heard of, out of the houſes where they had been at firſt compoſed; others that were believed to

ENGLISH DOCUMENTS SAVED—LELAND'S SEARCHES AND LITERARY VOYAGES

have been loſt, how many ſuch valuable monuments have been diſcovered; and, if I may ſay ſo, dug up from the bottom of old libraries, in monaſteries and churches, where they had lain buried, ſometimes unknown to their poſſeſſors: and this particularly by the labours, skill and diligence of ſuch men, as *Dacherius*, *Caniſius*, *Mabillon*, *Baluze*, *Labbe*, *Martene*, and many others abroad, who have enriched, and daily continue to enrich the republick of letters with ſo many volumes of collections of ancient monuments of all kinds, and among theſe, ſo many ancient chronicles and annals, which had never been known out of the houſes where they were found, and had infallibly periſhed with them, without ever being heard of, had they met with the fate of the churches and abbeys of *Scotland*.

AND not to go out of *Britain*, whence have we in *England*, the *Decem* and the *Quindecem Scriptores*, the *Anglica*, *Normanica*, &c. publiſhed by *Camden*, the collection of councils in two volumes by *Spelman*, thoſe in *Anglia Sacra* in other two, and other ſuch ancient monuments; but from the remains of the libraries of the churches and monaſteries? Several of which had never been known or heard of, even as to their names and titles, no more than thoſe in *Scotland*, had not *Leland* made his literary voyages and ſearches, and had the *Engliſh* monaſteries and churches met with ſuch thorow reformers as thoſe in *Scotland*.

ANCIENT DOCUMENTS OF SCOTLAND AND WHERE KEPT

HAD our ancient churches, abbeys and convents, with their libraries, ſtood till theſe times that the taſte and value of the genuine monuments of antiquity is renewed in our country, as elſewhere; what might not, for example, have been found at *Abernethy*, the moſt ancient church in *Scotland*, and which had ſubſiſted from the firſt converſion of the *Picts* in the fifth and ſixth age, which had a proper chronicle (*a*) of its own, (mentioned in the *Scotichronicon*, but periſhed now with the reſt) and where the *Keledees* remained till the later end of the thirteenth age; in *Kilrimund*, or St. *Andrew*'s, in *Dunkeld*, in the priory of the *Lochleven*: all which were already famous in the *Pictiſh* times: what remains might not have been found in all theſe of the *Pictiſh* hiſtorical monuments; and of the *Scotiſh* in the ſame, as well as in *Scoon*, *Dunfermlin*, St. *Colmſinch*, *Reſtennot*, &c. And if the zeal of our reformers muſt needs ruin theſe ſtately edifices, (according to *John Knox*'s famous maxim, *That the ſureſt means to hinder the rooks to come back, was to burn their neſts*) at leaſt had the libraries and MSS. been preſerved, or had there been deputed, before they were deſtroyed, antiquaries, ſuch as *Leland* in *England*, that knew the true value of ancient pieces, to inſpect and make catalogues of them, to preſerve and

(*a*) Scotichron. Paſlæten. lib. 4. c. 12. in Biblioth. Regia Londin.

PUBLIC SPIRITED MEN LACKING IN SCOTLAND DURING THE REFORMATION

put in ſafety the more precious, *&c.* Had we had in the heat of this new kind of reforming the church, when ſo many valuable pieces of antiquity, that had eſcaped the fire, were ſold for almoſt nothing to the book-binders, grocers, *&c.* Had we had in thoſe days men of the fine taſte and temper of Sir *Robert Cotton*, and others in *England*, who preſerved ſo many of thoſe perſecuted remains and monuments of their forefathers piety and glory: nay, had we then had men of ſuch a publick ſpirit, as ſome in our own time, I doubt not but we might in that caſe have had collections of *Scotiſh* ancient monuments, no leſs valuable for *Scotland*, than thoſe of the *Cotton* library and others are for *England*, eſpecially of eccleſiaſtical matters; after which, it appears that king *Edward* I. in his ſearches had not deſignedly enquired: ſo they remained much more entire, till the time of the reformation, than what concerned the civil hiſtory.

And now 'tis eaſy to perceive the vaſt diſparity there was as to the loſs or preſervation of records, and all ſort of MSS. betwixt the manner in which the reformation was carried on in *England*, and that in which it was hurried on in *Scotland*; and that whatever plenty there might have been in former times in *Scotland*, of hiſtorical, eccleſiaſtical, or other monuments of antiquity, it is rather a wonder that any at all ſhould have remained, than that there ſhould be ſo very few

RECORDS OF GLASGOW SAVED BY ARCHBISHOP JAMES BEATON

in compariſon of what have been preſerved in *England.*

AND after this account of the fate of our ancient monuments of this kind, eſpecially thoſe of eccleſiaſtical matters, I think I need not inſiſt upon refuting the groundleſs ſtory of their having been tranſported abroad by the ancient churchmen, or religious men, at the time of the reformation; for, excepting a part of the records of *Glaſgo*, with the two chartularies, ſaved by the archbiſhop *James Beaton*, it was never as yet heard that any of our countrymen have met with any thing conſiderable of that kind in any foreign country: though within theſe laſt hundred years, and upwards, ſince the truth of our antiquities, as ſet down by *Boece*, hath been violently conteſted, and many other warm diſputes betwixt the *Scots* and the *Iriſh*, ſeveral of the moſt learned of our countrymen have uſed all poſſible diligence in ſearching every where abroad, after all remains of our hiſtory or antiquities. Such were *Thomas Dempſtar*, ſo famous for his conteſts and debates with the *Iriſh*; *George Conne*, a *Roman* prelate; *David Chambers*, and others, all of them in great credit at *Rome*, and elſewhere abroad. We have had others that have ſearched through *Flanders* and *Germany*; and of late the learned Dr. *John Jameſone*, who lived many years in *Rome*, and had acceſs to all their libraries, and ſearched with zeal every where both in *Italy* and *France*,

SEARCH FOR ANCIENT DOCUMENTS REVEALS SCARCITY

yet never could hear of any conſiderable monument concerning *Scotland*, except, what every body knows, of the above-mentioned charters or writs of the church of *Glaſgo* at *Paris*; and a hiſtory of the *Abbots* of *Kinlos* in *Murray*, written by *Fererius Pedemontanus*, the continuator of *Boece*'s hiſtory. Others of late have made farther ſearches abroad in the ſame view: ſo that there appears no other ground for that ſtory, of the tranſportation of ancient *Scotiſh* hiſtories, or other monuments, but the care and zeal of the aforeſaid archbiſhop of *Glaſgo*, to ſave what he could of thoſe of his church from the common fate of all the reſt. It had been indeed to be wiſhed, that his example had been followed by other prelates, churchmen, or religious men of thoſe times; but by all that hath yet been diſcovered, there is little or no appearance that he had any conſiderable imitators: beſides that, it muſt be conſidered, that this violent burning and deſtroying all churches, with their records and monuments, came on ſo ſuddenly, as we have obſerved, and was carried on with ſo great impetuoſity, that thoſe among the churchmen or religious men, who remained firm in the old religion, had difficulty to provide for their own ſafety, and were not in a condition to ſave any thing elſe.

AFTER this melancholy relation of the deſtruction of hiſtorical, and of all kind of ancient monuments at our reformation, which fell heavieſt

CHARTULARIES OF GLASGO, ST. ANDREW, MURRAY, ABERDEEN AND BRECHIN

on thoſe that concerned the church, it remains now to give ſome ſhort account of ſuch ancient pieces that eſcaped the zeal of thoſe times. And, in the firſt place, ſome of the *Scotichronicons*, and other hiſtorical pieces, were ſaved by ſome curious men, lovers of the honour of their country, into whoſe hands they happened to fall when all was going to wreck. It was alſo by the ſame means that ſome of the chartularies of four of the cathedral churches, (beſides the two of *Glaſgo* ſaved by the archbiſhop *James Beaton*) were preſerved; to wit, thoſe of St. *Andrew*'s, of *Murray*, of *Aberdeen*, and of *Brechin*. But the chartularies of the other eight cathedrals, together with the original writs or charters, records and regiſters of all of them, periſhed in the manner that (*a*) *Spotſwood* hath related.

BUT it appears, that no kind of monuments had ſo good a luck to eſcape, as many of the chartularies of the abbeys: and there were particular motives for ſaving of them, preferably to any other monuments of eccleſiaſtical antiquities. For almoſt the only pieces, I may ſay in general all that they contain, are the authentick copies of the temporal lands, poſſeſſions and juriſdictions that anciently belonged to theſe religious houſes, or churches, whoſe chartularies they are; ſuch as the bulls, charters or writs of their foundations,

There are many modern writers, however, who disagree with Spottiswoode and Innes in many of the statements contained in the facsimiles. Joseph Robertson says: "The tumult of Dundee was in the autumn of 1543; and in the following spring and summer Henry despatched an army to the north, which gave Melrose, Kelso, Dryburgh, Jedburgh, Eccles, Newbottle, Holyrood and Haddington to the flames, with many a collegiate and parish church in Lothian, the Merse and Teviotdale."[1]

The use of the word "Eccles" is evidently a mistake, and is doubtless meant for "Ecclesgreg." He adds:

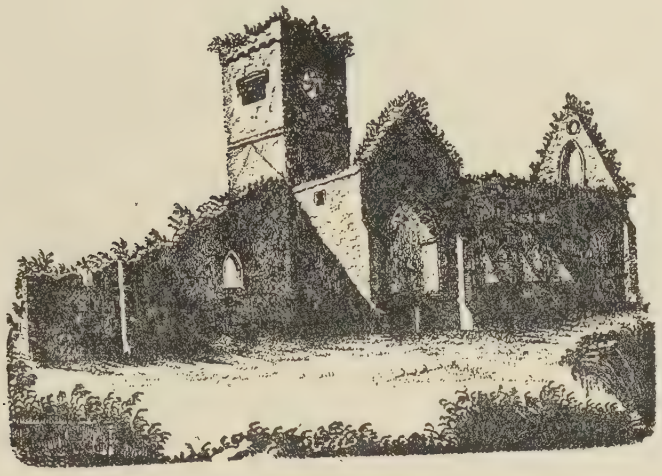
> It was not till fifteen years after these things that the full tide of the Reformation broke upon the Scottish shore; the shock was fierce but its fury has been greatly exaggerated. It does not appear that the example set by England was much, if at all, exceeded; except in so far as that what was performed in the south chiefly by royal command was accomplished in the north partly by lawless violence, partly by doubtful or defective authority. If Knox urged that "to drive the rooks away we must burn their nests," Henry VIII. had long before quoted the same adage for the same purpose. . . . If Mr. Riddle and the modern Scottish antiquarians bewail the turbulence of Knox as the cause of the lamentable destruction of Scottish records, let them read what Bale, Fuller, Anthony Wood and Henry Wharton have written on the manuscript treasures which perished in the English Reformation.

Under the title *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland*, Adam de Cardonnel contributed a valuable work to the student of Scottish history. In his introduction he says:

> At what period Christianity was first introduced into this country is very uncertain. We find, in a book written in the year 209, by Tertullian against the Jews, that the unconquered parts of Britain were become subject to Christ. . . . The state of religion in Scotland is but little known till the arrival of St. Columba from Ireland, about the middle of the sixth century. In the monastery which he built in the island of Iona, many learned persons were educated, who afterwards were employed in converting the Scots and Picts, and also the Saxons. . . . The Scots and Picts were governed by their own clergy, who from their being educated at home, had the plainness and simplicity of the primitive times in their forms of worship.

The following illustrations, reproduced in facsimile from de Cardonnel's work, are given because few have access to the original copies, which were published in London as early as 1788 and 1793, and are consequently very rare.

[1] *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*, 1891, pp. 86–88.

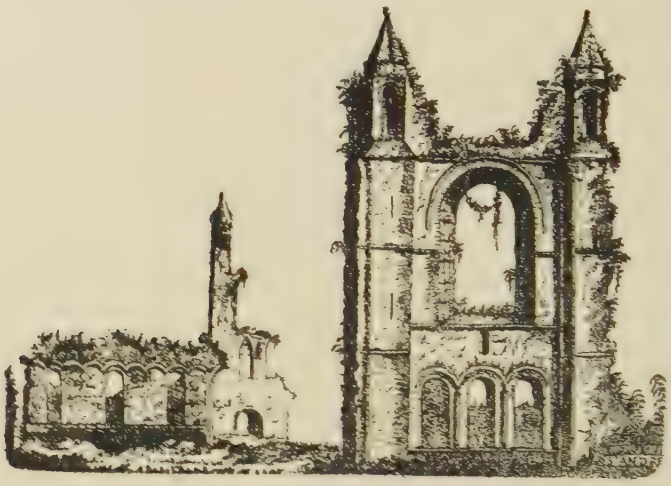


I O N A,

OR Icolmkill, is a ſmall iſland, ſituated near the iſle of Mull, in Argyleſhire, famous for a Monaſtery founded by St. Columba, who came from Ireland in the year 565; and after converting the northern Picts, obtained this place, where he built the Monaſtery above mentioned, and was himſelf the firſt Abbot.

The original inhabitants of this houſe were *Canons Regular*; but afterwards, upon the old cloiſters being ruined by the frequent incurſions of the Danes, and remaining depopulated for ſeven years, it became the reſidence of the Cluniacenſes.

This View of the Cathedral is from the S. E. By whom it was originally built is uncertain. According to Boethius, it was only rebuilt in the 7th century, by Maldivinus the 55th King of Scotland.



St. ANDREWS.

Plate I.

SITUATED on the ſea coaſt, in the ſhire of Fife, about 26 miles from Edinburgh.

This View exhibits the E. window of the Cathedral, which was dedicated to St. Andrew, founded by K. Alexander I. The canons were brought from Scone by Robert Biſhop of St. Andrews anno 1140.

The length of the church was 370 feet, and the croſs, from N. to S. 180; the breadth 65, and its height 100 feet. In the year 1304, according to Fordun, Edward I. having undertaken the reduction of Stirling, ſtript this building of the lead, for conſtructing the machines uſed in the ſiege.

This fabric was almoſt totally deſtroyed at the Reformatión, but afterwards repaired. Since the Revolution, it has been allowed to go to ruin. The remains of the wall which ſurrounds the church is ſtrong and extenſive, ornamented with turrets and niches, many of which are very entire.

St. ANDREWS.

Plate II.

St. Rule's Chapel, the ſubject of this ſecond Plate, as ſeen from the eaſt, is thought to be one of the moſt ancient monuments of Chriſtianity in Britain. The height of the ſquare tower is 105 feet. From the top, there is a moſt extenſive view of the ſea coaſt and neighbouring country.

By the common tradition, we are informed, that this Chapel was dedicated to Regulus, a Grecian Monk, who, in the year 368, brought thither the bones of *St. Andrew* from Patras, a town of Peleponeſus.

Regimund, the ancient name of the town, was given it from this Monk.

As an apology for the want of ſufficient grounds for elucidating the antiquities of St. Andrews, all the archives belonging to this place were, at the beginning of the Reformation, carried to France, and are ſuppoſed to be lodged in the Scots College at Douay.

St. ANDREWS.

Plate III.

THIS Plate gives the ſouth front of the Caſtle, with the gate of entrance, which is all that remains, the walls towards the ſea being totally demoliſhed.

This place is ſuppoſed to have been built by Roger Biſhop of St. Andrews, who died in 1202. He was ſecond ſon of Robert of Bedemont Earl of Leiceſter, and Chancellor of Scotland. It was afterwards repaired by Cardinal Bethune and Archbiſhop Hamilton. On the parade before the gate, George Wiſhart, a famous preacher, was burnt, at the inſtigation of Cardinal Bethune, who, on account of this, and other enormities, was aſſaſſinated in his apartment in the year 1546, by Norman Leſley, ſon to the earl of Rothes, and others, who threw him over the very window from whence he had, with exulting pleaſure, viewed the death of Wiſhart. Succeeding tumults have left this Caſtle an awful heap of ruins.

Over the gateway is a date, which, though much obliterated, appears to be 1155

MELROSE.

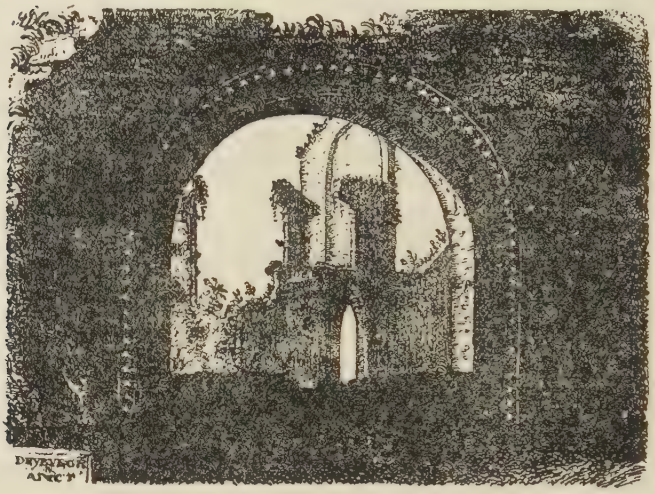
Plate I.

IS ſituated on the banks of the river Tweed, in the ſhire of Tiviotdale, about eight miles above Kelſo. Bede mentions an old Monaſtery here in the time of the Saxons, anno 664. According to the *Extracta ex variis Chronicis Scotiae*, the laſt Monaſtery was founded in the year 1136 by King David I. who beſtowed it on the Ciſtertians.

The Dedication was, in the year 1146, to the Virgin Mary, as appears from the original charter, *Deo et Sanctae Mariae de Melroſe, et Monachis ibidem Deo Servientibus de Rievallis, &c.*

The Monks wrote a chronicle, of which there are ſeveral manuſcript copies in England and Scotland: It begins in the year 735, and is continued down to the year 1270.

This View is from the S. E. with the great eaſt window.

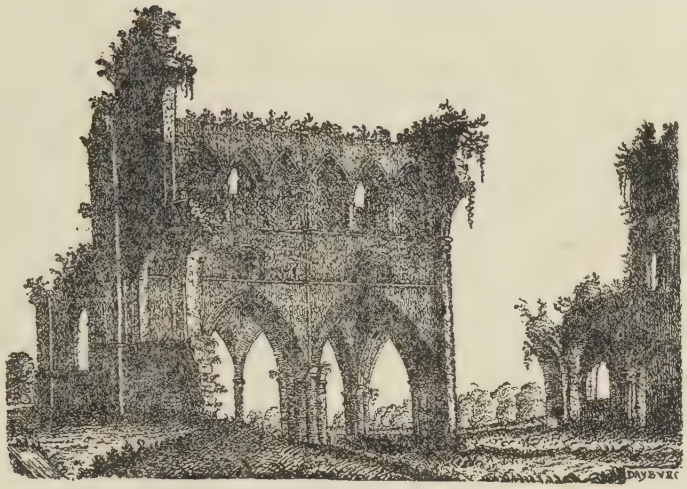


DRYBURGH,

PLATE I.

IS ſituated on the banks of the Tweed, a little below Melroſe in Teviotdale. Here are the remains of a famous Abbey, founded in the year 1150, by Hugh de Moreville, Conſtable of Scotland, and Beatrix de Beauchamp his wife, in the reign of David I The Monks were of the order of Premontre in France, and brought to Dryburgh from Alnwick in Northumberland in 1152. The Church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

This Firſt Plate is a View of the great weſt door, which, with the broken wall, and a few mutilated pillars, are all that remains of this end of the Church. The building ſeen through the gate is part of the tranſept, of which there is enough ſtanding to ſhow the ſtile of architecture to be old Gothic, and to give an idea of the ancient magnificence of the ſtructure. The various and extenſive buildings adjoining, for the accommodation of the Monks, indicate their great numbers, their wealth, and perhaps their luxury, which is the uſual concomitant of riches.

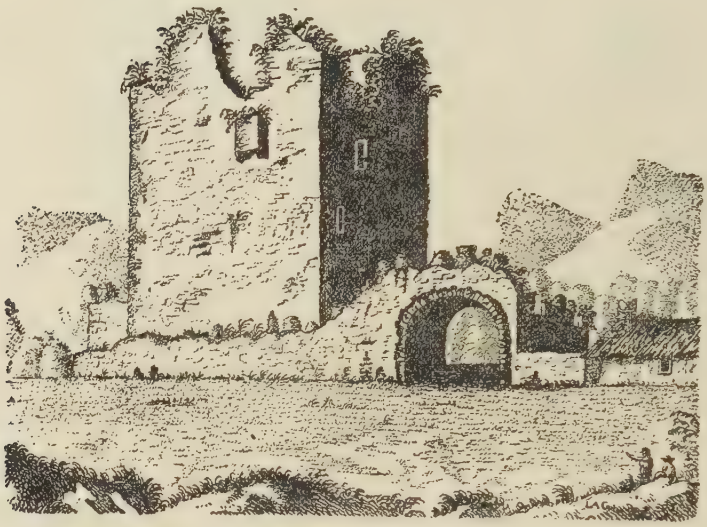


DRYBURGH.

Plate II.

THIS Second View is the oppoſite end of the tranſept from that ſeen through the gateway, and ſhows the elegance of the building. The ſcattered remains, interſperſed with lofty trees, and the Tweed, with a ſmooth gliding ſtream, nearly encompaſſing the whole, form one of the moſt pictureſque ſcenes that nature combined with art can afford.

Walter Stuart, father to King Robert II. granted to this place the patronage of the church of Maxton, in the ſhire of Roxburgh, and dioceſe of Glaſgow. Kilrenny in Fife was alſo given to this Monaſtery by Ada, mother of King Malcolm IV. and William the Lion, who by the ſame charter gives *dimidiam carrucatum terrae de Pitcortyne et unum toftum in burgo meo de Carele.* There were two Monaſteries in Ireland, viz. the Abbacy of Druin a Croſs, in the country of Armagh, and the Abbey of Woodburn, in the county of Antrim, who acknowledged this Abbacy for their mother



L A G G.

Plate I.

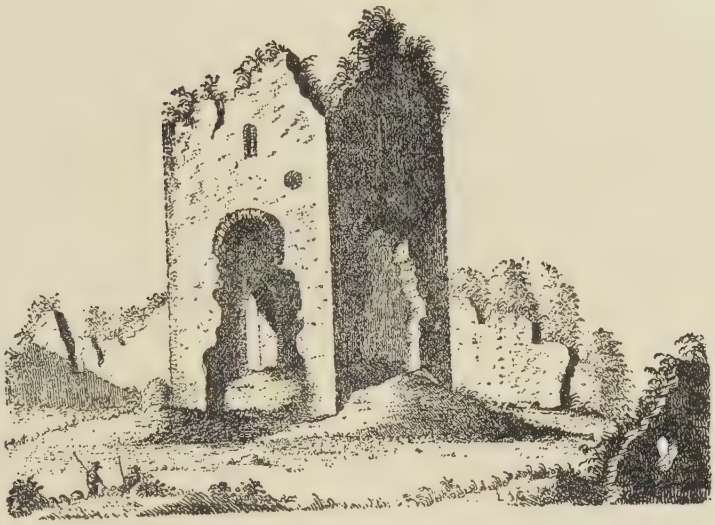
THIS Caſtle is ſituated in Glen Lag, about ſeven miles from Dumfries, amidſt a dreary wild, ſteep mountains on all ſides, with deep moraſſes for ſeveral miles, frequently covered with water.

It was the ancient baronial Caſtle of the very powerful family of the Grierſons of Lagg.

No tradition remains of the time of its being built; but from the ſtile, which is ſimilar to moſt of the border towers, it was with others erected at a very early period, to check the inroads of the Engliſh, and ſecure a ſafe retreat to our roving chiefs.

The firſt View is from the S. W. with the gate of entrance. There are the veſtiges of a number of ancient buildings adjoining, but no ditch, or other outworks of defence; its ſequeſtered ſituation was ſufficient.

Taken 1788.



L A G G.

Plate II.

THE laſt inhabitant of this pile was Sir Robert Grierſon, Bart. grandfather to the preſent Sir Robert.

The Grierſons are deſcended of the Laird of M'Gregor, and have been long ſettled in this country, where they were allied with the beſt families, viz. the Lords Maxwell, Charteris of Amisfield, Kirkpatricks of Cloſeburn, Ferguſons of Craigdarroch, and with the Queenſberry family by the marriage of the above Sir Robert with Lady Henrietta Douglas, daughter of James Earl of Queenſberry.

This View is from the N. E. where the garden has been. Near the garden is two or three oblong hollows, dug out of the ground, evidently intended for fiſh-ponds.

Taken 1778.

Of the destruction of religious houses during the Reformation, with the consequent loss of valuable documents and records, much has already been said. Modern writers have justly deplored this wholesale destruction of those early records. In *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, four volumes, published in London in 1848, by Robert William Billings, we find the following description of *Iona:*

> The history of Iona, which is that of the Christianising of North Britain, has yet to be written. Nothing of it will be found in those chartularies or collections of munniments which so amply illustrate ecclesiastical history from the twelfth century downwards. . . . It is said that the movement at the Reformation for the abolition of monastic edifices and "monuments of idolatry" proved fatal to the munniments of Iona. The learning of ages had been treasured up in Iona, the records of nations, and the valuable archives of remote antiquity which had been safe there under the fury of barbarians, now fell at once a sacrifice. Authorised by this and by an ill-judged decree of the Synod of Argyle, the zealous mob fell upon Iona as the most valuable and venerable seat of the Popish clergy, and nothing escaped destruction but such parts of the building and such solid monuments as were proof against the hands of rage. Of three hundred and sixty crosses said to have been standing, only three were left. Some were thrown into the sea, many carried away and to this day some are to be seen as gravestones in every churchyard in Mull and the surrounding islands. . . . It seems pretty clearly established that the Apostle of the Scots—St. Columba—was a native of Ireland, and that he arrived at Iona or Hy in the middle of the sixth century—it is said in the year 563.

Billings adds, there is clear evidence that the earlier kings of the Scots and Picts were buried in this sacred ground, but the number of those lying there has been greatly exaggerated.

As to the history of Iona subsequent to the Reformation, Billings gives merely the fact that in 1609 a general meeting was held in that place by the Highland chiefs, who came under obligations to the government "*and restraint in their patriarchal power, embodied in the statutes of Icolmkill.*" The question as to what extent the valuable documents, records and chartularies of Scotland would have contributed to the writing of a true history is an open one. Those inclined to take the English side of the question have always vigorously asserted that there were no valuable documents to be destroyed, but many prominent writers of both medieval and modern times have shown excellent authority for the controversion of such a statement.

CHAPTER XII

CORONATION STONE AND ENGLISH CLAIMS

Description from Hollinshead and Skene—Origin of the Stone—Its Connection with the English Claims—Views of Various Writers—Fordun's Account Considered Reliable—Destruction of Documents by Edward I.—Extracts from Balfour's *Annales*—Death of Wallace—Rights of Baliol and Bruce—Controversy Still Unsettled.

THE *Lia Fail*, or Stone of Destiny, is more generally known as the *Coronation Stone*. It has for several centuries formed another subject of controversy among antiquarians. I desire to go no further into the matter than to show that even on so unimportant a point as this, Skene has differed from all previous accounts. It is perhaps well in this connection to go back to some of the earlier writers, in order to get a clear understanding of the importance attached to the legend, first quoting Hollinshead's Chronicle. In his account of the origin and history of the "Stone of Scone," he translates the inscription upon it as follows:

Except old sawes do faile,
And wizards wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reigne,
Where they this stone shall finde.

Hollinshead's description has been frequently quoted by later writers, but no one is willing to vouch for its truth:

Simon Brech being glad of these tidings sailed quicklie into Ireland, and brought thither with him amongst other princelie jewels and regall monuments, the fatall stone of marble, wherein he caused himself to be crowned in token of his full possession and establishment over that kingdom. . . . Brechus being thus crowned was the first king that reigned over the Scots in Ireland, who began his reigne there, in the yeare from the creation of the world 3270, which time by Mr. Harrison's account, is after the floud 1616; from the first building of Rome 55; after the entrie of Brutus into Britaine 870; and before the incarnation of our Saviour 697.

I have given Hollinshead's description for the sole reason

that it goes farther back than any other I can find; whether it be true in part or not, it gives us a beginning. Fordun likewise speaks of the stone as having been "reverently kept for the consecration of the kings of Alban," and states that no king of Scotland was ever allowed to reign unless he had first, on receiving the royal name, sat upon the stone at Scone, then the capital of the country. Wyntown, confirming Fordun, associates it with Iona before its transference to Scone. Skene was the first historian to cast doubt upon the previously accepted history of the stone:

> The legend of the Coronation Stone of Scotland, formerly at Scone, and now at Westminster Abbey, is intimately connected with the fabulous history of Scotland. . . . The mists cast around the true history of Scotland by this fictitious narrative have been, in a great measure, dispelled.[1]

It is composed of red sandstone, twenty-six inches long by sixteen inches broad, ten inches thick, with a flat top and showing chisel marks. Skene asserts that "Its mythic origin identifies it with the stone which Jacob used as a pillow at Bethel and then set up there as a pillar and anointed with oil, which, according to Jewish tradition, was afterwards removed to the second temple, and served as the pedestal for the ark." He likewise suggests that since history knew of it at Scone alone, it may have been connected with the legend of Bonifacius, and possibly was the very stone altar upon which he celebrated the Eucharist "after he had brought over the King of the Picts and his people from the usages of the Columban churches to conformity with those of the Romish Church, and possibly rebaptised them."

Mitchell claims that this version is in conformity with the belief of the Irish that this stone had formed the altar upon which St. Patrick celebrated the Eucharist after the conversion and baptism of the King of Cashel, for it is a well-known fact that the Irish missionaries of those days always carried with them a block of stone to be used as an altar:

> St. Patrick's stone altar is frequently mentioned in his acts, and, in the only strictly analogous case to the coronation stone of the Scottish kings—that of the kings of Munster, who were crowned at Cashel—sitting upon a similar stone—the belief was that this coronation stone had been the stone altar of St. Patrick on which he had celebrated the Eucharist after the conversion and baptism of the king of Cashel.[2]

[1] *The Coronation Stone*, p. 1.

[2] *History of Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, p. 139.

Its early origin is, therefore, legendary. Mitchell thinks that Wyntown's association of it with Iona, makes it natural to connect it with St. Columba, who inaugurated Aidan as King of Dalriada in 574:

> This function was performed in Iona, and we may think it not improbable that Columba followed the practice that had, it would appear, been already set in Ireland in regard to St. Patrick's altar, and similarly employed his own altar in the case of Aidan.[1]

Mitchell adds that in all probability the important kings of Dalriada continued to be crowned on this stone until the time of Kenneth MacAlpin, who, as we can well understand, would have been desirous of transferring it to Scone, the capital henceforth of the kingdom. Of the value of the stone, he says:

> At Scone the Stone of Destiny remained till 1296, when King Edward the First of England, recognising the reverence in which it was held in Scotland, transferred it to Westminster, where it has been ever since reverently cherished—a wonderful testimony to the respect in which it has been ever held. An early evidence of the esteem in which the relic was held in England is furnished us in the *Chronicle of Lanecrost*, in which we are told that in connection with the Treaty of Northampton, entered into in 1328, it was purposed to restore it to Scotland, but the citizens of London would not permit its removal.

According to all authentic writers of the time, the stone probably remained at Iona until the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin, when the Picts and the Scots became a united people, and Scone the capital of the kingdom. The history of the stone would be of little consequence were it not for the fact that during the great controversy in relation to the *English Claims* question, it played a conspicuous part. Skene says:

> The derivation of the kingdom of the Scots, and their progress from Egypt through Spain and Ireland to Scotland, was the tale opposed to that of the king of England, by whom the kingdom of Scotland was derived from Albanactus, the youngest son of Brutus, the eponymos of the Britains; while that of England was derived from Locrinus the eldest son.[2]

In the above paragraph lies the gist of the whole matter so far as Skene's effort to controvert the accepted origin of the stone is concerned. In the "*Instructions*," prepared by the Scottish Government, Skene claims there was no allusion to the

[1] *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, p. 140.
[2] *The Coronation Stone*, Edinburgh, 1869.

stone, but that before presenting this paper to the Pope, Baldred Bisset inserted the story of its great antiquity, as an argument for the independence of Scotland. Skene offers the suggestion that "we owe the origin of the legend entirely to the patriotic ingenuity of Baldred Bisset."

In the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, we find a full description of these documents, which Skene has published under the title, *Tracts Relating to the English Claims*[1]; two pages of the "*Processus*" of Baldred Bisset are reproduced in facsimile in this work. These documents, four in number, with two versions of the "*Instructions*" to the Scotch Commissioners, may be said to form the entire basis upon which the later histories of the English Claims question have been built. In the preface to the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Skene says:

> In the years 1300 and 1301, a discussion arose between the Pope, the king of England, and the Scottish Government with regard to the independence of Scotland. It commenced in the year 1300, by a bull directed by Pope Boniface the Eighth to Edward, king of England, which was replied to by the English Parliament, and afterwards by the king himself. The Pope then directed a bull to the bishops of Scotland, while the Government of Scotland sent instructions to their commissioners in Rome, and this was followed by an argument written by Baldred Bisset, rector of Kinghorn, in the diocese of St. Andrews, who was one of these commissioners.

In a work published by Cosmo Innes in 1867,[2] Baldred Bisset's "*Processus*," an argument delivered before Pope Boniface for the Scottish side of the English Claims question, is given in full, with the following information by the editor:

> It is, I think, the only record preserved of Master Baldred Bisset, who was the leading Commissioner employed by the Parliament of Scotland to inform the mind of the Roman Court of the shallowness of King Edward's pretences to be Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland. His pleadings against the fictions of the English king—*Processus Baldredi Contra figmenta Regis Anglis*—are well known to the readers of Fordun, and are made more intelligible in the recent volume of Mr. Skene—"Chronicles of the Picts and Scots."

Cosmo Innes here refers to the bull of the Pope to the King of England, the King of England's reply, the Instructions to the Scotch Commissioners and the argument by Baldred Bisset,

[1] *Supra*, pp. 160, 161.

[2] *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland.*

which must be read in connection with Skene's preface,[1] where he makes a most serious charge of intentional alteration by Fordun. Innes adds, on the same subject:

> The whole controversy is very curious, the ambassadors of the two nations resting their claims upon their comparative antiquity, and furnishing, if not making, a history to support them. One charge of Master Baldred was at least very definite. He asserted to the Pope and in the face of Christendom, that Edward, after capturing and sending Baliol to prison in England, used his seals, which he had taken by force from the Scotch Chancellor, for fabricating the letters of resignation from Baliol. Such open charges of forgery and fraud were among the amenities of judicial proceedings of that age; and this was not the only, or the worst, charge against Edward 1st, who indeed trafficked too much in records and their preparation.

Neither Skene, nor any of his followers, ever, to my knowledge, made such a statement; on the contrary he has always sought to excuse whatever was amiss in Edward's conduct, and to throw the entire blame on the Scottish advocates. He has been decidedly pro-English in all of his assertions.

Chalmers traces the origin of the Coronation Stone, in his article on the pillars and monuments found in North Britain that contain Runic inscriptions:

> There was another class of such monuments, which was very familiar to the Irish, and the Scoto-Irish, and which may be properly called inaugural stones. The chieftains of clans in Ireland were inaugurated by being placed on stones, whatever the kings may have been, when they were severally instituted. A sort of inauguration existed, certainly, among the chieftains, in North Britain. To the same obscure origin may be referred the coronation stone of the Scottish kings. This memorable stone is traced up to a very distant origin. Legend supposed this ill-fated stone to have been the pillow of Jacob; to have been brought from the Holy Land to the sacred island; to have been the individual stone whereupon the supreme kings of Ireland used to be inaugurated, in times of heathenism, on the hill of Tarah.[2]

In a footnote he adds: "Sir George Mackenzie is studious to inform us that 'Gregory was the first of our kings, who anno 879, gave the first coronation oath, having embraced the Christian faith.'"

Innes, whom I have so frequently quoted, is an authority on this subject. In his praise of Fordun and his work, he disagrees with Skene's statement that "Fordun altered most documents

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. lxi., *et seq.*

[2] *Caledonia*, vol. i., p. 467.

which he made use of," or that such records were "altered by Fordun to adapt them to his own history":

> Fordun spared neither labour nor diligence to restore the history of his country, and for that end travelled over all Scotland, searching everywhere the libraries, churches, monasteries, colleges, universities, and towns, gathering together whatever remains he could meet with to his purpose; discoursing always with learned men versed in history; nay, not content with that, he also . . . travelled into England and Ireland upon the same search, setting down carefully the information he received, as material for what he intended.[1]

As a result of this very diligent search for material, *Fordun's Chronicle* was held in such great esteem in those days, according to Innes, that all the monasteries and churches, which had been deprived of their ancient history in King Edward's time, as well as the rest of the kingdom, so universally adopted *Fordun's Chronicle* as to give it the name of *Scotichronicon.*

As early as 1701, twenty-five years before the publication of *The Critical Essay*, James Anderson had made a statement similar to that quoted from Innes: Innes:

> The design of this treatise is to evince that the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland is imperial and independent, and the pretences for the homage claimed by England from Scotland are chiefly founded on forgeries, vitiated or patched up lies, fables and extorted acknowledgments.[2]

It is needless to say that Anderson's opinion, of over two hundred years ago, is endorsed by all who have read the discussion without prejudice, and in a spirit of impartial inquiry. In none of Skene's works, have I found an assertion as to this matter that is free from English partiality, and that does not severely criticise those writers who take the Scottish side. As proof, I need only quote from his preface to the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*[3]*:*

> In the year 1251, Alexander the Third did homage to the King of England for his English possessions. Henry demanded homage also for the kingdom of Scotland, "prout evidenter in cronicis locis multis scribitur;" but Alexander excused himself on the ground that he could not take a step so important without the knowledge and approbation of his Parliament. If the King of England referred to chronicles, similar documents

[1] *Critical Essay*, vol. i., p. 204.
[2] *Historical Essay* (cf. *supra*, p. 539).
[3] P. clxxi.

were soon provided in Scotland to meet them, and we find one of them in the chronicle transcribed from the register of the priory of St. Andrews. It bears to have been compiled in the year 1251.

Could there be a more downright challenge to the integrity and honesty of the Scottish character? He says, in so many words, that when there were no documents to refute the English claims, the Scotchmen manufactured them. He has nowhere made any such charge with regard to the documents produced by the English, evidently assuming under all conditions that such documents were authentic and correct.

In 1269 the question of the independence of the Scottish Church was again raised, by an attempt on the part of the King of England to levy the tenths of the benefices in Scotland; and if the prose chronicle attached to the "Chronicon Elegiacum" in the copy inserted in the "Chronicle of Melrose" has been rightly assigned to the year 1270, we have the theory again asserted that the Scottish kings of Dalriada were the immediate predecessors of Kenneth MacAlpin; and we find the later kings of Dalriada brought down a hundred years after their true date, and a few fictitious kings added to suit this theory.[1]

In other words, the chronicles of Scotland, even the few that remained after the wholesale desecration of their consecrated repositories, are not to be relied upon, according to Skene. He asserts that fictitious kings have been added; in some places he alludes to them as "spurious," though I have been able to find no detailed account of such kings. He continues:

In the year 1278, in the English Parliament, Alexander the Third of Scotland swore fealty to Edward the First of England in general terms. Edward accepted it—"salvo jure et clameo, de regno Scotiæ, cum inde loqui voluerint." Every act of homage on the part of the Scottish kings seems to have revived the controversy and given birth to a new chronicle; and this was followed in 1280 by a still more elaborate edition of the Scottish version of the story.

Throughout the preface to the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Skene's attitude remains the same—constantly arguing that documents abounding in false statements were always produced when needed to support the Scottish claim. He even adds that in 1301 "the statement now first appears that the Scotch were first converted to Christianity by the clergy who

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. clxxii.

introduced the relics of St. Andrew, and that they had been converted four hundred years before the conversion of the Angles."

Further discussion of the subject would be futile and unavailing. It is a fact past all controversy, that Edward I. of England ruthlessly destroyed all the old chronicles and valuable documents of Scotland, wreaking particular vengeance upon such as did not favour his pretensions. It is equally true that the celebrated Coronation Stone, whether it came originally from Ireland or from Spain, or from any other country, formed the most important part of the throne of Scotland for many generations, and was greatly venerated by the followers of the various kings who received their inaugural rites upon it. It was carried from Scone into England by Edward I. in 1296, and all the kings and queens of England from that time have taken their coronation oaths upon it.

The following brief sketches are taken from Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, published in four volumes in Edinburgh in 1825, from the original manuscripts, preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. Balfour was born about 1600, so that the date of the publication of the original *Annales of Scotland* must have been in the first half of that century. The period covered runs from the time of Malcolm III., 1057, to that of Robert Stuart, 1315, and includes the dates and subject matter of the English Claims. Balfour probably knew nothing of Edward's claim to be "Lord Paramount" of Scotland, for he apparently considered him a mere robber and tyrant. The following paragraphs are quoted literally from the first hundred pages of the *Annales of Scotland:*

1057. K. Malcolme the 3rd. surnamed Kean-Moir, was cround at Scone, one St. Marces day, in the moneth of Appryle, about the 3d zeire of the rainge of the Emperour Henrey the third, in A. C. 1057.

1070. Queine Margaret was married to K. Mal. 3d. with great solemnitey at his village and castell of Dumferling in the Woodes, in the 14 zeire of his rainge in A. C. 1070.

1154. David 3d sone of Prince Henrey, and brother to K. Malcolme, was this zeire created Earle of Huntingdon and Gariauche.

1169. This zeire 1169 deyd Gregory Bishop of Dunkeldon.

1219. This zeire deyd Gregory Anenell.

1237. In this zeire 1237, ther was ane other interweien betwix the Kinges of Scotland and England, and 24 of ther counsellers, for the space of 15 days at Zorke.

After the death of K. Alexander the 3d the kingdome was without a king 6 zeirs and 9 mounths. . . . Yet the estates of the kingdome, tell controverted tytlls wer discussed, did make choysse of 6 governours, viz: South the river of Forth wer chosen to governe, Robert, Bis. of Glasgow; John Conyne; James, Grate Steuarts of Scotland; and the Governours be Northe of the river Forthe, wer, William Fraser, Bis. of St. Andrews, Earl of Fyffe, John Comyne, Earl of Buchan.

The following sketches of the claims of Bruce and Baliol give us a clear description of the state of turmoil into which Scotland and England were thrown at that time:

Grate wer the disputtes in this parliament anent the successions to the croune. . . . The maniest woyces went with the Bruce, in respecte that Robert Bruce was the first borne heire maill, and a degree neirer the croune then was Baliol. . . . The contrawersey was so intricat betwixt their two prime pretenders, and the arguments one syde so grate and weighty; and that the pretenders daily incressed in number, that did absolutely submitt the determinatione and decision of that contrawersey to Edward, King of England; and to that effecte, the parliament maide choysse of the Bis. of Brechin, the Abbott of Jedwood, and Sr. Geoffrey of Mowbray qhome they sent ambassadors to King Edward of England, to know hes determinatione, quho tooke their jorney from Scotland to Gascony in France, quher then K. Edward was.

1292. After a world of buissnes and tormoyle, quherin the state of Scotland was plunged and tossed in by a pollittike and ambitious judge, to quhose determinatione they, in a parliament at Perth, had foulishley submitted that wich only belonged to them properly to judge offe; at last K. Edward of England, for hes owen priant ends, to the grate detriment of the Scotta Commonweill, against law and equitey, decernes in favor of John Balioll, quho was accordingly solemly crouned at Scone, the last day of November in 1292, not without the contrair protestione of maney eache estait present; the gratest being absent.

1296. Towards the end of the mounth of Marche, 1296, John Comyne, Lord of Strathbolgy, baslie and traiterously, contrairey to hes faithe, delievred King Johne to Edward, King of England, at the castel of Montrois in Angus, in the fourte zeir of K. Johnes rainge.

1297. In zeire 1297, Sr. William Wallace, Knight, in a parliament holden at Perth, was, by the estaits of the relme, made Protector of the Kingdome. He defait the Englisch at Streweling Bridge, and regained the castell of Coupare. This zeir, in parliament holden in Scone, quhill Edward of England was bussied in France, ther was 12 protectours chossen for defence of the kingdome; amongst which was Johne Comyne, Earl of Buchan, one by the said parl: made general of the Scotts army, and sent immediately to infest the Englische borders. . . . In the monthe of May this zeir also comes Edward of England to the border, with a grate army. After a conflicte with the Scotts, quherin Sr. Patrick Grahame was killed,

the rest fled to Dunbar castle, which K. Edward furthwith beseged; bot the 4 day it was treterously randred to him by Richard Suarde, a basse willanous wretche, the kieper of it; and in it were taken and instantly killed, contraire to the tyrants faithe given, amongst quhon wer William, Earle of Rossy, and the Earle of Menteith, with above 70 knights and men of qualitey, forby common shouldiers.

1298. In 1298, was foughten the memorable battell of Falkirke, in Linlithgowshyre, betwixt William Wallace, knight general of the Scotts armey, and K. Edward, surnamed Longeshankes, the tyrant of England, quherin Duncane, Earle of Fyffe, and Sr. John Steuarte, with their haill followers, wer almost killed. This same zeire, Sr. William Wallace, the Protectour, beseiged the castell of Dundie in Angus, and tooke the same the last of September, and put all the English therein to the sworde; and upone the nixt day, being the first of November he ranccounted the Englisch armey one Cragmure commandit by Sr. Henrey Cresinghame, with quhome he fought a werey grate batell, and killed above 4000 Englishe, with ther generall, Cresinghame. Non of the Scotts dyed that day of note, save only Sr. Andrew Murray, the father of Noble Sr. Andrew Murray.

Other important events recorded by Balfour in the same year are the invasion of England by Sir William Wallace, Protector of Scotland, and his return with great spoil; the battle of Black Ironsides, fought in Fifeshire, where the English were totally routed and overcome, and in the following year, 1299, the defeat of the English by the Protector in three great battles near Perth, and the drowning of many English. In 1300 John Comyne is reported to have defeated the English army "2 severall tymes." The same year King Edward sent a great army to Fyffe and "miserably wastit the same." Balfour continues:

This same zeire, the 7 of September, Sir William Wallace, sometyme Governor of Scotland, was fraudulently, not suspecting aney guile, betrayed and taken by St. John Monteith at Glasgow, and delivred to the crueill and inhumaine tyrant of England, King Edward the I., by quhome he was carried to London, and ther execut and dismembered most inhumanly, and that for the defense of hes ane native country.

According to these same *Annales* on the 6th of April, 1306, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carric, was solemnly crowned at Scone, the first king of that name. The first year of his reign was an unfortunate one for him, for within three months he was several times overthrown by the lieutenants of Edward's army. In the month of September, 1313, he took by assault the town of Perth from the English, killing "the garrison, every mother's son," levelling the walls to the ground and burning the town. In the

concluding annals we find that in 1314 "the 9 of the kalends of Junig, one St. Johne Baptiste day," occurred the memorable battle of Bannockburn between the armies of Robert Bruce of Scotland, and Edward of England:

Most of the wretters of the tyme reports that the Englische armey did consist of above a hundredth thousand, and the Scotts not passing, 30,000. The totall overthrow of the English armey in this batell made up all King Robert's former losses, and enriched hes quholl armey. In this batell the Englishe lost above 50,000 of ther best men, with all ther baggage and furniture, which was grate and riche; ther king fled for his lyffe; the Duck of Gloucester, with above 200 men of quality wer killed; John, Duck of Brittanie, and 300 knight noblemen, and commanders were taken prissoners.

This zeire, 1315, Robert Steuarte, the kings grandchild by hes daughter Marioney, is borne, to the grate joy of his father, Walter, the Grate Steuart of Scotland.

Dr. John Emery Ross, LL.D., writing of the period to the Reformation, published in 1884 his *Scottish History and Literature.* His impartial treatment of such matters as the English Claims entitles him to more than a passing glance:

Before the death of Alexander III. had left Scotland a prey to foreign ambition and rapacity, successive generations of landed proprietors, small and great, had been bound to extend the area of their cultivated land; even those who had no land were, according to Fordun, under an obligation to daily dig seven square feet of earth. Towns had sprung up and had originated both a home and a foreign trade. . . . But though we do not think it necessary to discuss Edward's "Claim of Right," we have no hesitation in saying that if it had been a thousand times stronger than it was, it could by no possibility have been allowed by the Scottish people. . . . They knew well that over and over again when the independence of the kingdom, either in church or state, prelates and monarchs had asserted its rights with fiery pride, and no voluntary submission to an English dominion could henceforth be dreamt of. Their country might be conquered and crushed—such was indeed its fortune for a time—but Edward was never farther from the end he desired when his soldiers garrisoned every fortress, and his governors meted out what justice they pleased to the burghers and peasants of Scotland.[1]

Ross's excellent account of the life and career of Sir William Wallace concludes with the statement:[2]

It seems to us that no value whatever is to be attached to the hysterical

[1] *Scottish History and Literature*, pp. 39–47.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

politics of the English chroniclers. When they call Wallace a thief and a robber; when they assure us that he was a base born outlaw, we instinctively feel that they are not writing history, but merely giving vent to calumnies which are the ignoble offspring of prejudice and hate.

As to this period, and the condition to which the reign of Alexander III. had brought Scotland, Ross quotes from Wyntown the following very quaint lines:

Quhen Alysander oure Kyng wes dede,
That Scotland led in luwe and le,
Away wes sons off ale and brede,
Off wyre and wax, off gamyn and gle:
Oure gold was chanyd in lede,
Cryst, borne in to Vyrgnyte,
Succoure Scotland and remede,
That stad (is in) perplexyte.

In Ross's opinion very few, if any, of the contemporary English writers care anything for the terrible outrages perpetrated upon a disaffected people by foreign soldiery. He knew the futility of any effort to convince minds already biased by a perusal of the English chronicler, of the justice of Scotland's position. In like manner, the present writer has sought merely to give brief quotations from various prominent authors, and to present the matter as one which no amount of argument can settle conclusively.

Dickens[1] gives us a fair and simple story of the English Claims in a style peculiarly his own:

> And now we come to Scotland, which was the great and lasting trouble of the reign of Edward the First. . . . About thirteen years after Edward's coronation, Alexander the Third, King of Scotland, died of a fall from a horse. He had been married to Margaret, King Edward's sister. All their children being dead, the Scottish crown became the right of a young Princess, only eight years old, the daughter of Eric, King of Norway, who had married a daughter of the deceased sovereign. King Edward proposed that the "Maiden of Norway" as the Princess was called, should be engaged to be married to his oldest son; unfortunately, as she was coming over to England she fell sick and landing on one of the Orkney Islands died there. A great commotion immediately began in Scotland, where as many as thirteen noisy claimants to the vacant throne started up and made a general confusion.
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> King Edward, much renowned for his sagacity and justice, it seems to

[1] *Child's History of England*, pp. 140–6.

have been agreed to refer the matter to him. He accepted the trust and went with an army to the borderland where England and Scotland joined. There he called upon the Scottish gentlemen to meet him at the castle of Norham, on the English side of the river Tweed; and to that castle they came. But before he would take any step in the business, he required those Scottish gentlemen, one and all, to do homage to him as their superior Lord; and when they hesitated, he said "By the Holy Edward, whose crown I wear, I will have my rights, or I will die maintaining them!" The Scottish gentlemen, who had not expected this, were disconcerted and asked for three weeks to consider it. At the end of three weeks, another meeting took place on a green hill on the Scottish side of the river. Of all the competitors for the Scottish throne, there were only two who had any real claim in the right of their near kindred to the royal family. These were John Baliol and Robert Bruce; and the right was, I have no doubt, on the side of John Baliol. At this particular meeting John Baliol was not present, but Robert Bruce was; and on Robert Bruce being formally asked whether he acknowledged the King of England for his superior lord, he answered, plainly and distinctly, Yes, he did. Next day John Baliol appeared and said the same. This point settled, some arrangements were made for inquiring into the titles.

The inquiry occupied a pretty long time—more than a year. While it was going on, King Edward took the opportunity of making a journey through Scotland, and calling upon the Scottish people of all degrees to acknowledge themselves as his vassals, or be imprisoned until they did. In the meanwhile, the Commissioners were appointed to conduct the inquiry, a Parliament was held at Berwick about it, the two claimants were heard at full length, and there was a vast amount of talking. At last, in the great hall of the castle of Berwick, the king gave judgment in favour of John Baliol; who consenting to receive the King of England's favour and permission was crowned at Scone, in an old stone chair which had been used for ages in the Abbey there, at the coronation of Scottish kings. Then Edward caused the great seal of Scotland, used since the late king's death, to be broken in four pieces, and placed in the English Treasury; and considered that he now had Scotland (according to the common saying) under his thumb.

Scotland had a strong will of its own yet, however. King Edward, determined that the Scottish king should not forget that he was his vassal, summoned him repeatedly to come and defend himself and his judges before the English Parliament, when appeals from the decisions of the Scottish courts of justice were heard. At length John Baliol, who had no great heart of his own, had so much heart put into him by the brave spirit of the Scottish people, who took this as a national insult, that he refused to come any more.

The account of the resulting war between England and Scotland, the imprisonment of John Baliol in the Tower of London, the career and execution of William Wallace, the succession

of Robert Bruce, grandson of the Robert Bruce first alluded to, is graphically told by Dickens, but the events are too well known to need repetition. At this time the Coronation Stone was carried to England and placed in the Westminster Abbey, Robert Bruce being the first king of Scotland who had to receive his coronation honours without it. The concluding paragraph of Dickens's account of William Wallace aptly expresses the sentiment of every Scotchman:

> Who betrayed William Wallace in the end is not quite certain. That he was betrayed—probably by an attendant—is too true. He was taken to the Castle of Dunbarton, under Sir John Menteith, and thence to London, where the great fame of his bravery and resolution attracted immense concourses of people, to behold him. He was tried in Westminster Hall—with a crown of laurel on his head—it is supposed because he was reported to have said that he ought to wear, or that he would wear, a crown there—and was found guilty as a robber, a murderer, and a traitor. What they called a robber (he said to those who tried him) he was, because he had taken spoil from the king's men. What they called a murderer, he was because he had slain an insolent Englishman. What they called a traitor, he was not, for he had never sworn allegiance to the king, and had ever scorned to do it. He was dragged at the tails of horses to West Smithfield, and there hanged on a high gallows, torn open before he was dead, beheaded and quartered. His head was set upon a pole on London Bridge, his right arm was sent to Newcastle, his left arm to Berwick, his legs to Perth and Aberdeen. But, if King Edward had had his body cut into inches, and had sent every separate inch into a separate town, he could not have dispersed it half so far and wide as his fame. Wallace will be remembered in songs and stories while there are songs and stories in the English tongue, and Scotland will hold him dear while her lakes and mountains last.

Thomas Ruddiman's work, published in 1747, was devoted principally to the controversy between Robert Bruce and John Baliol. The title of the book is characteristic of the style of the period:

> An answer to The Rev. Mr. George Logan's Treatise on Government: In which, (Contrary to the Manifold Errors and Misrepresentations of that Author) the ancient Constitution of the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland, and the hereditary Succession of the Monarchs are asserted and vindicated; And several considerable Mistakes and Falsehoods, in our common Historians and others, are discovered and rectified.

His detailed and comprehensive summary of the whole controversy follows in part:

The main, or rather only hinge, as all agree, of the Controversy turned upon this; Whether, in the Competition for the Crown, the Son of a second Daughter, or the Grandson of the eldest Daughter, ought to be preferred? Robert Bruce, the Grandfather of him who was afterwards King, claimed the Crown as the former, and John Baliol as the latter. The States of Scotland (to whom it belong'd to determine the Question) seeing the Kingdom thereby divided into two powerful Factions, and not thinking themselves able to compose the Difference, or to compell the adverse Party to acquiesce to their Sentence, chose to refer the Decision to Edward I., King of England. He being an ambitious Prince, gladly laid hold on the Opportunity which this gave him of subjecting both King and Kingdom of Scotland to that of England, which some of his predecessors had most unjustly, but in vain, aim'd to bring about. Accordingly, being thus chosen Umpire, before he would proceed to give his Decision by a lawless force, he extorted from, not only all the Competitors (for there were, besides Bruce and Baliol, no fewer than other ten or eleven, some of whom he is thought to have raised up himself) but also from most of the great Men of the Kingdom, an Acknowledgment that he was the Superior or direct Liege-lord both of it and them. This being done with a great deal of Formality and Solemnity, he with no less Formality at last declar'd John Baliol, his new Vassal, the rightful heir of the Crown of Scotland. Which Decision of his is by him founded on this, that it was secundun leges and consuetudines utriusque regni. But how truly we shall see anon. . . . In the first place, We have here a clear Demonstration, that we had then a fixt Constitution or Law of Succession to the Crown, and that was by Proximity of Blood. For both the Competitors claim'd it on that Score only, and the sole Dispute was, which of their Claims was best founded. . . . The Matter turned entirely upon the nearness of Blood the two Competitors stood in to the Grand-daughter of Alexander III., the last immediate Possessor. . . . Robert Bruce, the Competitor, founded his Claim principally on the Law of Nature. . . . I take the freedom to declare it as my sincere Opinion that according to natural Equity and Reason, which are anterior to all human Laws, Robert Bruce had them on his side. Robert Bruce was certainly at the Time of the Competition the first Male, and equally near in Blood with Dervegild, John Baliol's mother, to the last possessor Queen Margaret of Norway; and therefore, tho' descended of the younger sister, yet he being a Male, and Dervegild, tho' descended of the older sister, but a Female, had she then been alive, he ought to have been preferred before her; by the same parity of Reason, that he would have been preferr'd, had she been his Sister. As for John Baliol, as he had no other Right but what he derived from his Mother, if she (had she been alive) could have had no Title, so neither could he her Son have any.

But why should I trouble the Reader with my Reasonings on the subject, when I have the Authority, and Judgment of two Kings, and which ought to be decisive in the Matter, of the Nobility, Barons, Freeholders, and whole Community of Scotland, confirming what I have said. As to the Kings, we have it declared by Robert Bruce, in his Petition to Edward of

England, and not denied by John Baliol his Rival,—"That Alexander II., the son of King William, despairing of an Heir of his own body, held the said Robert his right Heir, if he himself should die without having another Heir of his own Body, and with the Assent of the good Men of his Kingdom appointed him as such; and (as he adds) pronounced him as such before them, of whom there were many yet alive that could bear witness to it. And (continues he) Alexander III. also who died last, held him for such, and willed it to be so understood to his special Friends, if his own Issue should fail!"

The Declaration of the Nobility of Scotland, in that famous Letter of theirs to the Pope, Anno 1320, is more express; For they say:—

"That the Divine Appointment and the Succession of Right according to their Laws and Customs, which they would Maintain to death; and the due Assent and Consent of them all had made him (Robert Bruce) their Prince and King." And they add: "That both on the Account of his Right, as well as of his Merits, they were obliged and resolved to adhere to him in the Defence of their Liberty." Adding this glorious Resolution, "That so long as an hundred of them were alive, they would never be subject to the King of England."

But further, that our Kingdom was not only strictly hereditary at that Time, but also that the Right was in the Brucean Family and not in that of the Baliols, we have in a most solemn manner asserted, in a Manifesto of the Clergy of Scotland met in a national Council at Dundee, 24 Feb. 1309, *i.e.*, eleven years before the above mentioned Letter to the Pope. It is there said—

"That the Right and Title of King Robert Bruce to the Crown was declared by the Judgment of the People; That he was assumed to be King by their Knowledge and Consent; and that being advanced by their Authority to the Crown, he was thereby solemnly made King of Scotland."

"The loyal People without Hesitation did always maintain, as they did understand from their Fore-fathers and Predecessors, and were firmly persuaded, that the said Lord Robert the Grand-father was after the decease of King Alexander, and of his Grand-daughter, the Daughter of the King of Norway, the true Heir, and should have been preferr'd to the Crown before all others."

John Baliol, who, by King Edward's Arbitration was appointed their King, and whom they, by an anterior Obligation, had bound themselves to accept as such, was by that faithless Prince made a captaive, and forced to surrender up the Kingdom to him. The Throne did thereby become vacant, and had no other Government but what that King usurped and most tyrannically exercised over them. . . . At last, that ever glorious Prince, Robert I., Grandson of the Competitor, set up his rightful, sovereign and independent Title, and undertook to rescue himself and Kingdom from English Tyranny and Bondage.

After relating the pretensions of William, Earl of Douglas,

the death of King David Bruce and the accession of Robert II. he adds:

Kenneth III. who, as all our Historians agree, settled the Succession of our kings, (which was formerly somewhat loose and irregular) in the direct hereditary line. He to make way to the Succession of his Son Malcolm II. according to his new Law, caused Malcolm Prince of Cumberland his elder Brother Duffus's Son, who had a better Right to the Crown, to be privately made away by Poison. . . . Tho' he underwent a severe Penitence for it, according to the Piety of these Times; yet he did not escape the Punishment due to it, but was killed by an Arrow shot from a mechanical Statue contrived by a Lady called Fenella.

Ruddiman also includes Gregory and Grim in the line of Scottish kings; and says, regarding the antiquity and regular order of their descent:

If we reckon those Kings from Fergus II. to the present Time, *i.e.*, from the Year of Christ 500 or so, in which that King, according to Father Innes, began his Reign; let him search the Annals of all other nations, and try if he can find so much as one Race of the same Family that have continued so long as that of ours.

About the same time James Anderson, A.M., Writer to Her Majesties Signet, brought out *An Historical Essay, Showing that the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland is Imperial and Independent.* In his preface he says:

I presume the independency I maintain, has for Patrons, all true Scots-Men, yea all sincere well-wishers, of the peace and quiet of Britain. . . . This oblidges us by the necessity of self defence, after repeated attempts upon the Sovereignity of our Crown, to vindicate our just right of Independency, and to lay open the unbecoming Artifices that have been used in the Claims of Homage. The design of this Treatise is to evince, That the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland is Imperial and Independent and that the pretences for the Homage claim'd by England from Scotland, are chiefly founded upon Forgeries, vitiated or patcht up lies, Fables, and extorted acknowledgments, which are the very shrewd signs of a bad Cause. . . . This Claim for sometime was managed only by word; But at length these monkish Devices occasioned a very long and bloody War, wherein was sacrificed the lives of several Hundred Thousand Christians, who exercised the most barbarous cruelties upon one another. Upon these things no Good Man can look back, without the height of horror and concern; wherefore the reviving of this Claim is the proper Office of a Firebrand. . . . To enforce my position, I have brought testimonies from some of the best English Historians; or else have voucht them by Charters, Seals,

and Records, and for illustration have placed them in an Appendix, being for the most part taken from the Originals.

He makes favourable mention of the *Historical Library of England*, and the *Historical Library of Scotland*, the works of the Bishop of Carlisle, following with the very apt and strong statement concerning "the repeated miserable Fates that most of our ancient Charters and Records have undergone," adding:

First, by the general Havoc and designed Extirpation of our Memory, by Edward the first; who carried off or destroyed all the Marks of our Antiquity and Independency; Yea, even the rights of our Lands, that came in his clutches, with the famous Library kept at Restennet. (Spotswood, *Church Hist.*, A.D. ann. 1300.)

Patronymica Britannica

A

DICTIONARY

OF THE

Family Names

OF THE UNITED KINGDOM;

ENDEAVOURED BY

MARK ANTONY LOWER,

M.A., F.S.A.

LONDON:

JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,

36, SOHO SQUARE.

LEWES: G. P. BACON.

MDCCCLX.

APPENDIX

From Lower's *Dictionary of Family Names*, facsimiles of which are given as a further aid in determining the origin of many Highland names, it will be seen that the Celtic word "Mac" became a very common prefix. Many of these names are taken from a private list prepared by Lord Stair, entitled *Seven Hundred Specimens of Celtic Aristocracy, or Almack's Extraordinary:*

Mac, a well-known prefix of surnames of Celtic origin, signifying "son of," and therefore cognate with the *Ap* of Welsh, the *Fitz* of Anglo-Norman, and the *Son* of English surnames. In England and other countries of Europe, the great staple of family names is derived from a territorial source, but among the Celts of Scotland, Ireland and Wales, the surname was almost uniformly that of the father or some ancestor, with a prefix. In Ireland *O* (formerly *ua*), grandson or descendant, is the ordinary prefix, and the *O's* bear the proportion of ten to one to the *Macs*.

In Scotland the case is reversed, and while there are said to be only three indigenous surnames in *O*, there are many hundreds of *Macs*. See art. *O'* in this Dictionary.

By the kindness of correspondents who have made collections of surnames with this prefix, I am enabled to lay before the reader a nearly complete list of them—nay, it may rather be called redundant, since in many instances two or more variations of a name have been made through ignorance among the lower classes of the people. This is especially the case when the name which follows the Mac begins with a vowel, and the C is tacked on to the beginning of the same name. In this way Mac Alpine, Mac Allan, and Mac Leod have become Mac Calapine, Mac Callan, and Mac Cloud, to the total confusion of kindred and etymology. I am told that near kinsmen sometimes vary their common patronymic so much that none but themselves would imagine that they were of a common stock; thus a Mac Crie might be uncle, and a Mac Craw, cousin, to a Mac Rae. In printing these names in MAC, therefore, I am anxious to guard against their being all received as genuine surnames, and the lists, having never been subjected to any critical inquiry, must be regarded rather as a curiosity than as the veritable nomenclature of a large body of British subjects. The principal names in MAC, such as those of Clans, will receive each a separate notice in the body of the work. As before intimated, a very large proportion of those here given, *en masse*, are borne by the lowest of the Celtic people, and possess no historical interest. Some, on the other hand, have always been associated with wealth and worldly respectability; while a few are obviously English names to which *Mac* has been prefixed from mere caprice, or from a desire of assimilation to the Celtic race.

I print the lists as I have received them; they are far from being strictly alphabetical.

The first list, collected by Lord Stair, and privately printed by his Lordship, is entitled "Seven Hundred Specimens of Celtic Aristocracy, or *Almack's* Extraordinary."

Mac Adam
Adams
Adie
Afee
Aire
Ainsh
Alaster
Alister
Alister
All
Allan
Alleney
Alley
Alpine
Alla

Mac Analty
Anaspie
Andrew
Ara
Ardel
Arly
Arthur
Art
Aranas
Asey
Askill
Aulay
Auley
Aully
Auliffe

Mac Auslan
Aughtrie
Aually
Bain
Baney
Barr
Barnet
Bay
Bayne
Bean
Beath
Beth
Binney
Blane
Brair
Braardy
Brayne
Bryde
Brain
Buchan
Burnet
Burnie
Cabe
Caffrae
Caig
Call
Callan
Calley
Callum
Calman
Camon
Cammon
Can
Cann
Cance
Caud
Cauch
Calagh
Cape
Candlish
Calmont
Carmint
Carten
Carty
Carthy
Camb
Cambridge
Carlie
Cardle
Carter
Cargill
Cartney
Carron
Carroll
Cash
Caskill
Caskie
Casland
Casse
Catan
Cay
Chie
Cheyne
Clelland
Clenachan
Clean
Cleary
Climont
Clymont
Claverty
Cleverty
Chlery
Clew

Mac Clumper
Clumpha
Cleish
Cloy
Clure
Clarens
Clarence
Clintock
Clue
Cloud
Clary
Clencham
Cluskie
Clune
Chrystle
Clung
Cavins
Carroughan
Colla
Colly
Condack
Conkey
Connechy
Conochie
Combie
Comish
Come
Collom
Coid
Coan
Coard
Colgan
Coll
Connell
Comb
Counal
Conchie
Comas
Commisky
Correl
Corkle
Corry
Cormick
Cormack
Cord
Cool
Cook
Corkindale
Corkindle
Cosh
Coul
Coughtrie
Court
Cowat
Coy
Cornick
Creery
Craw
Crea
Crie
Crorie
Cririe
Crow
Crindle
Creagh
Creight
Cracken
Crossan
Creery
Croben
Crone
Crane
Creath

Mac Cririck
Cready
Courtie
Cunn
Cuaig
Culla
Culloch
Cullagh
Cully
Cull
Culliffe
Curry
Cutcheon
Cullich
Cummin
Curdy
Cue
Cubbin
Curdie
Curtin
Clullich
Columb
Conch
Cumming
Caw
Corville
Chattie
Cleet
Caa
Crochan
Dannell
Dermot
Diarmaid
Dermid
Dead
Donald
Donnell
Donough
Donagh
Dowale
Douall
Dougall
Dowell
Dougald
Dona
Divett
Duff
Dollan
Dade
Eagar
Eachan
Earchan
Eachern
Eachirn
Elmail
Elsander
Elroy
Elvaine
Eldery
Elrevy
Edward
English
Enermy
Enta
Eniry
Enau
Evath
Evers
Ewan
Ewing
Evily
Ewin
Ewen

Mac Fayden
Fadzean
Faggan
Farlane
Farlan
Fall
Farquhar
Feat
Fedzean
Fee
Fie
Figgans
Finlay
Frederick
Gachen
Gane
Gaun
Garr
Garvie
Gakey
Gany
Ganston
Gaffie
Gaw
Gavaran
Garry
Gavily
Gavin
Gauran
Garrighan
Garva
Gechie
Geachan
Giehan
George
Gee
Getterick
Geehan
Geachy
Geoch
Genn
Gettigan
Gibbon
Gilchrist
Gill
Gilliwie
Gilray
Gilnary
Ginn
Gilp
Gilligan
Gillicuddy
Gillendrish
Ging
Gillivray
Ginty
Garrity
Glashan
Glashon
Glaughn
Glew
Glinghy
Gitrick
Ghees
Ghie
Gowran
Goun
Gown
Gough
Gonogil
Gowan
Gra
Grath

Mac Gregor
Griggor
Grouther
Grougar
Groth
Grau
Graw
Graddie
Guire
Gubbon
Guffog
Gusty
Guirk
Guffy
Gue
Guiness
Gutcheon
Guiggan
Gudzeon
Guinness
Gragh
Goveny
Geliatly
Goldrick
Hale
Hahan
Harg
Hardie
Hardy
Haffie
Hattie
Harrie
Heather
Henry
Hendrath
Houl
Houlgh
Hugh
Hutchen
Ian
Ilree
Ilveen
Ilquhan
Ilwraith
Ilroy
Ilpheedan
Ilhose
Ilvane
Ildowni
Ildowie
Ilwrac
Inroy
Innes
Indoe
Indie
Innalty
Inarty
Innish
Intosh
Ilwee
Isaac
Ivor
Jannet
Kain
Kane
Kandy
Kail
Kaig
Kardy
Kay
Key
Kean
Keand

Mac Keon
Keachie
Kell
Keen
Kechnie
Kellar
Keigh
Kendrich
Kelekan
Kelvie
Kenny
Kellan
Kennedy
Kenewaie
Keown
Kessock
Kenzie
Kengie
Kerchar
Kerrigan
Kerrow
Kersy
Kenna
Kerrell
Kerras
Kerracher
Kergo
Kerlie
Kersie
Kerrachee
Keson
Kewan
Keogh
Kennoway
Kart
Kid
Kibbin
Kie
Killy
Killan
Killop
Kimm
Kin
Kinnis
Kinlay
Kinnon
Kimmon
Kichan
Killykelly
Kinnel
Kinvine
Kintock
Kintosh
Kindlay
Kinstry
Kinney
Kinder
Kinnimont
Kimmie
Kissack
Kirdy
Kilterick
Koen
Kye
Knight
Kutcheon
Kreth
Ky
Kus
Koskray
Kown
Lachlan
Lain

Mac Laine
Lane
Lagan
Laggan
Landsborgh
Lae
Lardy
Larn
Laren
Laurin
Larty
Latchie
Laws
Lay
Lauchlan
Laverty
Lawrie
Lean
Leane
Leay
Lehose
Lennan
Lerie
Leish
Leod
Lennon
Letchie
Lea
Learbuck
Levy
Lellan
Learmont
Leroy
Linty
Liver
Lintock
Loughlin
Looney
Ludock
Lullich
Lurg
Lure
Lurcan
Lurken
Luckie
Machan
Mahone
Main
Macy
Manamy
Manus
Manchan
Maran
Martin
Master
Mash
Math
Menemy
Meikan
Meiking
Meeking
Michael
Millan
Min
Mine
Minn
Millie
Monagh
Monnies
Morine
Morland
Morran
Morrissy

Mac Monzies
Menzies
Morrice
Mullin
Muldroch
Muldrochan
Munor
Murdoch
Murdie
Murtrie
Murchie
Murray
Murrich
Murrough
Murdo
Muragh
Murty
Munn
Nab
Nabe
Nair
Naghten
Nally
Nalty
Namara
Namee
Nance
Nell
Neel
Neil
Neill
Neale
Nee
Nees
Neish
Neay
Nay
Neight
Nerlie
Nerney
Neilie
Nemany
Nie
Night
Niffe
Nish
Niven
Nichol
Nielage
Noe
Noah
Nolty
Naught
Naughten
Nanbourg
Nully
Neece
Neilledge
Omie
Omish
Ohoy
Onie
Ord
Ostrich
Owan
Owat
Parlan
Parlen
Phail
Phadraig
Phadyen
Phee
Phechy

Mac Pherson
Phearson
Phie
Phiely
Philimy
Phion
Phun
Quae
Quaich
Quaker
Quater
Quaide
Quarrie
Quhae
Quillen
Quin
Queen
Quiston
Quaig
Quown
Rae
Raild
Raith
Rabbie
Reath
Reary
Redie
Rerie
Reddie
Ritchie
Robie
Robbie
Robert
Ron
Ronald
Rory
Rostie
Row
Rorie
Ruer
Shane
Sheny
Sherry
Skean

Mac Skimming
Sparran
Spirron
Sporran
Sween
Sweeny
Symon
Symond
Swiggan
Taggart
Tavish
Taverty
Tear
Togue
Toldrough
Tornish
Turk
Tyer
Ure
Veagh
Vean
Vey
Vicar
Vie
Vigors
Vitie
Viester
Voddich
Vórrich
Vurrich
Walter
Ward
Waters
Weeny
Whea
Whaunell
Wheble
What
Whirter
William
Whinnie
Whine
Whan
Wheélan

Since this list was printed, Lord Stair has collected the following additional *Macs* :—

Mac Avenny
Alexander
Almond
Angus
Adoo
Alavy
Alava
Aodh
Artley
Auck
Awee
Beolain
Breer
Brairdy
Brodie
Breny
Boyd
Brier
Culdridge
Calme
Creak
Chave
Camlay
Canelue
Combre

Mac Coggie
Crumlish
Cavill
Christian
Christie
Cardie
Coghlans
Condecky
Constantine
Conghie
Coraskin
Clenchie
Corman
Coral
Cluachan
Craghe
Condie
Caughey
Cassey
Crachan
Cray
Crailte
Crath
Crain
Crimmon

Mac Crinsau
Crochert
Cual
Crohon
Culinan
Cueish
Crorty
Duffie
Dungal
Duach
Dunlevy
Dermit
Diarmid
Elharan
Ethelan
Eveny
Elhalten
Farren
Favur
Ferran
Fedris
Fedrees
Fion
Ferchary
Gaan
Grady
Gahey
Gladery
Garrigle
Gorrane
Gufferty
Gaskine
Googan
Gawen
Geraughty
Gilcolingain
Gilcom
Glattery
Glue
Gin
Gurk
Gillon
Graither
Gildownie
Gille
Gonagh
Gillegannan
Gilriach
Gormigal
Gleish
Gradie
Gorigan
Gowran
Gorren
Gawne
Grotty
Gottigan
Gruther
Gravie
Garnet
Gard
Gillipatrick
Hamlan
Hallan
Hendrie
Hir
Howie
Houston

Mac Ilhone
Ilray
Ilivee
Ilriach
Ilvain
Ilwhannell
Ilwrich
Ilwrath
Ilwham
Ilvaine
Indoer
Intaggart
Inatty
Inturner
Indulf
Intyre
Ilheron
Iver
Ilroid
Jerrow
Jan
Lurkin
Leisle
Lorimer
Mouran
Malcolm
Michan
Mirref
Maky
Murter
Murtor
Murgh
Nain
Nanny
Ness
Nier
Orm
Owen
Oubrey
Pake
Phadan
Quilton
Rath
Re
Reuric
Reynold
Sorlie
Starvick
Sorley
Shine
Swan
Target
Tellicca
Tier
Thole
Vain
Vane
Vayne
Veal
Veall
Vial
Whaney
Whinnan
Wyr
Wall
Wren
Wilson

Patrick Boyle, Esq., of Shewalton, N.B., has kindly supplied the following:—

Mac Aldowny
Atavey

Mac Avoy
Amond

Mac Acy
Alvaney
Bey
Birney
Bride
Broom
Boyle
Bratney
Cafferty
Calder
Calie
Calla
Callapin
Candie
Cane
Caysher
Caul
Causland
Cerran
Chesney
Clarney
Clasky
Clauchrie
Clay
Clemand
Clement
Clishoe
Clive
Clounan
Closkie
Clowelle
Cluney
Clurken
Cole
Collum
Colm
Combe
Common
Commava
Comachie
Coory
Corrie
Corquodale
Coslin
Cowie
Crackan
Creadie
Croarie
Cromlish
Crosky
Crotchart
Crumie
Cubbing
Cullum
Cumsky
Cune
Daniel
Dorwick
Dymont
Egan
Elheran
Elhiney
Enteer
Entire
Ewney
Erlane
Fadon
Fare
Farland
Fedries
Garrock
Gary
Gavel

Mac Gaver
Geary
Gechan
Gerrand
Gildowny
Gilvray
Ginnis
Given
Gladery
Glasson
Glover
Gorrane
Gowrlich
Govern
Grady
Gruthar
Guckin
Guigham
Gnugill
Gurk
Gooch
Goran
Grain
Haig
Hallam
Hay
Hutchison
Heffey
Inalty
Ilwain
Ilway
Innany
Intee
Irvine
Karness
Katchner
Keavitt
Kee
Keeser
Keever
Keillar
Kellop
Ken
Kennan
Kenon
Kenstry
Killigni
Kew
Killiam
Kimmont
Kindry
Kintry
Kinty
Kniven
Kippen
Kune
Kegg
Kessack
Kittrick
Larnon
Leroth
Lees
Limont
Lise
Loug
Lozen
Lue
Lugash
Lusky
Mahon
Meeken
Meekan
Michan

Mac Mann
Mathy
Meel
Mordie
Mulkin
Nellan
Neven
Nicholas
Nider
Niece
Ninch
Norton
Nutty
Oubray
Onehy
Peak

Mac Quat
Quee
Quilken
Quillan
Quigan
Quoid
Quoin
Quorn
Ra
Ruvie
Seveny
Swayed
Sliddell
Swiney
Taldrock
Vale

A SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

FAMILY OF GREGORIE

FROM THE TIME THEY GAVE UP THE
NAME OF MACGREGOR AND TOOK
THAT OF GREGORIE.

FOR MY GRANDNEPHEW

HENRY GREGORY.

1873.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILY OF GREGORIE.

JAMES MACGREGOR, son of George MacGregor of Rora, settled on the Boyne—a district in Aberdeenshire, near Banff—in 1510. His son James took the name of *Gregorie*. I suppose from living in a part of the country where Gaelic was not spoken; *Mac* being the expression for son in Gaelic; the *ie* expressing the same in English. For the clan Gregor were not *proscribed* till 1603, so they were not obliged to change their name.

John Gregorie, the grandson of this James Gregorie, was appointed minister of the parish of Drumoak in Aberdeenshire in 1620, when only 22 years of age.

He married Janet, daughter of David Anderson of Finzeach. This David Anderson was called "Davie do a' thing" from his great mechanical genius.

As a creditor of Crichton of Kinairdie, John Gregorie acquired that property.

Alexander, eldest son of Rev. John Gregorie, was murdered by Francis Crichton, and his nephew, Viscount Frendraught, in revenge for his father having acquired part of their property in payment of debts.

Alexander Gregorie having met Francis Crichton at a neighbour's house, was invited by Crichton in a friendly manner to accompany him in a ride to where Viscount Frendraught lived. In crossing a lonely moor Gregorie was suddenly assaulted by Crichton and his servant, and severely wounded, and then carried prisoner to Frendraught's house. He died after a few days.

I tell you this that you may have some idea of the barbarous state of society in Scotland at that time, viz., in 1664.

David Gregorie, second son of Rev. John Gregorie, succeeded on his brother's death to Kinairdie. He was a man of great talent, both as a Mathematician and as a Physician.

He invented an improvement in Firearms, which his son David shewed to Sir Isaac Newton, who persuaded him to suppress the invention, as being so very destructive of human life. He wrote Memoirs of his own Times.

He had twenty-nine children, many of whom died young.

David Gregorie, his eldest son, was Professor of Mathematics first in the University of St. Andrews; and in 1692 was made Savilian Professor at Oxford. He was a great friend of Sir Isaac Newton, who sent him some manuscript sheets of his "Principia," wishing David Gregorie to insert parts of them in his "Astronomiæ Physicæ, and Geometricæ Elementa," which was done. When you are older you can see these passages from Newton in the work in the Library, as they are marked. These manuscripts came into the possession of your great grandfather on the death of all David Gregorie's grandchildren.

They are very satisfactory in proof that certain opinions

of Sir I. Newton *were* held by him *before* the *first* edition of the "Principia" was published, which was denied by some French philosophers.

Your uncle John gave these manuscripts, along with a good many of James and David Gregorie, to the Royal Society of London

The letter of thanks which your uncle received from the Royal Society for these manuscripts I have preserved, and when you are old enough to understand the value of them, you will, I hope, like to read.

David Gregorie, son of the last named David Gregorie, was Professor of Modern History at Oxford, and Dean of Christ Church there. This branch of the family became extinct after the death of this David Gregorie's children, who all died unmarried.

James Gregory, son of the first David Gregorie of Kinairdie, and brother of David Gregory, Professor at Oxford, was first Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews, and thence called to fill the Chair of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. He died leaving only one daughter, who was very beautiful and very accomplished. Her sad death was the subject of a well-known ballad by the poet Mallet.

Charles Gregorie, another son of David Gregorie of Kinairdie, was Professor of Mathematics in the University of St. Andrews.

Thus, David Gregorie of Kinairdie had the pleasure of seeing three of his sons Professors in the chief Universities in the country at the same time.

David, Professor of Astronomy at Oxford.

James, Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh.

Charles, Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews.

David Gregorie, a son of Charles, was Professor of Mathematics at the University of St. Andrews after his father.

One of David Gregorie of Kinairdie's daughters married the Rev. L. Reid, and their son was Thomas Reid, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, Author of "The Philosophy of the Human Mind.

James Gregorie, third son of Rev. John Gregorie of Drumoak, was born in 1638. He was six years Professor of Mathematics in the University of St. Andrews, and was thence called to the same Professorship in the University of Edinburgh. He died in October 1675 at the age of thirty-seven. He is generally allowed to have

been one of the first Mathematicians of the Age. He was the inventor of the telescope, named from him *The Gregorian.* He was the author of the "Optica Promota," and of several Mathematical Treatises. A number of manuscripts of James Gregorie, and of his nephew David Gregorie, along with manuscripts of several eminent men of the time, were in the library here; but Professor James D. Forbes earnestly begged your Uncle John to give them to the University of Edinburgh; and, finding on enquiry that they would gladly be accepted, they were given, and are now in the library of the University.

His son, *James Gregorie, M.D.*, was Professor of Medicine in King's College, Aberdeen; and his son, *James Gregorie, M.D.*, was also Professor of Medicine in King's College, Aberdeen.

John Gregorie, son of the first named James Gregorie, M.D., and grandson of the famous James Gregorie, was Professor of Moral Philosophy, and afterwards of Medicine at Aberdeen. Afterwards, Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh. First Physician to His Majesty for Scotland. He was author of "A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man," "A Father's Legacy to his Daughters," &c., &c., &c. He married the Hon. Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of William, thirteenth Lord Forbes. He left three sons and two daughters: James, William, and John.

James Gregorie, M.D., First Physician to their Majesties George the Third and George the Fourth for Scotland; Professor of the Practice of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh; Author of the "Conspectus Medicinæ," &c. &c. He married Isabella, daughter of Donald Macleod of Geanies. Died April 21st, 1821.

They had eleven children.

John Gregory, Advocate, your granduncle, whom I hope you remember.

Hugh died young.

James Craufurd Gregory, M.D., and F.R.S., one of the Physicians to the Infirmary in Edinburgh. He died of typhus fever, caught in the discharge of his duties at the Infirmary, aged thirty-one. He was unmarried.

William Gregory, M.D. and F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry, first in the King's College, Aberdeen, and afterwards in the University of Edinburgh; Author of "Outlines of Inorganic Chemistry and Handbook of Organic Chemistry," &c. &c. He was your grandfather.

Donald Gregory, W.S. and F.A.S., twin brother of your grandfather. He died unmarried in the thirty-third year of his age. Author of the "History of the Highlands and Isles of Scotland," and several Antiquarian Papers.

Duncan Farquharson Gregory, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Author of "Examples of the Processes of the Differential and Integral Calculus;" "A Treatise on Solid Geometry," and various other Mathematical Papers. He died unmarried, in the thirty-first year of his age. I cannot refrain from adding the closing remarks on his character given in a short memoir of him by his college friend, R. Leslie Ellis, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge,—"A few words may be allowed about a character where rare and sterling qualities were combined. His upright, sincere, and honourable nature secured to him general respect. By his intimate friends he was admired for the extent and variety of his information, always communicated readily, but without a thought of display,—for his refinement and delicacy of taste and feeling,—for his conversational powers and wit; and he was beloved by them for his generous, amiable disposition, his active and disinterested kindness, and steady affection. And in this manner his high-toned character acquired a moral influence over his contemporaries, and juniors, in a degree remarkable in one so early removed."

James L. Gregory, your own father, having died so young, being only in the twenty-third year of his age,

had no opportunity of distinguishing himself; but he had the same uprightness that had marked the characters of his ancestors.

And now, my dear Harry, I have brought down the line of Gregories to your own young self. I trust you will feel that you have a high character to maintain to be a worthy descendant of so long a line of ancestors, honoured as well for their uprightness as for their learning.

I add a few verses by your Uncle John, your Grandfather, and your Uncle Duncan, to let you see one pleasant way in which they occupied themselves in their leisure hours.

I have a large book full of sonnets, ballads, letters in rhythm, &c., &c., in imitation (in a laughing way) of Wordsworth and others, which I will give you when you are old enough to enter into their wit. These are specimens of the sort of things they wrote one summer we spent at Rydal—quite near Wordsworth—which I think may amuse you. Every morning at breakfast-time your grandfather and uncle Duncan used to bring in and read to us one or more set of verses.

I must not omit to tell you of my sisters.

The eldest was *Jane*. The picture here of a pretty little girl playing with a feather is of Jane. She died of scarlet fever at Aberdeen, aged seven years, when travelling with her father and mother.

My father wrote a latin inscription for her tomb, and for that of his mother, who also died at Aberdeen. I will write them here, hoping that you will soon know enough of latin to be able to read them:

JUXTA. HUNC. PARIETEM. CONDUNTUR. RELIQUIÆ.
ELIZABETHÆ. FILIÆ. GULIELMI. XIII. DOMINI. FORBES.
CONJUGIS. AMATÆ. JOANNIS. GREGORY. M. D. R. S. S.
PRIMO. IN. COLLEGIO. REGIO. ABERDONENSI.
POSTEA. IN. ACADEMIA. EDINBURGENSI.
MEDICINÆ. PROFESSORIS. MERITISSIMI.
MEDICI. REGII. APUD. SCOTOS. PRIMARII.
FŒMINÆ. LECTISSIMÆ.
FORMA. INGENIO. VIRTUTE. PIETATE.
PRÆSTANTIS.
SUIS. QUAM. MAXIME. CARÆ. CIVIBUS. FLEBILIS.
QUÆ. ANNUM. TUNC. AGENS. XXXIII.
OBIIT. PUERPERA. *III.* CAL. OCT. A. D. *MDCCLXI.*

HIC. QUOQUE. LOCI.
QUA. PUER. MŒRORIS. ADHUC. NESCIUS.
JUSTA. PERSOLVERAT. MATRI. CARISSIMÆ.
JACOBUS GREGORY.
POST. ANNOS. *LII.* JAM. SENEX. ET. MALORUM. NON. IGNARUS.
ASTANTIBUS. QUATUOR. EX. FILIIS.
ET. FLENTIUM. AMICORUM. CORONA.
EADEM. MŒRENS. PERSOLVIT. JUSTA.
FILIÆ. SUÆ. NATU. MAXIMÆ. JANÆ. MACLEOD.
SUAVISSIMÆ. PUELLÆ. SUMMÆ. SPEI.
PATRIS. DELICIIS. MATRIS. ANIMÆ. DIMIDIO.
ACERBA. MORTE. RAPTÆ. ANNO. ÆTATIS. *VIII.*
VI. CAL. SEPT. A. D. *MDCCCXIII.*

ΘΝΗΤΑ. ΤΑ. ΤΩΝ. ΘΝΗΤΩΝ. ΚΑΙ. ΠΑΝΤΑ.
ΠΑΡΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ. ΗΜΑΣ.
ΗΝ. ΔΕ. ΜΗ. ΑΛΛ. ΗΜΕΙΣ. ΑΥΤΑ. ΠΑΡΕΡΧΟΜΕΘΑ.

The second daughter was *Elizabeth*. She died when only three years of age.

Margaret, who married her cousin Dr. Alison, died in 1849.

Then myself.

And last, *Isabella*, who died when only one year and a half old.

I close this little account of your father's family by short notices of your uncles, James, Donald, and Duncan, which appeared in the newspapers after their deaths. I do not know who wrote them; but they give a true account of each.

GEORGINA GREGORY.

CANAAN LODGE,
June 1873.

Extract from the Edinburgh Evening Courant of Monday, December 31, 1832

THE LATE DR. JAMES GREGORY.

It is with the deepest regret that we have to record the death of this highly esteemed and rising young man, who, on Friday the 28th instant, aged thirty-one, fell a victim to typhus fever, caught in the discharge of his professional duties. Few physicians of his years have left a memory more sincerely regretted by his numerous friends, and his death has occasioned a blank which it will be difficult to supply in several of the most important public institutions of this city.

He received his Degree at Edinburgh in 1824, and passed the greater part of the three next years at Paris, where the advantage of his father's name, and his own engaging manners and studious habits procured him the friendship of many of the most illustrious, scientific, and medical men of that city. Soon after his return to Edinburgh he was appointed one of the Physicians to the Royal Infirmary; the important and laborious duties of which he continued to discharge with unabated zeal and ability till the commencement of his fatal illness. He was successively elected Secretary to the Royal Society, and to the Medico-Chirurgical Society, and one of the Ordinary Physicians to the Lunatic Asylum; and from the first institution of the board of Health, he not only filled the laborious situation of Medical Secretary to the establishment, but had the superintendence of the Cholera Hospital at Queensberry House; and to his able and unwearied exertions much of the generally acknowledged efficiency of the Board is to be ascribed. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the Chair of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Edinburgh, and had devoted himself for this winter to the delivery of a course of lectures on Clinical Medicine, under the auspices of the managers of the Royal Infirmary, which he had carried on for several weeks with uncommon success, and with every prospect of thus establishing an important addition to the medical education in this place, when a fever of more than ordinary malignity, contracted in that hospital, carried him off after an illness of ten days, at the very moment of his opening success and highest usefulness.

He was cut off too soon to have left behind him any extended work on professional subjects, but the edition which he published, with full notes, of Cullen's First Lines, and several papers in the Edinburgh Medical Journal, have deservedly attained a high place in the estimation of his professional brethren. His high sense of honour, integrity of character, suavity and elegance of manners, and kindness of heart, had long endeared him

in no ordinary degree to a numerous circle of relations and friends; while his sound judgment, accurate information, unwearied assiduity, and decision of character, left no room for doubt that, had his life been spared, he would have attained, at no distant period, to the highest eminence in a profession of which his ancestors for several generations had been among the brightest ornaments.

DEATH OF DONALD GREGORY, ESQ.,

SECRETARY TO THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND.

It is with deep regret that we have to announce the death of this promising young man, which took place on Friday the 21st ult., after a very short illness. Mr. Gregory was one of the younger sons of the late distinguished Professor Gregory, and was educated for the legal profession; but his predilection for the pursuits of literature, and the interest with which, from his earliest years, he regarded the deeds of his Highland ancestors, induced him to apply his talents to more interesting, though less productive studies. At an early age he was elected Secretary to the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, which office he held to his death; and the increased energy and activity of that Society of late years may be ascribed in a great measure to his zeal and exertions Of his extensive researches in this department, of his accuracy of information, and clearness of intellect, he had given to the public but a small specimen in a work lately published, entitled a History of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; a subject which may be said to have been untouched by any previous historian. Mr. Gregory was preparing another volume for the press, which, as it was intended to illustrate more particularly the manners and customs of the Highlanders, and the variations of these in the course of ages, would probably have excited a more general interest. It is deeply to be regretted that the public will be deprived of any farther benefit from his

ardent and laborious researches. His death will cause a blank in the literary body to which he belonged, that will not easily be supplied; and will be long and deeply felt by all who knew him; indeed a deeper or more universal regret has seldom been excited than that which the loss of this interesting young man occasions.

DEATH OF A DISTINGUISHED MATHEMATICIAN.

Trinity College, Cambridge, Feb. 29.—The following letter has just been received:—"Duncan F. Gregory, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, died here this morning, at five o'clock.—Canaan Lodge, Edinburgh, Feb. 23, 1844."—This loss is felt by the University in general, and by the deceased gentleman's own college in particular. He died in his thirty-first year, of a lingering illness, which he bore to the last with manly fortitude and Christian resignation. He went off in a calm slumber, apparently to those who watched him, without a struggle. Mr. Gregory was one of the Moderators of the Mathematical Honour Examination in 1842, and one of the examiners in 1843. He was author of a very able work on Differential Calculus, and had got half-way through another on Geometry of three dimensions, the sheets having been printed as he proceeded. He was the chief projector of the "Cambridge Mathematical Journal," a work which already enjoys a European reputation, and was its principal contributor till his death. His family, for scientific attainments, was one of the most illustrious in Europe; and James and David Gregory, in by-gone years, shed no ordinary lustre in this respect on the land of their birth. Dr. Gregory, an eminent physician of Edinburgh, now dead some years, and father to the recently deceased Fellow of Trinity, was the author of the "Conspectus Medicinæ," and several first-rate medical works. His son inherited his amiable and estimable personal qualities, and was universally beloved and respected.

Anderson, James. 1662–1728. Scotch genealogist and antiquary. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, receiving degree of M.A. in 1680. Admitted to Society of Writers to the Signet, 1691. In 1705, published *An Historical Essay, Showing that the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland is Imperial and Independent.* In 1715, was appointed Postmaster General of Scotland; 1727, published *Collections Relating To The History of Mary Queen of Scotland.* Died in London, 1728, leaving, unfinished, a work which was published by Thomas Ruddiman in 1737, entitled *Selectus Diplomatum, et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus*, with an elaborate preface by Ruddiman.

Anderson, William. 1805–1886. Miscellaneous writer. Born at Edinburgh. Younger brother of John Anderson, historian of the House of Hamilton. Author of many books "of a somewhat higher character than other compilations." *Scottish Nation*, 1859, 1863, and *Popular Scottish Biography*, 1842, are among the works best known. Died in London in 1886.

Balfour, (Sir) James. –1657. Born near the close of the sixteenth century, the eldest son of Michael Balfour, laird of Fife. He spent many years in travel and was a friend of the distinguished antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, and also of Sir William Segar, Garter King at Arms. Balfour was created Lord Lion King at Arms in 1630 by Charles I., that being a legal office of dignity in Scotland, for the management of all matters connected with armorial honours and public ceremonials. He was a collector of documents relative to heraldry and author of many valuable manuscripts, of which a few are preserved in the Advocates' Library. Balfour's *Annals and Short Passages of State*, after two centuries of obscurity in manuscript, were published in 1825 by James Haig of the Advocates' Library. His *History of the Picts* was written for the purpose of supplying the deficiencies of other writers as to the history of the original inhabitants, previous to the Roman invasions. Balfour died in 1657.

Bede, Venerable. 673–735. Noted Churchman and author. Born at Wearmouth, now in County of Durham, England. In 674, he founded St. Peter's at Wearmouth and in 682 established the Monastery of St. Paul at Jarrow. Was generally considered reliable and honest in historical and ecclesiastical matters, his best known work, *Ecclesiastical History of England*, being accepted by English, Scottish and Irish historians as authority for its subjects and dates. Bede died in 735.

Boece, Hector. 1465–1536. Known also as Boyis, Boyes, Boiss, or Boice, and sometimes Boetius. He was born about 1465 at Dundee, where he began his education, and afterwards continued at Aberdeen and Paris. In 1497, became Professor of Philosophy in the College of Montacute. In 1500, was invited to become Principal of King's College at Aberdeen, which position he filled with great honour to the College and himself. During his long residence at the College, he devoted much time

to the work by which he is best known, *The History and Chronicles of Scotland*, which was published in 1526. Became one of the most noted Latin scholars of his time and was generally considered authoritative. Died in 1536.

Bower, Walter. 1385– . Known also as Bowmaker, and generally called "Fordun's Continuator." Was born at Haddington, and at the age of eighteen entered the Church. In 1418 he was elected Abbot of Inchcolm. Is best known by his work in completing Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, or *Chronicles of Scotland*. In the translation of Fordun's Chronicles, he made many additions and interpolations, for which he has received some criticism. The date of his death is not recorded.

Buchanan, George. 1506–1582. Born at Drumnakill and graduated at St. Andrews. Became tutor to the Earl of Cassilis and a pupil of John Major. Was employed by Mary, Queen of Scots, as literary adviser and was later given charge of the education of her son, James VI., of Scotland, who became James I., of England. Author of a vast number of essays, poems and plays. Took conspicuous part in church affairs and became one of the most prominent figures in literature and history of all time. His *History of Scotland*, printed by Alexander Arbuthnot, 1582, is his best known work, of which there have been many later editions. This was translated from the Latin into the Scottish language by John Reid. A manuscript of this unpublished version is preserved in the University of Glasgow. Died in 1582.

Burton, John Hill. 1809–1881. Nothing is known of Burton's family connection. He obtained a fair education and was articled to a lawyer. In due time, he became an advocate, but his practice was never large. Commenced his *History of Scotland* in 1853 and completed it in 1870. Was appointed Secretary to the Prison Board by the Government and later was appointed Historiographer of Scotland.

Camden, William. 1550–1623. Born in the "Old Bailey" of London. At an early age he was entered at Christy Hospital as a "free scholar" or "town child." The year is not recorded. He received his education under the patronage of Dr. Thomas Cooper and rapidly made his way in literature, especially along historical lines. His best known work, *Britannia*, is acknowledged as authoritative. Died in 1623.

Chalmers, David. –1592. Younger son of Andrew Chalmers, was born in the shire of Ross and educated at the University of Aberdeen. Lived abroad for several years and in 1556 was a resident of Bologna. Upon his return to Scotland, he found a warm advocate in the Queen. About that time was appointed Provost of Crichton and Chancellor of Ross. In January, 1564, was named one of the Spiritual Lords of Session, and one of the Commissioners for Printing the Acts of Parliament in 1566. He was accused of aiding in the murder of Darnley and retired to Spain.

Was deprived of his seat on the Bench, and afterwards crossed into France. In 1572 published at Paris, *Histoire Abrégeé de Tous les Roys de France*, which he dedicated to Charles IX. Died in Paris in 1592, leaving one son, William Chalmers.

CHALMERS, GEORGE. 1742–1825. Studied at King's College and afterwards in Edinburgh. Emigrated to America in 1763, and practised law in Baltimore. Being driven back to London by the Revolution, he began to write for magazines and in 1786 was appointed Chief Clerk to the Committee of Privy Council, on matters relating to trade, which position he retained for nearly forty years. As his official duties made no great demands upon his time, he devoted himself to his favourite studies—the antiquities and topography of Scotland. *Caledonia*, his greatest work, astonished the reading world by its learning and the extent of its research. Death arrested his busy pen in 1825.

DOUGLAS, (Sir) ROBERT. 1694–1770. Born in Glenbervie, Fifeshire. Succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his elder brother. Is best known by his *Peerage of Scotland*, and *Baronage of Scotland*. Died in Edinburgh, 1770.

FORDUN, JOHN. –1384. Very little is known of Fordun's birth, life or death. He is recorded as either a native of Fordoun, Kincardineshire, or a resident there for many years, in which parish he is said to have written his *History of Scotland*. It is said that he was a secular priest and also chaplain in the cathedral of Aberdeen. His was the earliest attempt to write a continuous history of his country, all previous efforts having resulted in brief chronicles and genealogical memoranda.

From a manuscript in the British Museum it is learned that after the destruction of the national records of Scottish history, "a certain venerable priest, Lord John Fordun, desired to repair the loss," and, after collecting in his own country, wandered like a "curious bee" with his manuscript (Codex Sinualis) in his breast, in search of material for his history. This journey is calculated to have taken place between 1363 and 1384. Before his work was completed, however, death intervened and it was left for Bower, or Bowmaker, to finish the work, *John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*.

In later years the work was translated from the Latin text by Felix J. H. Skene, edited by William F. Skene, and published in 1872. Fordun is recorded as having died about 1384.

GOODALL, WALTER. 1706–1766. Well known as an antiquary. Was born the eldest son of John Goodall, a farmer in Banffshire. In 1723, he entered King's College, but did not remain to take a degree. In 1730, was employed in the Advocates' Library, and assisted Thomas Ruddiman in the compilation of the first catalogue of the Library. In 1753, was editor of Crawford's Memoirs, and died in 1766.

GRUB, GEORGE. 1812–1892. Born in Aberdeenshire and educated at King's College. Became an advocate and teacher of law, and was associated with John Hill Burton, Joseph Robertson and John Stuart, in the historical work upon which each was engaged. Died in 1892.

HOLLINSHEAD, RAPHAEL. –1580. It has been said of Hollinshead, "neither the day of his birth, nor of his death, the two great periods in the life of man, can be accurately ascertained." It is generally supposed that he died sometime between the years of 1578 and 1582, and the year 1580 has been accepted by *MacMillan's Biographical Dictionary* as the exact date. According to this authority, he came to London early in Elizabeth's reign and obtained employment as a translator in the printing office of Reginald Woolf. About 1548 Woolf designed a universal history, with maps and illustrations, but before the work was well under way, Woolf died, and Hollinshead continued his labours under the direction of three publishers, George Bishop, John Harnson and Lucas Harrison. Becoming alarmed at the expense of the undertaking, it was decided to limit the history to England, Scotland and Ireland, and as a result Hollinshead wrote his *Cronycle.*

The extent to which Shakespeare used Hollinshead's *Cronycle* is well known, and it has been said that at times he not only used the facts but also Hollinshead's very phrases, so that many extracts from the original *Cronycle* have been printed by the editors of Shakespeare's historical plays, to illustrate the source of his information.

HUME, DAVID. 1711–1776. Very little is known of the education of Hume, though we are told that while he attempted law, he was opposed both to the study and the practise of that profession, and in 1734 entered the service of a merchant in Bristol. Very soon tiring of the mercantile life, he retired into France, where he spent many years in study. In 1738, his *Treatise of Human Nature* disclosed the fact that he had not been idle. In 1752, he was appointed librarian to the Faculty of Advocates, to succeed Ruddiman, in which the remuneration was small, but the opportunity for reading and writing more than compensated for the size of his salary. His *History of England* was written during this period. Hume died in 1776.

INNES, COSMO. 1798–1874. Born at the old Manor House of Duress on Deeside. He studied at the Universities of Aberdeen and of Glasgow, and afterwards matriculated at Baliol College, Oxford. In 1822, he became an advocate at the Scottish bar, and in 1830 assisted in arranging the documents in the Register House, becoming well known as an antiquarian. Innes died in 1874.

INNES, THOMAS. 1662–1744. Innes was born at Drumgask, parish of Aboyne, Aberdeenshire. In 1677 he went to Paris, where he remained for many years, and in 1691 was promoted to the priesthood. In 1694, or soon thereafter, he returned to Scotland in search of material for his

Early History of the Church of Scotland, which was intended to be the second part of his *Critical Essay*, but which unfortunately, has not been given to the world. *Chambers* says: "The principal notice which we have been able to obtain of this individual is from the diary of the industrious Wodrow, in 1724, where we find the laborious antiquary worming his way through libraries in search of materials. . . . From the period when we find him rummaging in the Advocates' Library, we know nothing of Innes, until the publication of his Essay in 1729, when he appears to have been in London. . . . He seems, previously to this event, to have performed an extensive 'bibliographical tour,' as the manuscripts he quotes are dispersed through various parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Continent." Chambers agrees with other writers that it is not creditable to the literature of Scotland, that the meritorious labours of Innes have been so little noticed, no one thinking it worth while to leave sufficient memorials to inform posterity as to his life and character. Until within recent years, the true value of his *Critical Essay* has not been understood, though modern writers are beginning to realise that the early period of Scotland's history must depend to a large extent upon that work. Innes died about 1744, fifteen years after the publication of his *Essay*.

Logan, James. 1794–1872. Born and educated in Aberdeen. In 1826 he started on a pedestrian tour over Scotland, gathering material, from the North Sea to the Atlantic, on Gaelic antiquities. In 1831, *Scottish Gael, or Celtic Manners, as Preserved Among the Highlanders*, was published in two volumes. He afterwards ably sustained a controversy with the noted Welsh scholar, Dr. Davies, on the respective merits of the Cymric and Gaelic branches of Celtic. This controversy led to an offer of the Secretaryship of the Highland Society of London, which he accepted and held for several years. His *Scottish Gael* is an acknowledged authority on the characteristics, history and literature of the Celt in Scotland. Logan died in 1872.

Lower, Mark Anthony. 1813–1876. Born in Sussex, second son of Richard Lower. Assisted his sister in teaching before he was seventeen years of age, and in his nineteenth year removed to Afriston, Sussex, where he became one of the founders of the Mechanics' Institute. Was also one of the founders of the Sussex Archæological Society in 1846, which decided the course of his career. For some years he was Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and received his M.A. from an American University. Is best known by his *Patronymica* and his *Dictionary of Family Names*. At the time of his death, in 1876, he was engaged in antiquarian work.

Maior (or) Major John. 1469–1549. Born at Gleghornie in North Berwick and graduated as D.D. at Paris in 1505, a degree which could not be taken under the age of thirty-five. *MacMillan's Biographical Dictionary*

states that he attended the Grammar School at Haddington, then went to Cambridge and studied for a year at God's House, soon after called Christ College. In 1493, he passed to the University of Paris, then the favourite resort of Scottish students. He was enrolled, like his countrymen, in the German Nation, of which he was afterwards chosen procurator and quæstor. He first joined the College of Saint Barbe, but afterwards moved to Montaign, which he called "his true nursing mother, never to be named without reverence." He took his degree in 1496 and became one of the regents. Wrote a very well known work on logic and several other technical literary books. Became one of the foremost scholars of Europe, and widely known as such. During his second sojourn in France, Major taught with the most distinguished reputation and came to be regarded as the "veritable chief of the scholastic philosophy," and also as the "Prince of the Paris Divines," at a time when there were many men connected with the forty colleges of the University who have attained lasting fame. Among his pupils were George Buchanan and John Knox. Major's *History*, by which he is best remembered, was printed in Paris in 1521, and reprinted in Edinburgh by Freebairn in 1740. He was the first author of prominence to advocate the Union of England and Scotland. His death occurred about 1549, though the exact date has never been authoritatively given.

McLauchlan, Thomas. 1816–1886. According to the *Britannica*, McLauchlan was born in Moy, Inverness, January, 1816, the youngest son of James McLauchlan, minister of Moy. He became a well known Scottish Presbyterian minister and Gaelic scholar, taking considerable interest in Celtic antiquities and literature. For his work in this field, the University of Aberdeen gave the degree of LL.D. in 1864. McLauchlan joined in the Ossianic controversy, maintaining that the poems were authentic, though occasionally altered and supplemented by MacPherson. He published a Gaelic version of the Ossian in 1859, and was elected Fellow of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in 1866, serving on its Council for three years, and filling the Vice-Presidency for a like term. McLauchlan's claims as a Gaelic scholar rest mainly on his translation of the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, which was published in Edinburgh in 1862. He not only edited the original, but translated it into English and modern Gaelic. His *History of the Early Scottish Church*, published in 1865, sketches the ecclesiastical history of Scotland from the first to the twelfth centuries. His articles on *Gaelic Literature* in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (9th edition) and his chapter on *Gaelic Literature, Language and Music*, in Keltie's *History of the Scottish Highlanders* (vol. ii.), together with his *Celtic Gleanings*, have given him a foremost place as Gaelic scholar and author. He died in Edinburgh in 1886.

Nimmo, William Philip. 1831–1883. Born in Edinburgh in 1831. Kept a bookstore in 1855 and published *Juvenile Tales* and *Popular Tales* in 1866. Died in Edinburgh in April, 1883.

Pinkerton, John. 1758–1825. Historian and critic. He easily distinguished himself by his early classical attainments, while studying at the grammar school at Lanark, though his father's opposition to a college education caused him to turn his attention to the study of French, and while serving an apprenticeship to an eminent Writer to the Signet, 1776, he wrote and published the *Ode to Craigmillar Castle.* The death of his father released him from the restraint to which he had been subject, and he naturally turned his entire time to literature. During the years 1781 to 1790, various works appeared, but not until his *Enquiry into the History of Scotland* was put on the market, did Pinkerton receive the attention he coveted. In his later years, he lived in Paris, where he is said to have died in indigent circumstances in 1825.

Ritson, Joseph. 1752–1803. Is said to have been educated by the Rev. John Thompson, and at an early age articled to a lawyer. Spent 1773 touring Scotland in search of archæological information, and in 1775 entered the office of a firm of conveyancers. During this time, he wrote for various magazines and appeared in public controversy with Pinkerton. His *Annals of the Caledonians, Picts and Scots* was written principally to refute the claims made by Pinkerton, though the work did not appear until after his death in 1803.

Robertson, E. W. Having graduated from Worcester College, Oxford, in 1833, Robertson turned his attention to the study of Scottish history. His *Scotland Under Her Early Kings* was published in 1862, which placed the study of this period on the firm basis of a critical analysis of the early authorities.

Ruddiman, Thomas. 1674–1757. Born in 1674 in the parish of Boyndie, Banff, the son of a respectable farmer. He attended the grammar school in his native town, and later went to Aberdeen, where he tutored young men. He assisted Sir Robert Sibbald in the preparation for the press of *Introductio ad Historiam.* In 1715, he edited *Buchani Opera Omnia.* By this time, he had established a wide reputation as a Latinist, which won for him the position of translator of public papers. For many years he was first assistant to John Spottiswoode of the Advocates' Library, and upon his death was elected chief librarian. He was instrumental in organising the first Literary Society of Edinburgh, and died in the midst of his labours in 1757.

Scott, (Sir) Walter. 1771–1832. Was born in Edinburgh, the younger son of Mr. Walter Scott, Writer to the Signet, by Anne, daughter of Dr. John Rutherford. He was a delicate youth, and until his twentieth year was unable to attend school with regularity. During this time he became an omnivorous reader, principally of fiction, poetry and history. His first work of importance, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, was published in 1805, followed by *The Lady of the Lake* in 1810 and *Don Roderick* in 1811. In 1814 *Waverley* was published anonymously, and between 1815 and 1819,

Guy Mannering, The Antiquary, Tales of My Landlord, Rob Roy, The Heart of Midlothian, Bride of Lammermoor and *Legend of Montrose*, had followed in quick succession. During 1818 and 1819 Scott was rarely ever free from pain, nearly all of his work being done through an amanuensis. Meeting with great financial loss through his publications, he sought to retrieve these losses by greater literary efforts, and had partly succeeded in this, when death stopped his busy pen in 1832.

SIBBALD, (Sir) ROBERT. 1641–1712. Educated at the burg school in Cupar, Fife, and the high school in Edinburgh. He studied theology and medicine, taking his degree in the latter and for a time practising in Edinburgh. In 1681, he became a member of the Royal College of Physicians and in 1684 published *Scotia Illustrata, sive Prodomus Historiæ Naturalis Scotiæ*, upon which he had been engaged for many years. In 1710, he published *History, Ancient and Modern, of the Sheriffdoms of Fife and Kinross*, a standard work on its subjects and dates, and replete with curious antiquarian information. The old edition is exceedingly rare, a later being published at Cupar in 1803. His death is variously recorded from 1712 to 1722.

SINCLAIR, (Sir) JOHN. 1754–1835. Born at Thurso Castle, County of Caithness, and studied in the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Oxford. Was elected to Parliament in 1790, 1802 and 1807. Became founder of the Agricultural Society of Scotland and compiler of the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland*, a work upon which he spent many years of most earnest labour. He devoted many years also to the study of health and longevity and astonished the medical world with his *Code of Health and Longevity*. Died in 1835.

SKENE, WILLIAM F. 1809–1892. Graduated from St. Andrews and the University of Edinburgh as Advocate, he became head of a prominent legal firm, which place he retained for about forty years. Interested in historical and archæological research, he won the prize offered by a London Society by his *Highlanders of Scotland* in 1837. In 1876, he published the first volume of *Celtic Scotland*, followed in 1887 and 1890 by the second and third volumes respectively. In 1867 he published a very valuable collection of chronicles under the title, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*. Regarding his *Highlanders of Scotland*, *MacMillan's Biographical Dictionary* states: "In 1837, he published a book on the Highlanders of Scotland, for which he received a prize from the Highland Society; a work of great ingenuity and learning, though further research altered some views expressed in it. Skene was eminently ingenious, as well as critical, and his reconstruction of Scottish history is in some points assailable. The Celtic portion also contains views which may be considered hypothetical; *e.g.*, the supposed suppressed century of Dalriad history, and the theory of the Pictish kings in the early portion of the Scottish royal genealogy. But he will be an ungrateful follower of their steps who does not acknowledge

that Father Innes, Lord Hailes, and Skene have cleared more stumbling blocks out of the way than all the other Scottish historians." When John Hill Burton died, in 1881, Skene was appointed to the position left vacant, Historiographer Royal of Scotland, which office he retained until his death in 1892.

SMIBERT, THOMAS. 1810–1854. Son of a leather merchant of Peebles. Became a contributor to Chambers' *Information for the People* and *Chambers' Journal*. His *Clans of the Highlands* is considered authoritative. He died in 1854.

SPOTSWOOD (or) SPOTTISWOODE, JOHN. 1565–1639. The son of John Spotswood, minister of Calder and Superintendent of Lothian. He became Archbishop of St. Andrews, having succeeded to his father's pulpit when only eighteen years of age. In 1601 he attended Ludovich, Duke of Lenox, as Chaplain in an embassy to the Court of France, and returned in the Duke's retinue through England. In 1603, was nominated See of Glasgow, though his consecration did not take place until 1610. In 1615, he succeeded Gladstanes at St. Andrews and became Primate of Scotland. In 1635, he was advanced to the Chancellorship, though compelled to resign in 1638. His greatest work appeared posthumously in London in 1665, entitled *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, displaying considerable research, and making a favourable impression, especially as to the events of his time which were in controversy with other well known writers. He died in London about 1639.

STEWART, DAVID. 1772– . Second son of Robert Stewart of Garth, Perthshire, he entered the 42d regiment as ensign, and served in the campaign of the Duke of York in Flanders. Went to Egypt, and returning to Scotland, wrote sketches of the Highlanders, which have been considered authoritative and worthy to be placed with other well known works on the subject. The date of his death is not recorded.

STUART, JOHN. 1813–1877. Born in Fergus, Aberdeenshire, he was educated at the University of Aberdeen, and in 1836 became a member of the Aberdeen Society of Advocates. In 1854, he was appointed to the Secretaryship of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, and became the guiding spirit of that body. In 1839, along with Joseph Robertson and Cosmo Innes, he organised and set on foot the Spalding Club, of which he became Secretary. He retained this position until the close of its operations in 1870. Of thirty-eight volumes issued by the Spalding Club, fourteen were under his editorship. One of his best known works was his edition of the *Book of Deer*. He died in 1877.

WYNTOWN, ANDREW. 1350–1420. The dates of his birth and death are matters of conjecture, though 1350 has generally been recorded as that of his birth, and 1420 as the year in which he died. He became a Canon Regular of St. Andrews, and *MacMillan* says of him:

"With Wyntown's Chronicle, Scottish history made a good beginning. Its great merits are that at so early a date it was written in the vernacular and not in Latin, and that when he comes in his sixth book to the history of Scotland, and the reign of Malcolm Canmore, down to the close of the work, he relates it in plain and simple verse, according to the best authorities at his command. He knows the importance of chronology and is, for the age in which he wrote, singularly accurate as to dates. . . . It may be claimed for him and for his contemporary, John of Fordun, that they were the fathers of true Scottish history, which became corrupted by subsequent writers."

TLAND

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Findo Gask
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ROMAN OUTPOST
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Church
Newbigging
Kirk House
Bonnyview
Hilton
Chapelbank
Orchard
Broom of Dalreoch
Masterfield
Dalreoch
Dunning Station
Millands
Muirside
Maiden plain
U.F. Church
Laigh of Rossie
Broadlap
Stadknows
Duncrub
Mailingknowe
Drumlochy
Drumlochy Wood
Cultiehewloch
Drumlochy Mill
Ballochuisie
Knockston
Rottenreoch
Alichaven
Newbigging
Chatterfield
Lawrencefield
Strath Allan
Craig Vipeam
Hermitage
Hermitage Br.
Pundorachies
Colmeallie
Standing Stone
Kings Seat
Andrew Hill
River Earn
Aberuthven
Muirside
Ford
Mill of Drumlochy
Ford
Aberuthven
Laigh of Rossie
Aberuthven
Mailingknowe
Duncrub
Broadlap
Stadknows
Dunning Station
Dalreoch
Masterfield
Broom of Dalreoch
Chapelbank
Smithy
Gaston Hill
Ford
Laigh of Aberuthven
Millands
Dunning
Stirkhy
Stone Mill
Orchard
Bonnyview
Hilton
Kirk House
Lawrencefield
Chatterfield
Newbigging
Cathypark
Smithy
A.B. Cathy
Manse
Church
Moss-side Cottage
School
Findo Gask
Kennacoil
Church
Hermitage
Hermitage Br.
Pundorachies
Colmeallie
Standing Stone
Kings Seat
Andrew Hill
River Earn
Craig Vipeam
Plantation
Strath Allan
Aberuthven

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Knowhead
North Haiton
Fielding
Hatton of Ardoyne
West Craigfold
Stone Circle
Myriedale
West Bandodle
Drumlasie
Lodge
Easthill
Ordie Cabon
Tillentaur
Nethermadd
Bullwell
Dunswell
Little Maldron
Meikle Maldron
Braeside
Thirtleycrook
Coithill
Cormoki
Birkfold
Blairfield
Findie
Wester Mains
Perrettfield
Wester Campfield
Craigfold
Milltown of Campfield
Mill of Eastertown of Bellie
Coutens
Whitefield
OLDMELDRUM
Parkfield
Church
Inch
Lowlter
Station
Toulet Mill
Site of Battle A.D. 1307
Blankets
Redhouse
Springhill
Garlogie Grange
Garlogie
Roughfold
Cairnie
Westside of Cairnie
Leuchar Burn
Leuchar Moss
Leuchar
Woodside
Newton
Stone Circle
Newleuchar
Broadwater
Benthoul
Houlton
School
Baads
North Eddieston
Begsburn
Eddieston
Meikle Eddieston
Upper Auchronton
Burn
Blackhall
Nether Auchronton
Smiddy
Garlogate
Milton of Drum
Plant Coath
Woodside
North Mains
Mid Ardtrean
Newton of Drum
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South Coldstream
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